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Jonathan Black

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Director of Publications: Ron B. Thomson
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A TWELFTH-CENTURY TEXT ON THE
NUMBER NINE AND DIVINE CREATION:
A NEW INTERPRETATION OF
BOETHIAN COSMOLOGY?

Kurt Lampe

THE text discussed in this article appears in the latter half of Magister Johannes' *Liber Alchorismi de pratica arismetice*, which is one of four Latin adaptations of the lost Arabic works of Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, typically known as "algorisms" (from the Latin debasement of the author's name, *Algorismus*). The algorisms were the primary conduit through which calculation methods based on nine numerals and a zero—rather than hand (or "digital") calculation or the abacus—were introduced into Latin-speaking Europe in the twelfth century. Topics common to the algorisms include (but are not limited to) addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division of whole numbers and fractions, as well as the derivation of square roots. A number of partial or complete transcriptions and editions of the algorisms have appeared, but by far the most prominent is A. Allard's 1992 edition and study of all four works under the title *Le calcul indien (Algorismus)*.¹ Allard's work does not include the second half of the *Liber Alchorismi*, which is a miscellany compiling various other formulae in a loosely connected fashion. Inserted into these guidelines for calculation is an apparently discrete text undertaken in a somewhat different tone, which begins with the words, "Queritur cur non omnes" (henceforth referred to as *Queritur*).² In many particulars this text merely repeats topoi that are ubiquitous in contemporary treatments of arithmetic and that derive from works of late antiquity. *Queritur* describes the generation of numbers and their names, and relates this to the generation

¹ A. Allard, ed., *Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī: Le calcul indien (Algorismus)* (Paris and Namur, 1992).

² I do not in this article address the question of whether we should consider *Queritur* a separate work (potentially with a separate author), although my discussions in parts 2 and 3 of the article suggest that it is closely connected to the first part of the *Liber Alchorismi*, and I refer to its author as "Johannes." Magister Johannes is identified with Johannes Hispanus by C. Burnett ("John of Seville and John of Spain: A *mise au point*," *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 44 [2002]: 64–67), as I discuss below. I would like to indicate here my gratitude to Professor Burnett, whose help in this project has been indispensable.

of humans, of human relationships, and of the universe. In its emphasis on the importance of the *nouenarius* (“the nine”) as a paradigmatic element in creation, however, and its attempt to use this to bring together the perspectives of the algorism, traditional Boethian arithmetic, and number symbolism, *Queritur* seems to betray the rising influence of Arabic/Indian numerals beyond their sphere of use in “practical” arithmetic.³ At the end of this article, I offer a provisional text of *Queritur* with notes.⁴ In the body of the article, I explore the innovative manner in which Johannes synthesizes these traditional elements. I begin with a brief summary/analysis,⁵ after which I relate the work to earlier and twelfth-century Western mathematics (part 1), and particularly to the Latin algorisms, including the rest of *Liber Alchorismi* (part 2), before concluding with some remarks on the manuscript on which I have based the text (part 3).

1. *QUERITUR* AND TRADITIONAL ARITHMETIC

The text may be divided by topic into roughly four sections. The first (lines 1–22) begins by asking why, instead of reusing names of numbers, we do not simply give each its own unique name. The answer given is that human usage required a finite number of names, for which reason the nine digits with the three “boundaries” (*limites*)—ten, hundred, thousand⁶—provide the elements for all other names. In the second section (23–67) Johannes focuses on the significance of the number nine. He argues that the central role of the nine (*nouenarius*) among both numbers and numbered things in the world justifies its central role in human naming conventions. Thus, he concludes, the human

³ For these numerals—henceforth referred to as “Indian numerals,” following the usage of the algorisms—in the twelfth century and the role of al-Khwārizmī’s works, see S. R. Benedict, *Comparative Study of Early Treatises Introducing into Europe the Hindu Art of Reckoning* (Concord, N.H., 1914), 117–22; A. P. Juschkewitsch, *Geschichte der Mathematik im Mittelalter*, trans. V. Ziegler (Basel, 1964), 352; A. Allard, “L’époque d’Adélard et les chiffres Arabes dans les manuscrits latins d’arithmétique,” in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. C. Burnett, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 14 (London, 1987), 37–43; and M. Folkerts, “Early Texts in Hindu-Arabic Calculation,” *Science in Context* 14 (2001): 13–19.

⁴ Allard, *Le calcul indien*, 62–224, presents a text of the first part of the *Liber Alchorismi* and has promised a complete edition of the second part as well. Meanwhile the only edition is B. Boncompagni’s 1857 transcription of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF] lat. 7359 (*Trattati d’Aritmetica*, vol. 2 [Rome, 1857]), which is both difficult to find and replete with errors.

⁵ Further explanatory material appears in the notes to the text below.

⁶ Note that Latin lacks discrete names for million, billion, etc. Moreover, as Folkerts (“Early Texts,” 22) notes in discussing the *Dixit Algorizmi*, so does Arabic.

usage of nine numerals and three “boundaries” is both practical and expressive of the mysteries of creation. In the third section (68–103) he discusses the unit (*unitas*). He explains its special role at the foundation of all numbers, which it generates, with the help of the two—the “principle of difference” (80). In the fourth section (104–200) he introduces the decimal system (the *nouenarii*) as an extension of the topic of generation and organization, making the totality of number a cooperative effort of the nine and the unit; and he concludes by claiming that the nine “holds the position of leadership” (“principatum tenet,” 192) in all things and is the paradigm according to which the world was created. Rather than examining each of these sections equally, in the following I concentrate on that aspect of *Queritur* which is most unusual in the context of twelfth-century mathematics in Spain: the manner in which it reinterprets Western (especially Boethian) arithmetic under the influence of the algorisms.

As should be clear from the preceding summary, the nine is our author’s central topic. It may also be clear to those familiar with Boethius—that most fundamental of authors in the quadrivium—that Johannes is heavily dependent on Boethian topoi. The most important of these is Boethius’s assertion that numbers played a paradigmatic role in creation:

*Omnia quaecunque a primaeua rerum natura constructa sunt, numerorum uidentur ratione formata. Hoc enim fuit principale in animo conditoris exemplar. Hinc enim quattuor elementorum multitudo mutuata est, hinc temporum uices, hinc motus astrorum caelique conuersio.*⁷

Now compare the following two sentences from *Queritur*:

Nimirum cum ad instar nouenarii tam celestia quam terrestria, tam corpora quam spiritus formata et ordinata esse uideantur (31–33).

Sic nouenarius principatum tenet in omnibus infinita restringens, restricta distinguens, qui tamen a limite incipit, et a limite terminatur, ut non ipse auctor rerum, sed in animo auctoris rerum exemplar fuisse ostendatur (192–95).

These sentences summarize topics Boethius has been discussing at the end of *De arithmetica* 1.1, and our author throughout the work. Thus the similarity of the italicized passages in these two sentences to those in the passage from Boethius is anything but accidental: *Queritur* is systematically replacing Boethius’s *numerus* with the more specific *nouenarius*. Johannes does not mention Boethius by name,⁸ but we need not assume that he intends to challenge

⁷ Boethius, *De arithmetica* 1.2 (ed. H. Oosthout and J. Schilling, CCL 94A [Turnhout, 1999], 14; emphasis mine).

⁸ In fact he does not cite any of his sources by name.

Boethius's doctrine; his intention is only to develop it. At lines 50–54 he says that the form of nine plays parallel roles among numbers and the rest of creation, and he makes this the meaning of the claim that the “rerum uniuersitas” borrowed its form from number (“a numero”). This interpretation of Boethius is, to my knowledge, new to Latin arithmetic in the twelfth century, and Johannes proceeds to buttress it with arguments taken from the properties of numbers (and numerical ratios), from number symbolism, and from the decimal system central to the algorisms. In the following, I discuss each of these independently.

Before going on to these points, however, I wish to digress briefly to consider the history of the number-as-paradigm doctrine that is being elaborated in this text. The topos is neo-Platonic and derives primarily from the Pythagorean cosmology of Plato's *Timaeus*,⁹ as Boethius's examples (celestial motion, measurement of time, the elements) suggest. These are all prominent in the Timaeian cosmogony, where the imposition of order through number is displayed most notably in the geometrical theory of the elements (53c4–68d7).¹⁰ Because Calcidius's translation and commentary—the primary direct means of access to the *Timaeus* in Latin—only went through 53c3, not all of this detail would have been available to our author. Moreover, the emphasis in interpreting the number-as-paradigm theory had already undergone a subtle shift by the time of Nicomachus, Boethius's model and primary source. When Boethius speaks of “huius mundanae molis conditor deus” (*De arithmetica* 1.1, CCL 94A:12), he is adapting Nicomachus's explicit references to the *dēmiourgos* (craftsman) or *technitēs theos* (artisan god) of Plato's *Timaeus* (*Isag.* 1.2.2–4, 1.4.1–2). As Nicomachus notes, Plato had specified that this craftsman looks to a paradigm that is ever-being, without genesis, without change, and graspable by reason rather than sensation (*Tim.* 27d6–28a4).¹¹

⁹ By using the epithet Pythagorean, I do not mean to take away from Plato's originality but rather to indicate the consensus view that Plato's decision to employ mathematics in explaining his teleological universe—as compared to, say, the later Stoic model—was partly due to the influence of Pythagorean thought. See Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1.6, and for an introduction to Pythagorean numerical cosmology, see R. D. McKirahan, Jr., *Philosophy before Socrates* (Indianapolis, 1994), 91–113.

¹⁰ Although Plato does not discuss the role of number itself independently, the constant recurrence of phrases such as κατ' ἀριθμὸν (according to number) reveal its latent importance (s.v. ἀριθμός in the index). For discussions of the geometry of the elements, see I. M. Bodnár, “Atomic Shapes and Elementary Triangles in Plato's *Timaeus*,” *Doxa* 6 (1986): 47–57; and B. Artmann and L. Schäfer, “On Plato's ‘Fairest Triangles’ (*Timaeus* 54a),” *Historia Mathematica* 20 (1993): 255–64.

¹¹ The prior question, why the demiurge should need a model at all, is not asked. In Platonic metaphysics we might say that the dichotomy between Ideas and sensible instantiations

For Plato this probably meant Ideas or Forms, whose relation to numbers is a controversial issue. For Nicomachus, however, all incorporeal accidents of bodies—the idea is Aristotelian, although Nicomachus’s list does not match Aristotle’s *Categories* 1.2¹²—are indicated (*Isag.* 1.1.3), with an emphasis on multitudes and magnitudes (1.2.5), the subject of arithmetic. Boethius more or less translates this passage (*De arithmetica* 1.1, CCL 94A:9–12), and thus it passes into the medieval tradition: number is the model for creation primarily because the observable world fits mathematical patterns (magnitudes and multitudes). Although not eclipsed entirely, the Platonic/Pythagorean effort to describe creation *a priori* using mathematics¹³ was de-emphasized in favor of the tendency to see the numerical order of creation—something to be observed *a posteriori*—as one more aspect of the *speculum mundi*.¹⁴ The author of *Queritur* undoubtedly knew both Boethius’s *De arithmetica* and the works of some of Boethius’s medieval inheritors. It is consequently at least partly against this background (one must also consider the algorisms) that his development of the *nouenarius*-as-paradigm theory is to be situated. One might then cautiously suggest, given the trend I have outlined, that he is unusual in making such an effort to demonstrate the cosmic importance of a single number, whose centrality (I argue) he has glimpsed through arithmetic, rather than

was being assumed. In the Christian system, however, one can see how this idea could lead to charges of heresy (see n. 14 below).

¹² Nicomachus does, however, relate these categories to number—specifically the number ten—at *Isag.* 2.22.1, followed by Boethius at *De arithmetica* 2.41.

¹³ Consider Plato’s famous injunction to the astronomers to construct a model employing perfect spheres while “saving the phenomena,” by which he meant that observable facts should be accounted for (saved) by a theory, though the primary motivation came from *a priori* tenets. Both the Pythagorean use of number (see n. 9) and Plato’s construction of the elements from triangles (in *Timaeus*) further exemplify this procedure.

¹⁴ I am simplifying here and leaving out many issues, such as the priority of *numeri* to *numerata* (Nicomachus, *Isag.* 1.4.2–3; Boethius, *De arithmetica* 1.1, CCL 94A:12). It should also be noted that the Platonic endeavor to describe creation from mathematical principles first and observations second, rather than the reverse, lived on to some extent in the Platonists of Chartres, such as Bernard of Chartres (see *The “Glosae super Platonem” of Bernard of Chartres*, ed. P. E. Dutton, Studies and Texts 107 [Toronto, 1991]) and William of Conches (see his *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. É. Jeuneau, Textes philosophiques du moyen âge 13 [Paris, 1965]). On Platonism at Chartres, see J. M. Parent, *La doctrine de la création dans l’École de Chartres*, Publications de l’Institut d’Études Médiévales d’Ottawa 8 (Paris, 1938); and T. Gregory, “The Platonic Inheritance,” in *A History of Twelfth Century Western Philosophy*, ed. P. Dronke (Cambridge, 1988), 54–80. There were also at least accusations of this sort of “heresy” made against the Cistercian numerologists of the twelfth century, as we read in Odo of Morimond (see his defensive letter edited by H. Lange, “Traité du XII^e siècle sur la symbolique des nombres: Odon de Morimond, *Analectica Numerorum et Rerum in Theographiam* (I),” *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* [CIMAGL] 40 [1981]: 183–86) and Guillaume d’Auberive (ibid., xii n. 17).

relying on the descriptive, computational, and limiting powers of number generally to validate the Boethian theory.

As suggested at the outset of this article, I take the new prominence of the numbers one through nine introduced by the algorism (and its use of Indian numerals) to be the leading influence in *Queritur*'s construal of the number-as-paradigm doctrine of Boethius. I thus understand the long fourth section to contain the author's primary reason for the believing in the priority of the nine; the first section's discussion of naming conventions merely introduces the nine,¹⁵ while the second section's accounts of number property and number symbolism, given their extreme brevity, seem more like an attempt to square the new *nouenarius*-as-paradigm theory with traditional numerology than a reason to elevate the nine. In other words, I take it that Johannes had the nine Indian numerals and their efficacy in "practical arithmetic" in mind when handling numerical properties and symbolism. Of course, this is suggested by the work's inclusion in a work titled "*de pratica arismetice*." Even within the second section of *Queritur*, however, there is clear evidence that the author is thinking of Indian numerals. At 46–49 he says, "reason demanded that, because the universe of things is contained within the nine, in the same manner the infinity of numbers should be restrained within the nine and be designated by nine names *and represented by nine figures*." Here he is arguing from the cosmological importance of the nine—argued at 23–46 and discussed below—that the use of nine figures is natural and rational. At 54–56 he repeats the claim that the human invention of nine *figur(a)e* imitates "primeval nature" (cf. Boethius, *De arithmetica* 1.2 quoted above). The statement that there are exactly nine figures matching nine names, with three additional named "boundaries" lacking figures, simply does not match the Roman numeral system (Latin possesses nine names for the nine units, but Roman numerals possess only two figures for the same: I and V). I will not belabor the point that this refers to the digits 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 and the names *decem centum mille*, as is clear from reading the whole text. What I wish to suggest next—and hope to provide evidence for in the following paragraphs—is that,

¹⁵ Naming conventions had already been connected to the number-as-paradigm theory: Boethius (following Nicomachus) established the role of *philosophia* in making infinite multitudes and infinitely divisible magnitudes comprehensible, i.e., finite (*De arithmetica* 1.1), and it was not a large step to make numerical names the instrument of this reduction to comprehensibility. Even when Bernelinus (ca. 1000) makes this connection, however, writing after the introduction of Indian numerals, he does not seem to have the nine "digits" in mind. When he says that "*infinitatem philosophia respuens . . . haec solummodo nomina finxit*" (ed. B. Bakhouché, *Bernelin élève de Gerbert d'Aurillac: Libre d'Abaque*, *Istòria Matematica Occitana* 3 [Pau, 1999], 22), he is referring primarily to the grouped Roman numerals heading the abacus columns: M C X. He does not at this stage mention the numerals on the counters used in every column.

given the brevity and weakness of Johannes' arguments from the "species numerorum et numeralium proportionum" (23–31) and from number symbolism (31–43), it seems most likely that these are not the considerations leading him to believe that the nine must be central to creation. Rather, they are attempts to use traditional disciplines to support an impression taken from decimal calculation.

Although the remarks on number theory and number symbolism are abbreviated, they are of interest in showing the range of approaches available to Johannes (and presumably familiar to his readers, since his exposition is terse) in arguing his point. *Queritur's* treatment of numbers and numerical ratios (23–31) is fairly thin, occupying only five sentences, the first and last of which merely assert the preeminence of the nine in this sphere. In fact, after the bare assertion (24–25) that the nine contains "almost all the species of numerical ratios," Johannes does not return to numerical ratios at all. In Boethius's *De arithmetica* a *proportio* is defined as follows: "A numerical ratio is a certain disposition and coherence, as it were, between two terms, relative to one another."¹⁶ Most likely Johannes had in mind the role of the numbers one through nine in forming the eight recognized musical ratios, called *consonantiae* by Boethius.¹⁷ In these the ratio 9:8 holds a special place as "the common measure of all musical sounds,"¹⁸ and is also, in a tradition going back to Plato's *Timaeus*, associated with mathematical cosmology and the music of the spheres.¹⁹ For this reason Martianus Capella (fl. early fifth century) refers to the nine as "the final part of harmony."²⁰ There is thus a fair amount of material that we may postulate as the grounds for Johannes' claim about numerical proportions and the nine. The fact remains, however, that he has left its recollection up to the reader; compared with the mind-numbing detail he applies to the description of place-value organization in the fourth

¹⁶ "Proportio est duorum terminorum ad se inuicem quaedam habitudo et quasi quodammodo continentia . . ." (Boethius, *De arithmetica* 2.40, CCL 94A:172–73).

¹⁷ Boethius, *De arithmetica* 2.54 (CCL 94A:224), and *De institutione musica* 1.7, 1.10. The primary ratios are *diapason* (octave) = 2:1, *diatessaron* (fourth) = 4:3, *diapente* (fifth) = 3:2, and *tonus* (whole tone) = 9:8.

¹⁸ "... omnium musicorum sonorum mensura communis" (Boethius, *De arithmetica* 2.54, CCL 94A:224).

¹⁹ *Timaeus* 36a–b, followed by Cicero, *De re publica* 6.17–18; Macrobius, *Comm. in Somnium Scipionis* 2.1–23; and Calcidius, *Comm. in Timaeum* 63 (ed. J. H. Waszink, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus* [London and Leiden, 1975], 120–21) and 40–55 (ed. Waszink, 89–103).

²⁰ Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 7.741 (ed. J. Willis [Leipzig, 1983], 269): "nam et harmoniae ultima pars est; ad enneadem enim ab octade collatio percussionis tonus efficitur."

section of the work, this elliptical reference may indicate the merely supporting role numerical proportions and properties play in his thinking.

Johannes is slightly more forthcoming regarding the *species numerorum*, but his account still appears perfunctory. His evidence for attributing to the nine a “plenitudo virtutum” amounts to the statement that the nine is the first number to “contain” a perfect number, a cubic number, and a plane number.²¹ Besides the brevity of this argument, we might also note that there existed a controversy as to the merits of the nine according to number theory. Martianus Capella does not hesitate to declare that the nine “is perfect, and is said to be more perfect because its form derives from the multiplication of the perfect triad.”²² On the other hand, Isidore (ca. 560–636) in his *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt*—in most respects a near copy of Martianus Capella—adds the following: “But other people say that (the nine) is imperfect. For although it holds the end of the first verse, it is always lacking by one; if this one is added to the nine, it fulfills the certain rule of perfection and wholeness.”²³ The idea of true “perfection” (not to be confused with Boethius’s definition of a “perfect” number as one equal to the sum of its factors) residing in the ten goes back to the Pythagoreans²⁴ and neo-Platonists once again, e.g., Pseudo-Iamblichus, *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*.²⁵ In fact, Pseudo-Iamblichus (ca. 250–ca. 325) applies much the same battery of arguments (based on number property and symbolism) on behalf of the ten that Johannes uses for the nine, and rather more convincingly. This text was not available to Johannes, but that is beside the point; even in Martianus Capella the ten is given pride of place, but Johannes chooses not to engage the elevation of the ten over the nine. The traditional preference for the ten is discussed in greater detail below. For now, we may once again note the lack of effort

²¹ In fact it contains these in different ways: it is merely larger than the first cubic and first perfect numbers (eight and six), while the first plane number (three) is a factor of nine. For the definitions of these numerical properties, see n. 63 below.

²² Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 7.741 (ed. Willis, 269): “Enneas quoque perfecta est, et perfectior dicitur, quoniam ex triade perfecta forma eius multiplicata perficitur.”

²³ “At vero (novenarius) secundum alios imperfectus est; nam ut primi versus finem teneat, uno tamen semper indigus est, qui si adiiciatur ad novem, certam perfectionis atque integritatis regulam complet . . .” (Isidore, *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt* 10.52, PL 83:190). The concept of a *versus* is discussed below.

²⁴ For example, Sextus Empiricus records that they swore on the tetractys of the decad (*Against the Mathematicians* 7.94–95), a passage translated and discussed by McKirahan (*Philosophy before Socrates*, 93).

²⁵ *Iamblichi Theologoumena Arithmetica*, ed. V. de Falco (Leipzig, 1922), 79–87. The attribution to Iamblichus is dubious. Even if the work does belong to him, it mostly consists of excerpts from Nicomachus and Anatolius.

Johannes expends on convincing his reader that the nine holds the supreme place in number theory.

The validation of the nine through number symbolism receives a good deal more support in *Queritur* than do numerical properties and ratios, encompassing both scriptural and classical citation and newer scientific theory. The discipline had been something of a battleground between pagans and Christians in late antiquity,²⁶ and it was receiving increased attention from a group of Cistercians in the twelfth century. Editions of the Cistercian numerologists (Odo of Morimond, Geoffroy d'Auxerre, Thibault of Langres, and Guillaume d'Auberive) have been appearing in the *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin*,²⁷ but the work by Guillaume d'Auberive on the numbers four through twelve is as yet unedited and unpublished.²⁸ In any event, the style of the Cistercian work and the interests displayed in it are significantly different from *Queritur*, which both stylistically and topically belongs with the mathematics of the Toledan school.²⁹ Johannes was evidently aware of the tradition of number symbolism (whether or not he knew the work of his Cistercian contemporaries is unclear), but he used it very selectively to support his thesis. The Christian tradition, of which Isidore is a good example, had generally been hostile to the number nine.³⁰ After repeating, *mutatis mutandis* (such as references to pagan deities), the discussion he found in Martianus Capella, Isidore cites several unfavorable groups of nine from scripture (PL 83:190).

²⁶ See S. Cuomo, *Ancient Mathematics* (London and New York, 2001), 249–55.

²⁷ A sort of manifesto and progress report for this much-needed project appears in Lange, "Traité du XII^e siècle sur la symbolique des nombres: Odon de Morimond (III)," *CIMAGL* 69 (1999): v–vi.

²⁸ Several pages from this long work appear in J. Leclercq, "L'arithmétique de Guillaume d'Auberive," in *Analecta Monastica* I, *Studia Anselmiana* 20 (Vatican, 1948), 181–204.

²⁹ Lange, in "Traité du XII^e siècle sur la symbolique des nombres: Geoffroy d'Auxerre et Thibault de Langres," *CIMAGL* 29 (1979): ix–xi, discusses the disregard of these Cistercians for most new developments in this period. More germane to our text, G. Beaujouan observes, "Remarkably, in all this literature on the mysteries of numbers, no mention is made of Arabic numerals, *apices*, or *figure algorismi*" ("Transformation of the Quadrivium," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and G. Constable [Oxford, 1982], 482). Moreover, *Queritur* is written in the very straightforward and non-classicizing style of the Toledan mathematicians, whereas the Cistercian works are both more careful grammatically (e.g., subjunctive in indirect questions, observance of sequence of tenses) and rhetorically ornate (hyperbaton, consonance, concern with rhythm). An outstanding example is chapter XVI of the prologue to Odo of Morimond's *Analectica Numerorum et Rerum in Theographiam* (Lange, "Traité du XII^e siècle sur la symbolique des nombres: Odon de Morimond (I)," 22–25), which the editor describes as a poetic pastiche. One sentence suffices as an example: "Sed et liquidi latices in lucentem redacti et durati glaciem, fluitantis nature perdunt nomen officumque" (22).

³⁰ A useful (though far from complete) guide to medieval number symbolism is H. Meyer, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutung* (Munich, 1987).

Johannes, unlike the Cistercian scholars, generally stays away from scriptural numerology, although he does relate the fact that there are only three “boundaries” to the trinity, “which is the true limit of all things” (44–45). Likewise, he makes the fact that three is the first odd number, and $3^2 = 9$, an occasion to cite—wholly out of context—Virgil’s statement that “god rejoices in the odd number” (42–43). His references to the nine spheres and nine orders of heavenly spirits derive from long-established authorities (see the notes to the text below), but his use of the nine “temperaments” (*complexiones*) again demonstrates familiarity with recent scholarship. Temperaments are the mixtures of the four elements, or of the qualities hot, dry, cold, and wet that they possess.³¹ They were especially important in Galenic medicine, which reached the Latin West largely via Constantine the African’s *Pantegni* (translated in Montecassino before 1087)—Johannes’ probable source³²—and Gerard of Cremona’s translation of Avicenna’s *Canon* (end of the twelfth century). From the *Pantegni* they also passed into natural philosophy, such as the *De elementis* of Marius (fl. 1160) and the *Dragmaticon* of William of Conches (1080–ca. 1154). While both the doctrine and the word preexisted these developments, their combination in the general theory of nine *complexiones*, of which only one is *equalis* and *temperata*, is a cogent sign of this new learning. Johannes’ adoption of this theory not only demonstrates his learning, but it also makes concrete sense of Boethius’s claim that the *elementorum multitudo* displays the number-as-paradigm (*De arithmetica* 2.1, quoted above). Overall, his attempt to find symbolic nines in the celestial and terrestrial realms, while brief, demonstrates the breadth of his new synthesis. On the other hand, the six sentences devoted to this topic (lines 28–46) pale before the more than thirty sentences (lines 104–84) devoted to the wonders of the decimal—or perhaps we should call it “nonal”—organization of numbers.

In fact, this is just what is unusual about *Queritur*: Western mathematicians had long been interested in the “generation” of numbers, and had recognized the importance of decimal organization in this topos, but had generally emphasized the ten rather than the nine. The algorisms, on the other hand, all include a section on “nonal” organization (see below), but refer to place-value structures with terms different from those in *Queritur*. As outlined above in the summary of *Queritur*, Johannes discusses the *generatio* of numbers from

³¹ For discussion of the temperaments, see R. Dales’s comments in his edition of Marius’s *De elementis* (*Marius: On the Elements* [Berkeley, 1976], 27–29), and especially D. Jacquart, “De crasis à complexio: Note sur la vocabulaire du tempérament en latin médiéval” (1984), rpt. in *La science médicale occidentale entre deux renaissances (XII^e s.–XV^e s.)* (Aldershot, 1997), VI (71–76).

³² Compare the passage from the *Pantegni* in n. 66 below with the parallel text of *Queritur*.

the unit at great length (68–103), and uses it to lead into his discussion of the nines. This treatment of the unit has a deep history in and before Boethius.³³ The emphasis on the nine, however, is alien to that tradition. Johannes marvels at the decimal interrelations of the *nouenarii* (123456789, 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90, etc.), which he demonstrates both with an algorism table³⁴ and with other examples (146–49) using Indian numerals. As the table demonstrates, however, elsewhere these decimal positions/groups are referred to as *ordines* or *differentiae*, terms Johannes has scrupulously avoided using (except in the table) in *Queritur* with this meaning; nowhere else in the algorisms are they referred to as *nouenarii*.³⁵ The reason for the novel term may be that it concretizes the place-value meaning of *ordo* or *differentia* in a manner necessary for assimilation to number theory and number symbolism. If, as I have suggested, Johannes wanted to apply insights from the algorisms to these other fields, he needed a specific number and not an abstract concept.

That *Queritur*'s emphasis on the nine derives from such a concretizing of the algorism's place-value oriented calculation³⁶ is further suggested by the pre-algorism historical background, where both pagan and Christian mathematicians had noted this symmetry and decimal interrelation of number, but had always emphasized the ten. For example, Martianus Capella and Isidore call these groups *versus*,³⁷ and the latter even anticipates *Queritur* in referring to 1, 10, 100, and 1000 as "termini numerorum vel limites." Neither focuses

³³ Boethius, *De Arithmetica* 1.7, 2.28 (CCL 94A:19–20, 147–49). The cooperation of the One with the "indefinite dyad" is reported already for Plato (Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1.6 [987b–988a]).

³⁴ The table, reproduced in the text below, is typical of those found in many other works beginning especially in this period, e.g., in the manuscript I have used (Paris, BnF lat. 15461), on fol. 26ra, near the beginning of *Liber mahamaleth*.

³⁵ See the "Lexique des termes d'arithmétique" in Allard, *Le calcul indien*, 253–65.

³⁶ It may be asked why the abacus did not prompt this development earlier, e.g., in Abbo (see next note) or Bernelinus (see n. 15 above), but I think that this question would be misplaced: I am not suggesting that the Indian numerals and algorism caused Johannes' theory, but that their rising popularity may have helped him to reach this innovation.

³⁷ Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 7.745–46 (ed. Willis, 270); Isidore, *De numeris* (PL 83:191). This term already appears in Boethius (*De arithmetica*, passim), but there it appears to refer to any line of numbers (much like the *versus* of poetry) in a diagram. Similarly, Abbo of Fleury (945–1004)—whose interest in abacus calculation centers, like that of our author, on number properties rather than practical mathematics—uses "versus" indiscriminately to refer either to the rows or the columns of the abacus table (61c, in *Abbo of Fleury and Ramsey: Commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine*, ed. A. M. Peden, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi* 15 [Oxford, 2003], 110–11). On Abbo's concern for demonstrating the "pouvoir merveilleux du nombre," see C. Burnett, "Abbon de Fleury, abaci doctor," in *Abbon de Fleury: Philosophie, sciences et comput autour de l'an mil*, Oriens-Occidens. Sciences, mathématiques et philosophie de l'Antiquité à l'Age classique 6 (Paris-Villejuif, 2004), 129–39.

on the role of these *versus* in the generation and ordering of number, however. Pseudo-Iamblichus goes further and explains his statement, “number receives nothing beyond the nine, but everything cycles back within it,”³⁸ by demonstrating that 10 becomes 1, 20 becomes 2, 30 becomes 3, and 100 becomes 1 again by the removal of 1, 2, 3, and 11 groups of nine—referred to as “elemental nines” or “elemental quantities”³⁹—respectively. This seems to be imputing a central, “elemental” role to the nine; however, we should recall, first, that this text was probably not available to Johannes, and, more importantly, that despite this isolated statement, Pseudo-Iamblichus follows the neo-Platonic line by considering the ten the model for the symmetry, stability, and wholeness in the universe.⁴⁰ To my knowledge, the only other joining of the nine with the idea of number-as-paradigm in the West to this point in time is in the Hebrew tradition, as exemplified by *Queritur*’s probable contemporary, Abraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167).⁴¹ In his *Sefer ha-Middot*, he joins Wisdom 11:21 (quoted in *Queritur*, 197) with the assertion that the nine is the ordering principle of number.⁴² His reasons are more fully explained in *Sefer ha-Mispar*, where he emphasizes the properties of nine numerals laid out in a circle (mentioned also in *Sefer ha-Middot*).⁴³ Because this argument is missing from *Queritur*, however, it is unlikely that Johannes used ibn Ezra’s work, even though a Latin translation may have been available. Rather, he seems to have created a new synthesis: beginning from a conviction of the importance

³⁸ *Iamblichi Theologoumena Arithmetica*, ed. de Falco, 76: “οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐννεάδα ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἐπιδέχεται, ἀλλ’ ἀνακυκλεῖ πάντα ἐντὸς ἑαυτῆς.” Given the role of Indian numerals in my argument, it is worth noting that Greek alphabetic numerals were in some respects closer to the Arabic than the Latin system. Most importantly, they assigned a distinct letter to each of the numbers one through ten, then again to each of the decimal units ten to ninety and 100 to 1000; above this, the letters tended to repeat, but with various markers for place value.

³⁹ Ibid: “στοιχειώδεις ποσόν” or “στοιχειώδεις ἐννεάς.”

⁴⁰ Ibid., 79.15.

⁴¹ There is one other partial exception in Ocreatus’s *Algorismi vel helcep decentior est diligentia* (ed. C. Burnett in *Mathematische Probleme im Mittelalter*, ed. M. Folkerts [1996] 221–331), sent. 6: “Sunt autem in unoquoque limite numerorum novem termini, nec plures inveniri vel excogitari possunt; unde, ut opinor, novenarium celestium spirituum ordinem Auctor omnium mutuatus est.” However, as Burnett discusses (241–44), the first part of this quotation is a close echo of *Liber Alchorismi* (ed. Allard, *Le calcul indien*, 68.1–3), and this text belongs also to the algorism tradition in which *Queritur* belongs (see part 2 below).

⁴² This appears only in the Latin translation and not in surviving versions of the Hebrew text. A dual edition is forthcoming from C. Burnett and T. Lévy, a draft of which they have kindly permitted me to use.

⁴³ M. Silberberg, ed. and trans., *Buch der Zahl: Ein arithmetisches Werk von Abraham ibn Ezra* (Dissertation, vereinigte Friedrichs-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1891), 18–19. Silberberg’s notes ad loc. contain useful references, especially to other Hebrew texts. His reference to Nicomachus is actually to one of the excerpts in the Pseudo-Iamblichan text discussed above.

of the nine on the one hand and the Boethian number-as-paradigm model on the other, he has construed the generation of number as a cooperative effort of the (Boethian) unit and the nine, in the process adducing religious and “scientific” number symbolism as well as other formal arithmetical properties. Moreover, as will be discussed below, intertextual and manuscript evidence suggests an origin for his faith in the nine: the nine *figure* or *litere Indorum* discussed in the algorisms and the *Liber mahamaleth*.

2. *QUERITUR* AND THE ALGORISMS

The connection of *Queritur*’s new construal of traditional topoi to the new translations and adaptations of Arabic mathematics, which were appearing in large numbers beginning in the twelfth century, is also supported by the manuscripts and the text itself. In this part of the article I discuss the latter, leaving a brief discussion of the manuscript to part 3.

The algorism texts anticipate *Queritur* in joining the Boethian/Nicomachan unit with the nine in the generation of numbers and in connecting this new insight, via the quadrivium, to the description of the world; they differ, however, in explicitly discussing the causal role of the Indian numerals in this insight, in not calling the groups of nine *nouenarii*, and in not explicitly invoking the number-as-paradigm theory. Of course, it is somewhat misleading to oppose *Queritur* to the algorisms, since *Queritur* actually appears in an algorism, *Liber Alchorismi de pratica arismetice*. Far from wishing to deny this context, what I desire to bring out is the manner in which *Queritur*, though extremely dissimilar to its immediate context in *Liber Alchorismi*,⁴⁴ actually responds to and expands on introductory material in this and other algorisms.

For example, discussion of the unit as the foundation of number occurs even in the algorism remaining closest to a lost Arabic original, the *Dixit Algorizmi*: “And this is what is said in the other book of arithmetic, that one is the root of all number and is beyond number.”⁴⁵ Whether the “other book of

⁴⁴ This second part of the work (unpublished except for Boncompagni’s transcription) discusses such operations as the summing of various series and rules for multiplication and division.

⁴⁵ “Et hoc est quod in alio libro arismetice dicitur quia unum est radix uniuersi numeri et est extra numerum” (ed. Allard, *Le calcul indien*, 1.31–3). Allard’s study and edition of the four primary Latin adaptations of al-Khwārizmī (*Liber Alchorismi*, *Liber Ysagogarum*, *Liber pulveris*, *Dixit Algorizmi*) should be the starting point for all inquiries regarding these texts. M. Folkerts, *Die älteste lateinische Schrift über das indische Rechnen nach al-Ḥwārizmī*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen N.F. 113 (Munich, 1997), takes into account a manuscript of *Dixit Algorizmi* unknown to Allard in 1992.

arithmetic" to which he refers is that of Boethius or perhaps Nicomachus—whom the original author may have consulted in Arabic—is unimportant to the present argument, since Boethius's *Institutio Arithmetica* is little more than a translation of Nicomachus's *Isagoge*. The formula here—the unit is the root of number, but is not a number—is repeated in the introductions to the *Liber Alchorismi* and the *Liber pulveris*, as well as in *Queritur*:

<i>Liber pulveris</i> (ed. Allard, <i>Le calcul indien</i> , 63 [col. 2]; emphasis mine)	<i>Liber Alchorismi</i> (ed. Allard, <i>Le calcul indien</i> , 63–64 [col. 1]; emphasis mine)	<i>Queritur</i> (68–69)
Numeri principium et origo unitas invenitur. <i>Est enim numerus unitatum collectio. . . .</i>	Unitas est origo et prima pars numeri. Omnis enim numerus ex ea componitur, sed ipsa extra omnem numerum intelligitur. . . . numerus sic diffinitur: <i>numerus est unitatum collectio. . . .</i>	Unitas est origo et pars numeri. Omnis enim numerus naturaliter ex unitatibus constat et ipsa omnem numerum natura precedit. . . .

The relation to Boethius is represented most forcibly by the italicized section, which is a quotation of Boethius's definition of number at *De arithmetica* 1.3 (CCL 94A:15): "Numerus est unitatum collectio . . ." The idea that number precedes ("precedit," *Queritur* 24) or is outside ("extra," *Liber Alchorismi* 63; *Dixit Algorizmi* 1) number, which appears extremely frequently in medieval arithmetic, can be derived from this definition: if number is defined as a collection of units, then the units themselves do not qualify. This is connected to another Boethian topos, the distinction between *unitas* and *pluralitas*, in which number is connected with the latter (hence, again, not with the unit).⁴⁶ Finally, the claim in *Dixit Algorizmi* that the unit is the "root (*radix*) of all number," reflected in the table in the statements that the unit is the *origo*, *principium*, and (*prima*) *pars* of number, encompasses both these points and Boethius's last sentence in his chapter on the unit: "It is certain that the unit is the first of all numbers in the natural order and that it (the unit) is properly recognized as the mother of all plurality, however abundant."⁴⁷ We see, then, that the introductions to these algorisms are closely engaged with traditional

⁴⁶ See, e.g., Boethius, *Quomodo trinitas unus deus ac non tres dii* (PL 64:1251): "ubi vero nulla est differentia, nulla est omnino pluralitas, quare nec numerus; igitur unitas tantum."

⁴⁷ "... constat primam esse unitatem cunctorum qui sunt in naturali dispositione numerorum et eam rite totius quamvis prolixae genetricem pluralitatis agnosci" (Boethius, *De arithmetica* 1.7).

arithmetic, and further that *Queritur* (23–24), in expanding this engagement (as detailed above in part 1), begins with points already made in these introductions.

The prologues of *Liber Alchorismi* and *Liber pulveris* go somewhat further than this in integrating the content of the algorisms with the quadrivial arts, anticipating also *Queritur*'s specific fusion of the nine with number symbolism and the number-as-paradigm. In Boethius's introduction to *De arithmetica*, he defines *sapientia* as the comprehension of the things that are ("earum rerum, quae vere sunt, cognitio et integra comprehensio"), and stipulates that the understanding of multitude and magnitude (static or in motion) achieved through the quadrivium is fundamental to any such comprehension (*De arithmetica* 1.1). This is echoed in the algorism prologues, where, before the discussions of the unit and the groups of nine, the authors have affixed the assertion that the *numerorum rationes* are essential to the four disciplines of learning ("in quatuor matheseos disciplinis"), i.e., the quadrivium (ed. Allard, *Le calcul indien*, 62). An identical sentence appearing in both algorisms exemplifies this: "For by these alone we gather the different vicissitudes of time, by these we comprehend the loving ratios of universal concord, by these as well we discover the motions of the stars and the diverse variations of the wandering heavenly bodies."⁴⁸ In addition to exemplifying some of the objects studied by the quadrivium, two of these three items (*temporum uices*, *astrorum motus*) match up with two of Boethius's three examples of the number-as-paradigm theory in *De arithmetica* 1.2 (quoted above at the beginning of part 1). This is a close enough convergence that we may doubt whether it is coincidental. Moreover, all three of Boethius's examples, as well as the "ratios" mentioned in the quotation just given, are eventually picked up in *Queritur*. It is not a large jump to go from discussing the necessity of number for understanding the world, as Boethius does in 1.1, to discussing number's paradigmatic role in the world, as Boethius does in 1.2. I would suggest that such a jump is also envisaged by the prologues of the algorisms in question, which echo the sentiments of Boethius 1.1, but employ the examples of Boethius 1.2. *Queritur* would then appear as a natural elaboration of these prologues.

Of course, introductions to the algorisms also provide that element which is bizarrely missing in *Queritur*, namely, an explicit discussion of the revelatory role of the nine Indian numerals. The author of *Dixit Algorizmi*, for example,

⁴⁸ "His namque solis et diuersas uices temporum colligimus, his mundane concordie amicas proportiones comprehendimus, his etiam astrorum motus et multiplices errantium siderum uariationes inuenimus" (ed. Allard, *Le calcul indien*, 62).

explains that he decided to write, “cum uidissem Yndos constituisse IX literas in uniuerso numero suo” (ed. Allard, *Le calcul indien*, 1.12–13). The authors of *Liber Alchorismi* and *Liber pulveris* are not quite so explicit, but both do credit the *Indi*: the latter, after describing the decimal ordering of numbers by *limites* or *differentie* (ibid., 66.25 ff., 68.25 ff.); the former (Johannes), both before and after (64.8–9). Although Johannes does not use the term *nouenarii* at this stage, he does point out, “Constat ergo unumquemque limitem 9 numeros continere” (68.15–17), and makes this discovery the occasion for the Indians’ invention of the nine numerals (68.25–29). It is hard to say why *Queritur* does not mention the numerals more explicitly, and I will not introduce speculations on this matter here. Instead, I wish to emphasize that the numerals and the place-value structuring of number that they represent are strongly linked in the algorism tradition and in *Liber Alchorismi*. Given *Queritur*’s close association with these texts, this provides further evidence for my contention that its exaltation of the nine is linked to these numerals.

III. THE MANUSCRIPTS

The purpose of this part of the study is not to present an exhaustive description or analysis of the manuscripts of *Liber Alchorismi*, which (along with all algorism manuscripts) are listed by Allard.⁴⁹ Rather, I wish to concentrate briefly on the manuscript I have taken as the primary witness for my text, Paris, BnF lat. 15461. Allard concludes that this text and its sister, BnF lat. 7359, offer the best readings, and of these two Burnett prefers BnF lat. 15461.⁵⁰ I have also used Boncompagni’s 1857 transcription of BnF lat. 7359, as I indicate in the apparatus. Descriptions of BnF lat. 15461, besides those in Allard and Burnett, appear in Delisle’s *Inventaire* and (most exhaustively) in A.-M. Vlasschaert’s (unpublished) doctoral thesis.⁵¹

My interest here is merely to indicate briefly the milieu of the text’s production, which is suggested by the other works in the manuscript. The manuscript contains three works: first, both parts of *Liber Alchorismi de practica arismetice*; second, an ecclesiastical computus; third, another work on calculation called *Liber mahamalet*. These works—as already discussed by

⁴⁹ Allard, *Le calcul indien*, xxxvii–xl.

⁵⁰ Ibid., lx; see the stemma at lviii; and Burnett, “John of Seville,” 66.

⁵¹ R. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits conservés à la bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 8823–18613* (Paris, 1863–71), s.v. 15461; A.-M. Vlasschaert, “Le ‘Liber mahamalet’: Édition critique, traduction et commentaire,” 4 vols. (thesis, Université Catholique de Louvain, 2002–3), 4:55–59.

Burnett,⁵² to which this discussion owes a great deal—place *Queritur* in mid-twelfth century Toledo, an important center for translation of Arabic science and mathematics. First, the reference to the transfer of the relics of St. Eugenius in the computus both connects this work to Toledo and establishes a *terminus post quem* of 1156. Second, the *Liber mahamaaleth* and *Liber Alchorismi* are closely linked to Dominicus Gundisalvi (ca. 1110–1181), arch-deacon of Cuéllar and an important member of the Toledan “school” of translators.⁵³ As Burnett—following upon Allard’s observations—has remarked, a passage in Gundisalvi’s *De divisione philosophiae* suggests acquaintance with *Liber Alchorismi*. Moreover, Burnett provides a list of parallel passages constituting strong evidence that the author of *De divisione* utilized the *Liber mahamaaleth* (or vice versa⁵⁴). On the basis of these (and other) observations, Burnett proposes that the author of *Liber Alchorismi*, given as “magister Johannes,” is the same as the “magister Johannes” and the “Johannes Hispanus/is” who collaborated with Gundisalvi in other translations/adaptations of Arabic works. Moreover, he suggests that either Gundisalvi or someone close to him, perhaps Johannes, probably wrote the *Liber mahamaaleth*.⁵⁵ The connection to the Toledo school is further strengthened by the fact that two other manuscripts written in the same hand—Paris, BnF lat. 9335 and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ross. lat. 579—contain the works of Gerard of Cremona (1114–87), another leading member of the Toledo group.⁵⁶

It remains to be noted, regarding the interrelations of these works and these translators, and the relevance of *Queritur* to them, that a sizable passage in *Queritur* is also found in *Liber mahamaaleth*. This passage occupies lines 6–19 in the text below and appears in Vlasschaert’s collated edition without significant variations.⁵⁷ A good portion of this passage—particularly lines 6–8—is strikingly awkward Latin, which calls into question the author’s choice to

⁵² Burnett, “John of Seville,” 63–70.

⁵³ For a summary of translators at work in this period, see M.-T. d’Alverny, “Translations and Translators,” in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Benson and Constable, 421–62. For the Toledan group in particular, see Burnett, “John of Seville,” *passim*.

⁵⁴ Because “mahamaaleth” still seems to be a technical term inside the *Liber mahamaaleth* and “Alcorismus” is a name, whereas these appear to be only parts of the names of books in *De divisione*, Burnett prefers to see the former as prior (“John of Seville,” 71). I discuss this below.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 64–70; Allard, *Le calcul indien*, xx. Vlasschaert (“Le ‘Liber mahamaaleth’” 4:27–34) considers the possible authors of the *Liber mahamaaleth* at length but chooses to withhold judgment.

⁵⁶ Burnett, “John of Seville,” 66. Cf. Vlasschaert, “Le ‘Liber mahamaaleth’” 4:56.

⁵⁷ Vlasschaert, “Le ‘Liber mahamaaleth’” 1:3.11–24. Vlasschaert first remarked upon this correspondence, as Burnett notes (“John of Seville,” 67 n. 40).

cite verbatim. This might suggest that *Liber Alchorismi* and *Liber mahama-leth* share an author, or that their authors were closely associated. At least, it might corroborate the connections already suggested by the reference in Gundisalvi's *De divisione* to (magister Johannes') *Liber Alchorismi*, the known collaboration of Gundisalvi and "magister Johannes/Johannes Hispanus" on two other works,⁵⁸ the parallel passages in *De divisione* and *Liber mahama-leth*, and the appearance of *Liber mahama-leth* and *Liber Alchorismi* together in this manuscript, itself strongly associated with the Toledan translators. These details suggest a place (central Spain), time (second third of twelfth century), and group of scholar/translators. Unfortunately, this picture cannot be made more specific at present. Burnett himself concludes that "the hunt for the identity of John of Seville and Master John (of Spain) can only bring us to a certain point;"⁵⁹ this leaves one unknown regarding the *Liber Alchorismi*. Another is the relation of parts one and two of this text, although I have shown above that the content of *Queritur* is well anticipated in the first part of the text. A third is the authorship of *Liber mahama-leth*; some progress has been made since J. Sesiano's mention of "l'auteur . . . dont le nom ne peut même pas faire l'objet de conjectures,"⁶⁰ but there remain a number of possibilities.⁶¹

Though we may not be approaching certainty in all matters, there is still much progress to be made both in editing texts and in reconstructing the background and interconnectedness of twelfth century intellectuals. *Queritur* presents us with yet another vantage point on the fusion of traditional (Boethian arithmetic and number symbolism) and "new" learning (algorisms and Indian numerals) in twelfth-century Spain, and into the network of scholar-translators active at this time.

⁵⁸ Burnett, "John of Seville," 63.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 78.

⁶⁰ J. Sesiano, "Le *Liber mahama-leth*, un traité mathématique latin composé au XII^e siècle en Espagne," in *Histoire des mathématiques arabes. Actes du colloque (Alger 1, 2, 3 décembre 1986)* (Algiers, 1988), 70.

⁶¹ See n. 54 above.

Queritur cur non omnes uel plurimos numeros propriis nominibus designamus, | uel cur non semper per adiectionem nouorum sed post decem per repetitionem primorum semper numeramus. Ad quod dicitur, quia non fuit possibile ut omnes numeri propria nomina haberent, idcirco quod numerorum
 5 in infinitum crescit multitudo, nominum autem in qualibet lingua infinita non potest esse inuentio. Cum enim in omni lingua certa et terminata sint instrumenta et eorum definite naturaliter modulationes, quibus uox articulata formatur,⁶² et unde litterarum figure apud omnes gentes et earum uarie sed diffinite sunt secundum ordinem preponendi et postponendi ad representanda rerum
 10 omnium nomina compositiones, necessario omnes numeri, cum sint infiniti, nomina non potuerunt nec debuerunt habere singuli; precipue cum et homines in omni pene re numeris utentes nimis impedirentur, si in numerationibus suis infinitam numeralium nominum multitudinem in promptu semper habere numerandi necessitate cogerentur. Idcirco necesse fuit infinitam numerorum
 15 progressionem certis limitibus terminare, paucis nominibus illos designare, ne cogeretur homo in numerando per nouas additiones tam numerorum quam nominum semper procedere, sed per repetitionem priorum breuem quantalibet summam paucis nominibus possit comprehendere. Unde cum omnes numeros habere nomina fuerit impossibile, et aliquos necesse, ratio exegit,
 20 natura predicante, ut ex omnibus numeris soli 12 nomina haberent: tres limites, uidelicet denarius centenarius et millenarius, et nouem primi numeri ab uno usque ad nouem infra decem constituti.

Codici Paris. BnF lat. 15461 [=A] sum praecipue innixus, licet et Librum mahamaleth (Vlasschaert) [=L] contulerim et editionem Boncompagni (Parisini BnF lat. 7359) [=B] sim perscrutatus. Lectiones codicis A dedi, nisi aliter notavi.

1 omnes] omnis AB 3-5 non . . . multitudo] cf. L (Vlasschaert, 1:3.10-11): numerus crescit in infinitum. Unde singuli numeri non potuerunt propriis nominibus designari 6-19 Cum enim . . . necesse fere verbatim sequitur L (Vlasschaert, 1:3.11-24) 6-7 sint instrumenta AB: sint loquendi instrumenta L 8 et unde AB: unde et L 10 omnes . . . infiniti AB: idcirco cum numeri sint infiniti L 14 Idcirco] unde L 15 illos om. L 16 additiones] additiones L 17-18 sed . . . comprehendere om. L 18-19 Unde cum . . . fuerit AB: Quoniam et . . . fuit L 19 necesse] hic consensus operum L et AB terminatur, unde L sic pergit: et quoniam necesse erat eos inter se multiplicari, idcirco dispositi sunt per ordines sive differentias 20 predicante B: predictantae (sic) A

⁶² The *vox articulata* and its relation to *litterae* are basic elements of late antique and medieval linguistic (i.e., grammatical) theory. See, e.g., Priscian, *Inst. Gramm.* 1.1 (ed. M. Hertz in vol. 2 of H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* [Leipzig, 1855; rpt. Hildesheim, 1961], 5): "Vocis autem differentiae sunt quattuor: articulata, inarticulata, literata, illiterata. Articulata est, quae coartata, hoc est copulata cum aliquo sensu mentis eius, qui loquitur, profertur. . . . Literata est, quae scribi potest." Also 1.3 (ed. Hertz, 6): "Littera est pars minima vocis compositae, hoc est quae constat compositione litterarum, minima autem, quantum ad totam comprehensionem vocis literatae."

Quam rationem nouenarius pre aliis omnibus numeris proprio priuilegio merito uindicauit, ut pote continens in se omnes pene species numerorum et numeralium proportionum. In ternario etenim quamuis deo dicato predicta ratio consistere non debuit, quia sibi deerat primus perfectus, qui est senarius. Sed nec propter hoc in senario, quia deerat ei primus cubus qui est octonarius. Sed nec ideo in octonario, quia deerat ei prima uera superficies, que est in nouenario.⁶³ Ex hac ergo plenitudine uirtutum nouenarius promeruit ut in se ratio numerandi et numeros appellandi consisteret, ultra quam nisi tres tantum limites, nullus numerus proprium nomen haberet. Nimirum cum ad instar nouenarii tam celestia quam terrestria, tam corpora quam spiritus formata et ordinata esse uideantur.⁶⁴ Nouem enim sunt spere celestium corporum, nouem etiam sunt ordines celestium spirituum, nouem etiam complexioniones omnium corporum.⁶⁵ Nouem igitur debuerunt esse compositiones numerorum in quibus solis tota consisteret infinitas numerorum, sicut ex complexionibus nouem uniuersitas corporum. Sicut enim in complexionibus una est equalis et altera inequalis, una uero tantum temperata; sic et in numeris unus est par, alius impar, et inter omnes sola est unitas ex nulla parte sibi dissimilis, semper eadem, semper equalis.⁶⁶ Sic creature a similitudine sui creatoris qualicumque modo

⁶³ The preceding sentences are based on key concepts in Boethian arithmetic. In Boethius's terms, all numbers are either "superabundant" (*superfluus*), "imperfect/diminished" (*imperfectus/deminutus*), or "perfect" (*perfectus*), the question being whether the sum of a number's "parts" (i.e., factors) produces an "immoderate plentitude" (*immoderata plenitudo*, superabundant) or a state of "poverty" (*uelut paupertate inopes*, imperfect) with relation to the number itself; see *De arithmetica* 1.19–20 (CCL 94A:48–50). The number whose parts equal the number itself is said to be a "an emulator of virtue, who . . . holding the middle term, and being equal to its parts, neither grows fat with abundance, nor suffers with want" ("virtutis scilicet aemulator, qui nec supervacua progressionem porrigitur, nec contracta rursus deminutione remittitur, sed medietatis obtinens terminum suis aequus partibus nec crassatur abundantia, nec eget inopia . . .," p. 50). Cubic, plane, and other "solid" numbers in ancient arithmetic were thought of in terms of the shapes that could be formed with them; see M. Masi, *Boethian Number Theory* (Amsterdam, 1983), 131–45. Thus the units constituting a *superficies* can be laid out as points to describe a plane (*De arithmetica* 2.6, more explicitly at Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 2.6), while the factors of a cubic number (here $2^3 = 8$) permit equal measurements of depth, width, and height (*De arithmetica* 2.25).

⁶⁴ This is a close echo of a frequently quoted Boethian sentence, as discussed on p. 3 above.

⁶⁵ The nine spheres are those of the five planets then recognized, that of the earth, the sun, the moon, and that of the fixed stars. The nine orders of spirits are *angeli, archangeli, throni, dominationes, principatus, potestates, virtutes, cherubim, seraphim* (cf. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 6.3, PG 3:200–201); see H. Meyer, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutung* (Munich 1987), col. 582. I discuss the nine *complexiones* in part 1; the probable source (direct or indirect) is Constantine the African's *Pantegni*, theoric 1.6.

⁶⁶ Since the standard text of Constantine (*Isaac, Opera omnia* [Lyon, 1515]) is not easily available, I quote at length: "est enim quantitas equalis et inequalis. equalis ergo dicetur temperata. inequalis intemperata: que quattuor qualitatibus aut duabus superat. illud autem

non recedent dum intra illum numerum se continent, quia primo impari in se multiplicato generatur qui post unitatem deo solus consecratus est, quia numero deus impare gaudet.⁶⁷ Unde et soli tres limites preter nouenarium inter alios nomina sortiti sunt, ut per hoc uidelicet trinitatis, qui uerus limes est omnium, A et Ω, principium et finis,⁶⁸ qualemcumque similitudinem teneant et a radice nouenarii numquam recedant. Idcirco igitur ratio postulauit ut quia uniuersitas rerum intra nouenarium continetur, similiter et numerorum infinitas intra nouenarium coartaretur nouem et nominibus designaretur et nouem figuris representaretur. Omne enim exemplum similitudinem sui retinet exemplaris; alioquin non esset alterum alterius exemplar uel exemplum. Et quia ut predictum est pene omnia condita sunt ad instar nouenarii, ipsa quoque numerorum infinitas rationabiliter debuit sub nouenario coarctari, ut numerus etiam ab ea forma non discederet ad quam creator cuncta componeret, et quam a numero rerum uniuersitas mutuaret. Unde et homines primeuam naturam imitantes non nisi solis nouem numeris nomina imposuerunt et ad omnes representandos non nisi nouem figuras adinuenerunt. Sed quia quedam species numeri adhuc | deerat quam nouenarius intra se non continebat, scilicet numerus superfluous, qui primus est duodenarius, ideo post nouenarium tribus tantum limitibus nomina sunt imposita, ut nouenarius cum radice sua, scilicet ternario, omnes dignitates et proprietates numeri intra se containeret, et nichil proprietatis nichil misterii in numeris possit inueniri quod in toto nouenario cum radice sua non uidetur contineri. Cum igitur non omnes nec plurimi sed pauci numeri propriis nominibus necessario fuerant designandi, propter predictas causas nouem tantum numeris et tribus limitibus nomina sunt indita, ut

41 recedent] recederet AB 44 qui AB fors. perperam pro quae (scil. trinitas)?
 48 coartaretur] coarctaretur B 55–56 representandos B : representandas A 59 imposita] impositam u.v. A, sed haec pars obscura : compositam B 63 designandi B : designandi et A

complexionem esse dicimus quod ex elementorum commixtione conficitur. si ergo ex elementis corpus compositum in quantitate et qualitate equale sit: illud erit temperatum. si ignea pars superet calidum est. si autem aera (sic): humidum. si aquea: frigidum. si terrea: siccum. si ignea et aerea: calidum et humidum. si aerea et aquea: frigidum et humidum. si aquosa et terrea: frigidum et siccum. si ignea et terrea: calidum et siccum. novem ergo sunt complexionem. viii. inequales et una equalis." In making this comparison, our author's point (despite unclear wording) seems to be that just as only one of the nine temperaments is well-balanced and moderate (*equalis* or *temperata*), similarly of the nine digits only one (i.e., the unit) is perfectly "balanced" in being neither even nor odd.

⁶⁷ Virgil, *Eclogues* 8.73–75. ("terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore / licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum / effigiem duco; numero deus impare gaudet").

⁶⁸ Apoc 1:8 ("Ego sum Alpha et Omega principium et finis dicit Dominus Deus qui est et qui erat et qui venturus est Omnipotens").

65 per commoditatem paucitatis humanis usibus melius deseruirent et rerum occulta misteria quibuscumque signis exprimerent et a nature rationibus non discederent. De his actenus.

Unitas est origo et pars numeri. Omnis enim numerus naturaliter ex unitatibus constat et ipsa omnem numerum natura precedit quoniam simplex est;⁶⁹ et
 70 quia simplex est, ideo per multiplicationem sui nichil nisi id per quod multiplicatur generare potest, quod non fit in aliis qui simplices non sunt. Ex cuiuslibet enim numeri multiplicatione in se uel in alium necesse est alium provenire diuersum. Unitas autem per se multiplicata non generat nisi se. Semel enim unum unum est. Per quemcumque enim numerum multiplicaueris
 75 non nisi ipsum per quem multiplicas efficis. Et quia nullus ex ea generatur nisi ille in quem prius ipsa multiplicatur, idcirco in principio cum nichil esset cui ipsa adiungi posset ad generationem primi numeri, necesse fuit ipsam in se congeminari et a se quodam modo alterari, ut ex se ipsa et ex se altera quasi ex diuersis posset aliquid generari. Et hec est prima numeri generatio que
 80 apparet in binario. Unde et principium alteritatis dicitur, quoniam ex unitate alterata genitus est.⁷⁰ Ideo etiam sibi soli et nulli alii contingit quod ex sui in se multiplicatione itidem quod ex aggregatione provenit. Non enim constat ex numero. Et quoniam preter binarium adhuc non erat nisi unitas, ideo ipsa binario tamquam uir femine iungitur, ex quorum copula ternarius nascitur, qui
 85 post unitatem primus impar et masculus uocatur. Numerus etenim par femina dicitur quasi mollis eo quod facile soluitur,⁷¹ sed masculus impar quasi fortis indiuisibilis. Unitas autem nec par nec impar est actu, unde unitas in se nec femina nec masculus est actu, sed potestate utrumque. Unde quando cum femina iungitur inde masculus, scilicet impar, generatur. Quando uero cum mas-
 90 culo coit, feminam quia parem gignit. Unde ex prima generatione unitatis non nisi femina nascitur, scilicet par, quia binarius. Decebat enim ut unitas in

68 pars] fort. addendum prima. (cf. p. 14) 83 ipsa] ipsa in A : ipsam B

⁶⁹ Cf. the similar passages in *Liber pulveris*, *Liber Alchorismi*, and Boethius discussed on p. 14 above.

⁷⁰ Cf. Boethius, *De arithmetica* 2.28 (CCL 94A:148): "Paris vero ordinis binarius numerus princeps est, quae dualitas, cum in eodem ordine paritatis sit, tum principium totius est alteritatis." Also Calcidius, *Comm. in Timaeum* 53 (ed. Waszink, 102): "Ipsorum porro numerorum initia et principia singularitas et item duitas." The idea is a commonplace in the twelfth century; see, e.g., Thierry of Chartres (or a member of his school), *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* 30 (ed. N. M. Häring, *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, Studies and Texts 20 [Toronto, 1971], 568): "Omnem alteritatem unitas precedit quoniam unitas precedit binarium qui est principium omnis alteritatis."

⁷¹ Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 11.2.17 ("Mulier vero a mollitie, tamquam mollier, detracta littera vel mutata, appellata est mulier").

procreatione prime sobolis non nisi uice uiri, scilicet dignioris, uteretur, et ex ea quasi uiro femina nasceretur. Prima etenim femina ex uiro non primus uir ex femina.⁷² Unde in secundo gradu quoniam unitas femine, scilicet binario iungitur, ternarius qui est masculus generatur. In tercio uero gradu unitas coniungitur masculo et femina procedit, scilicet quaternarius. Similiter in ceteris usque in infinitum. Unde unitas nec debuit esse par nec impar, quia si par tantum esset, quando paribus iungeretur, sicut ex coniunctione duarum feminarum, nichil procrearetur; si uero impar tantum esset imparibus iuncta, tamquam masculus cum masculo nichil procrearet. Unde necesse fuit ut neutrum esset actu, sed potestate utrumque, ut cum secundum utriusque sexus potestatem omnibus nascentibus uicissim iungeretur, fecunda numerorum soboles in infinitum propagaretur.

Sed quia numerorum prima et naturalis generatio secundum predictum modum uidebatur sine fine multiplicari, placuit postmodum diligentie quorundam hominum eam ad instar humane generationis quibusdam certis gradibus et limitibus terminari. Hominum etenim sicut et numerorum generatio ab uno secundum sexum geminato per masculum et feminam descendens in infinitum progreditur. Sed humana cura postmodum gradus et limites adinuenit, quibus cognationes inter homines designauit. Ut licet ab uno se omnes eque descendisse cognoscerent, | tamen propter assignatos gradus alii ad alios potius pertinere cognationis gratia non dubitarent, et de uno genere esse dicerentur quicumque sub eisdem cognationis gradibus inuenirentur. Similiter et in numeris post naturalem eorum compositionem et essentiam, humana industria radices nodos et limites, sicut in hominibus truncos et gradus adinuenit, et numerorum generationes per nouenarios distinxit. Ut numeri qui ex eodem limite nascerentur, usque ad nonum gradum, omnes uno cognationis nomine communi ad aliorum differentiam uocarentur; qui autem aliquem nouenarium excederent, ad aliam omnino cognationem pertinere se se cognoscerent. Unde ad distinguendas huiusmodi numerorum cognationes humana adinuentio quosdam appellauit digitos, quosdam articulos, quosdam uero compositos. Illos autem ex quibus omnes isti nascuntur uocauit limites, quasi singularum generationum primos parentes. Illos enim quos in prima creatione per aggregationem sui unitas genuerat, usque ad nouem, digitos quia ab unitate primogenitos uocari instituit. Ut hic primus nouenarius digitorum siue unitatum nouenarius diceretur, cuius nouenarii primi unitas limes et primus esset, ut

13va

102 potestatem *B* : potestate *A* 125 Ut] Et *AB*.

⁷² Cf. Gen 2:23 ("dixitque Adam hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea haec vocabitur virago quoniam de viro sumpta est").

pote quos primum ex se unitas genuisset. Post hunc autem sequitur secundus nouenarius qui est decenorum siue articulorum. Et huius nouenarii sicut et primi limes unitas est, sed decupla primi. Post hunc uero nouenarium decenorum sequitur tercius nouenarius centenorum, cuius quoque limes unitas est, sed decupla secundi. Post hunc autem tercium sequitur quartus nouenarius millenorum, cuius quoque limes unitas est, sed decupla tercii, et sic usque ad infinitum. Et quia omnes numeri ab unitate sunt geniti, merito ipsa etiam constituta est limes omnium nouenariorum pro uarietate positionum; uidelicet ut que ex se species omnium genuerat numerorum, eadem etiam limes esset limitum pro diuersitate locorum. Unde in principio omnium generationum prima et limes ponitur, ut ex hoc cunctorum mater esse comprobetur. Unde fit ut unitas, sicut in prima creatione, natura primus limes, per aggregationem sui cum ipsis genuerat digitos, sic etiam in secunda institutione placuit ut ipsa eadem omnis limes aggregata primis generet compositos, multiplicata per primos procreet articulos. Digi-
 130 ti ergo sunt dicti numeri qui ab unitate usque ad nouem naturaliter sunt geniti. Articuli uero qui per multiplicationem primorum a ceteris limitibus generantur. Compositi uero numeri dicuntur qui ex digitis et limitibus siue articulis similiter iunctis nascuntur, dicti compositi
 135 tamquam ex diuersis generibus procreati.⁷³ Unde et a quibus substantiam sortiuntur, eorum etiam proprietatem secuntur. Cum enim dicitur 12 uel 23 uel centum uiginti, ex digito et limite uel et ex articulo compositi sunt. Sed quod est in eis de limite uel articulo in ui limitis uel articuli sumitur, scilicet pro
 140 decem uel pro 20 uel pro c. Quod autem de nouenario digitorum est, pro tot unitatibus sumitur, quot in ipso contineri uidentur. Omnes itaque nouenarii ad instar prioris ordinati sunt, unde singuli habent unitates limites, habent binarios suos, habent ternarios suos, et sic usque ad nouem consequuntur singulos, sicut subiecta dispositio declarat.

133–34 etiam constituta B : inconstituta (sic) A 137–39 Unde . . . digitos] *interpunctio codicis A*: unde fit ut unitas sicut in prima creatione. natura primus limes. per aggregationem sui etc. 152–53 et sic . . . declarat A : et sic usque ad nouem consequenter singulos sic subiecta dispositio declarat B

⁷³ In other words, digits (*digiti*), or the “first (numbers),” are the numbers 1 through 9; boundaries (*limites*) are 10, 100, and 1000; articles (*articuli*) are formed by multiplying the digits by the boundaries (e.g., 20, 200, 2000); composite numbers (*compositi*) are formed by adding digits to boundaries (e.g., 14, 104, 1004) or digits to articles (e.g. 34, 304, 3004) or articles to boundaries (e.g., 130, 3030), or all three together (e.g., 134, 3334). Our author does not add that since Latin lacks names for “million,” “billion,” etc., numbers above 9999 are formed by multiplying boundaries by boundaries (e.g., one million is “a thousand times a thousand”), then adding the other operations. This entire exposition is very similar to that given in the algorisms, e.g., *Liber Alchorismi* (ed. Allard, *Le calcul indien*, 64–68).

Diffe- rentia centies millies milleno- rum	Diffe- rentia decies milies mileno- rum	Diffe- rentia milies mileno- rum	Diffe- rentia centies mileno- rum	Diffe- rentia decies milleno- rum	Diffe- rentia milleno- rum	Diffe- rentia centeno- rum	Diffe- rentia deceno- rum	Diffe- rentia unita- tum siue digito- rum
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9

155 Sicut enim in primo limite bis unum faciebat binarium unitatum, ita in
secundo limite bis decem efficit binarium decenorum, qui est 20, et in tercio
limite bis centum binarium centenorum, qui est ducenti, et sic in singulis per
singulos usque ad nouem. Et quia ex numeris nichil nisi per agregationem aut
multiplicationem primi nouenarii nascitur, idcirco in omnibus in se iteratur, et
160 omnibus prior esse comprobatur, quia ante omnes genitus naturalem institu-
tionem adhuc seruare uidetur. Unde etiam ipsa unitas, que mater est omnium,
in quocumque limite fuerit siue per agregationem siue per multiplicationem
iuxta numerum primogenitorum non nisi nouem tantum numeros gignit.

165 Sed quia post nouem naturali ordine decem sequitur et ipsa semper post
nouem nisi in primo limite humana institutione posita inuenitur, idcirco ne-
cesse est ut per unitatem post primum nouenarium positam decem signifi-
centur, et sic ipsa ex natura loci in denarium genita secundus limes fiat
decenorum, sicut prius simpliciter limes fuerat unitatum, ut eadem esset mater
articularum siue compositorum quam constabat matrem etiam fuisse digito-
rum. Et quia post nouem semper decem naturaliter sequitur in quo loco sem-
170 per unitas ponitur, ideo post nouenarium decenorum sequitur iterum unitas
tercius limes, qui est centenorum; et sic semper post quemlibet nouenarium
unitas sequitur limes sequentium. Quoniam autem omnis limes excepto primo
post precedentem nouenarium sequitur, ideo ipse factus denarius precedentis
limitis semper decuplus inuenitur, quia ipse post quemcumque nouenarium

158 in omnibus in se AB, sed in se difficile sensu
171 centenorum] decenorum AB

167 simpliciter] multipliciter B

175 fuerit ex decuplatione precedentis limitis nascitur. Et quia omnes articuli ex
multiplicatione sui limitis per primos nascuntur, necesse est, ne de genere
uideantur, ut suorum limitum regulam sequantur, uidelicet ut sicut limites
decupli sunt precedentium limitum, ita et quia ex eorum multiplicatione
180 numeri nascuntur, precedentium numerorum decupli similiter inueniantur.
Sicut enim secundus limes decuplus est primi, ita et articuli decenorum
decupli sunt digitorum; et sicut limes tercius decuplus secundi, ita et articuli
centenorum decupli sunt ad articulos decenorum. Sic semper sequentes limi-
tes articuli compositi, qui interiacent, decupli sunt precedentium limitum arti-
culorum compositorum singuli singulorum.⁷⁴ Omnes itaque limites et articuli
185 et compositi sicut et digiti sub nouenario sunt constituti, ita ut primus noue-
narius sit digitorum, secundus articulorum, tercius compositorum, et sic ceteri
huiusmodi. Sic ergo placuit ut omnis numerus in nouenarium quasi in ulti-
mum gradum sui generis terminaretur, et post nouenarium unitas precedentis
limitis decupla, quia post nouem decima, omnium nouenariorum limes consti-
190 tueretur. Et sic per generationes suas a limitibus tamquam a progenitoribus
suis descendens numerorum fecunda progenies tota per nouenos gradus dis-
tincta in infinitum extenditur. Sic nouenarius principatum tenet in omnibus
infinita restringens, restricta distinguens, qui tamen a limite incipit, et limite
terminatur, ut non ipse auctor rerum, sed in animo auctoris rerum exemplar
195 fuisse ostendatur.⁷⁵ Unde ipse a ternario in se multiplicato generatur. Qui
enim cuncta condidit ipsum quoque fecit ad cuius exemplar cetera formauit.
Omnia enim deus fecit in numero pondere et mensura,⁷⁶ unde et ipsum nu-
merum, si factus est, ad numerum fecit, ut numerus leges numeri non ex-
cederet, ad cuius formam cetera componi deberent. Sed numerus ad quem
200 numerus creatus est, sic quidem increatus est.

178 quia] qui *B*, *forsan recte*

181 decuplus] *add. est B*

196 formauit] *formantur B*

University of California, Berkeley.

⁷⁴ Each boundary is ten times the preceding, as $10 \times 10 = 100$, $100 \times 10 = 1000$. Further, since the articles of any boundary are formed by multiplying the boundary by the digits, these are also ten times their preceding articles, as $70 \times 10 = 700$, $700 \times 10 = 7000$. The composite numbers "fall between" these large divisions, such that sometimes it will be precisely true that they are ten times the preceding (e.g., $72 \times 10 = 720$), but sometimes there will be no integer which is one tenth of a composite (e.g., $723 \div 10$).

⁷⁵ This is another close echo of Boethius but with a deliberate change, as I discuss in part I.

⁷⁶ Sap 11:21 ("omnia mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti").

HUGH METEL AND THE
FLORIDUS ASPECTUS OF PETER RIGA
 (STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN
 PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ
 PHILLIPPS 1694)

Christopher J. McDonough

THE rich variety of poetry gathered in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz Philipps 1694 has long been known,¹ yet little of it has been edited or closely studied.² Dating from the second half of the twelfth

¹ The abbot of Saint-Étival, Charles Louis Hugo, *Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta: Historica, dogmatica, diplomatica*, 2 vols. (Saint-Étival, 1725–31), 2:413–18, edited a number of poems from the final portion of the manuscript, which he attributed to Hugh Metel. Wilhelm Wattenbach, “Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte,” *Neues Archiv* 17 (1892): 351–84, at 378–84, printed several other poems from the collection; of the remainder he recorded only the titles, and the opening and closing words of the poems left unedited by C. L. Hugo. See also André Wilmart, “Le florilège de Saint-Gatien: Contribution à l’étude des poèmes d’Hildebert et de Marbode,” *Revue bénédictine* 48 (1936): 147–81 and 235–58, esp. 169 and 243. I warmly thank Dr. Wolfgang Maaz for his scholarly assistance and for using his good offices to refer me to Dr. Renate Schipke, Wiss. Bibliothekarin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. At my request Dr. Schipke generously went beyond the call of duty to confirm and correct many readings that were illegible in the paper prints of Philipps 1694. Dr. Delphine Quereux-Sbaï, Associate Curator of the Bibliothèque de Reims, was extremely helpful in identifying the relevant folios from Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 1275 and in promptly supplying photocopies of them. I am also indebted to Professor Constant Mews for reading an earlier draft of this paper and suggesting improvements in both presentation and contents, and to Dr. Jonathan Black for valuable bibliographical information and, as always, for his critical acumen.

² Wattenbach printed the prologue and the first three lines of the long poem on the marriage of Mercury and Philology; see “Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte,” 357–58. A complete edition was published by André Boutemy, “Une version médiévale inconnue de la légende d’Orphée,” in *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont*, Collection Latomus 2 (Brussels, 1949), 43–70; Boutemy’s ascription of the poem to Godfrey of Reims has been contested by Paul Klopsch and Ernst Walter, “Das Gedicht von der Hochzeit Merkurs und der Philologie (Walther 20338),” *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 8 (1973): 142–51, at 149–51, and by Jean-Yves Tilliette, “Le retour d’Orphée: Réflexions sur la place de Godefroid de Reims dans l’histoire littéraire du XI^e siècle,” in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies, Cambridge, September 9–12 1998*, ed. Michael W. Herren, Christopher J. McDonough, and Ross G. Arthur,

century, the anthology preserves the works of numerous writers who were active from the eleventh to the middle of the twelfth century, including Bernard Silvester and Peter Riga.³ The earliest datable item takes the form of an epitaph for Emperor Henry III, while the latest document is a letter Bernard of Clairvaux sent to Pope Eugenius III around 1145.⁴ This latter date could possibly be placed a decade or so later, because the anthology includes verses in praise of Samson, archbishop of Reims (1140–61).⁵ The anthology also preserves a number of poems from Peter Riga's *Floridus aspectus*,⁶ a collection he assembled at the request of Archbishop Samson and which he dedicated to him, although the precise date of the dedication is unknown.⁷ A colophon identifies the manuscript's provenance as the Benedictine abbey of St. Arnulph in Metz, from where it came into the possession of the Jesuits in

2 vols. (Turnhout, 2002), 2:449–63, at 451–54; most recently, it has been upheld by Elmar Broecker, *Gottfried von Reims: Kritische Gesamtausgabe mit einer Untersuchung zur Verfasserfrage und Edition der ihm zugeschriebenen Carmina* (Frankfurt am Main, 2002), 229–35. References to editions of individual poems are provided in the notes below.

³ Valentin Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 12: *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1893) 397–408, at 408, provides a full list of the poets whose works are excerpted in Philipps 1694; Klopsch and Walter, “Das Gedicht,” 142, note that the writers are restricted almost exclusively to northern France. Broecker, *Gottfried von Reims*, 132–34, includes a detailed history of the manuscript and a brief description of its contents.

⁴ See Klopsch and Walter, “Das Gedicht,” 142; and Constant J. Mews, “Hugh Metel, Heloise, and Peter Abelard: The Letters of an Augustinian Canon and the Challenge of Innovation in Twelfth-Century Lorraine,” *Viator* 32 (2001): 59–91, at 61 and n. 7; Mews also notes the presence of Bernard Silvestris's *Cosmographia* (in a recension without the prose sections), which Pope Eugenius III reportedly heard while travelling in France between 1146 and 1148.

⁵ The allusion in *Carm.* 45.23–24 (“Sansoni cedit laus, pugne turbo resedit; / Perfida plebs credit, moribus ordo redit”) to the uprising that occurred within Reims between 1139 and 1140 means that the eulogy to Samson must postdate 1141; see Mews, “Hugh Metel,” 61 and n. 9.

⁶ On the convoluted history of the scholarship surrounding the question of Riga's authorship of this collection, which was dedicated to archbishop Samson of Reims, and its relationship to the *Aurora*, see M. Charles Fierville, “Notice et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Omer, N^{os} 115 et 710,” in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 31.1 (Paris, 1884), 49–156, at 89–90; Saint-Omer 115 is a thirteenth-century collection of Latin verse, mostly anonymous, but with some items attributed to Hildebert of Tours, Abelard, and Marbod, among others. See B. Hauréau, “Notice sur les mélanges poétiques d'Hiltebert de Lavardin,” in *Notices et extraits* 28.2 (Paris, 1878), 289–448, at 301; A. Boutemy, “Thèses nouvelles et travaux en cours,” *Revue du moyen âge latin* 1 (1945): 338–42, at 340; and Paul E. Beichner, “The *Floridus Aspectus* of Peter Riga and Some Relationships to the *Aurora*,” *Classica et mediaevalia* 30 (1974): 451–81, at 451–55. Beichner describes the poems on biblical themes in the *Floridus aspectus* as “drafts” that were later adapted for insertion into the *Aurora* (474).

⁷ Paul E. Beichner, ed., *Aurora Petri Rigae Biblia versificata. A Verse Commentary on the Bible*, part 1 (Notre Dame, 1965), xiii–xiv; since Peter was a student in Paris in 1165, Beichner conjectures that his date of birth was probably ca. 1140.

Paris. Subsequently, it became part of Sir Thomas Phillipps's library in Middlehill and later in Cheltenham, before it was acquired in 1886 by the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.⁸ A contents list, added in the thirteenth century, mentions letters by Symmachus and Ivo of Chartres, several lives, including those of Aesop and St. Laurence, before it records the presence of the correspondence of Hugh Metel "et multa alia utilia." It closes with two verses urging the reader to ruminate upon this mass of edifying material:

Hec, prudens lector, vernantia gramina lustra.
Quod iuvet et prosit cape; sint procul alba ligustra.⁹

Much of the large corpus of poetry in the Berlin codex was also preserved in Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 1275, fols. 129r–186ra, although it did not include the letters of Ivo of Chartres and Hugh Metel.¹⁰ The extensive section of shared poetry was copied from a common exemplar.¹¹ The poems that were entered in the final section of Phillipps 1694, fols. 185va–190rb, directly after the letters of Hugh Metel (ca. 1080–ca. 1150), an Augustinian canon of Toul in Lorraine, have been attributed to different authors.¹² Abbot Hugo of Saint-Étival, the eighteenth-century editor of Metel's correspondence, staked a claim for Metel, although he presented no evidence and offered no reason for the ascription.¹³ Hugo's choice was probably dictated by his awareness that in many manuscript traditions a medieval writer's letter collection was often ac-

⁸ See Friedrich Walther Lenz, "Bermerkungen zu dem pseudo-ovidischen Gedicht *De lupo*," *Orpheus* 10 (1963): 21–32, at 24. For a detailed description of Phillipps 1694, see Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 349–84.

⁹ Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 351; Rose, *Verzeichniss* 1:397.

¹⁰ For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift der Stadtbibliothek zu Reims," *Neues Archiv* 18 (1893): 491–526; and Karl Hampe and Rudolf Hennesthal, "Die Reimser Briefsammlung im cod. 1275 der Reimser Stadtbibliothek," *Neues Archiv* 47 (1928): 518–50; at 533 they note that the collection was put together after 1255; cf. Broecker, *Gottfried von Reims*, 135–37, at 136, who dates the origin of the collection to the end of the thirteenth century. In Reims 1275 the common poetry section is copied out after a prose work written in French (fol. 123^v: "Talms mestott pris que – coumandent. Ci fallent li Enseignement de moralitei").

¹¹ A. Boutemy, "Trois oeuvres inédites de Godefroid de Reims," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 3 (1947): 335–66, at 338, claimed that the common exemplar came from Reims, but he produced no evidence to support the assertion; he edits (p. 339) the three poems of Godefroid exclusively on the basis of Phillipps 1694. Broecker, *Gottfried von Reims*, 138–39, provides a detailed list of the conjunctive and separate errors contained in the two manuscripts.

¹² Wilmart, "Le florilège," 169, assigned them to Peter Riga. This claim is examined in more detail below.

¹³ Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 378; Rose, *Verzeichniss* 1:407, asserted that Hugo ascribed the poems to Metel only because of their location in the manuscript.

accompanied by an anthology of his poetry.¹⁴ In the case of anthologies, however, where errors of attribution abound, the situation is more complex. Poetic collections tended to grow over time, with numerous copyists making their own contributions to the project. The result was that items by different authors were often added, simply on the grounds of shared thematic material, to a group of poems known to belong to another.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the fact that these poems are arranged in the Berlin codex on consecutive folios, and not scattered among distant ones, may have led Hugo to assume their unity of authorship. Second, he was also aware, having edited his correspondence, that Metel had declared more than once a predilection for composing verse. In one letter, as he looks back nostalgically over different phases of his career, he mentions the types of verse he composed to amuse himself, hexameters and pentameters chief among them.¹⁶ Evidence of this avocation survives in a letter he addressed to Heloise, in which he brings the epistle to a prayerful close with twelve rhymed hexameters.¹⁷ In the body of this letter Metel had praised Heloise's gift for re-energizing familiar words by arranging them in novel combinations ("nota uerba nouando").¹⁸ This sensitivity to language finds expression in Metel's own tendency to write verse in rhyming couplets, such as those he sent to Abbot Simon of Saint-Clement, preserved in Phillipps 1694, fol. 180.¹⁹ While equally pious in tone, it is more self consciously literary than

¹⁴ Ewald Könsgen, ed., *Die Gedichte Arnulfs von Lisieux (†1184)* (Heidelberg, 2002), 11, notes that Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 16699 is the only known witness of Arnulf's poetry that was not transmitted with his letter collection; in the other thirteen manuscripts, Arnulf's letters and poetry travelled together.

¹⁵ André Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* de Pierre la Rigge," *Le moyen âge* 54 (1948): 89–112, at 89–94, discusses the problem in relation to his investigation into the canon of Peter Riga.

¹⁶ *Epist. Hugonis* 16 (ed. Mews, "Hugh Metel," 89): "... Versibus hexametris et pentametris, rithmisque centimetris, qui ludere sepe solebam, et . . . , qui iocunde desipiebam." The sense of "centimetris" here is unclear. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham and D. R. Howlett (London, 1975–), 2:315, lists only one example: Bede, *AM* 2380, where it means "enumerating 100 metres." The word may conceal a reference to Servius, *De centum metris*, a treatise that was also known as the "Centimetrum" ("Licet audacter . . . hunc libellum qui uolet centimetrum nominabit," *Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil [Leipzig, 1864; rpt. Hildesheim, 1961], 4:457, lines 1–2); cf. R. B. C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores: Bernard D'Utrecht, Commentum in Theodulum* (Leiden, 1970), 58–59: "Cetera de metris qui plenius nosse desiderat, librum Marii Servii grammatici ad Albinum de metrorum ratione conscriptum vel eum qui "Centimeter" inscribitur legat" (lines 25–27).

¹⁷ For the text and translation of the poem, see Mews, "Hugh Metel," 91.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 77; cf. *Epist. Hugonis* 16 (*ibid.*, 89).

¹⁹ Wattenbach edits the text from Phillipps 1694 in "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 357 (quoted below); Mews, "Hugh Metel," 61, suggests, in light of the fact that Phillipps 1694 originated in Metz, that Abbot Simon may have been the first owner of the anthology. Hugh addressed several letters to the abbot of Saint-Clement.

the theologically inflected poem mentioned above. He rings the changes on various rhetorical "colores," and adorns them with marked allusions to the Bible and to classical Latin poetry:

- Abbati Simoni²⁰ concordanti rationi
 Quem prudentia comparat antiquo Ciceroni,²¹
 Quem sapientia comparat et regi Salomoni,
 Hugo Metellus uiuere recte, uiuere sane,
 5 Et cum psalmista de somno surgere mane.²²
 Surgere de somno noctu²³ non sit tibi uanum,
 Nam dormire modum supra non est tibi sanum.
 "Est modus in rebus", sicut cecinere poete;²⁴
 Laudauere modum pariter sanctique prophete.²⁵
 10 Sit modus in uictu, uestitu sitque modestus,
 Sit sermo castus, sit et utilis, et sit honestus.²⁶
 Fratribus omnibus omnia sicut apostolus esto;²⁷
 Infirmis, sanis tua fiat²⁸ dextera presto.
 Sis pius et seuus; seui, sed cum pietate
 15 Cum locus ingruerit, non oblita feritate.
 Victus uictor eris, si uictus eris pietate;
 Victor uictus eris, si uictor es impietate.²⁹

²⁰ Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 357, notes the metrical error at the beginning of the poem and conjectures that the addressee was probably Abbot Simon of Saint-Clement.

²¹ Cf. *Epist. Hugonis* 34 (ed. Hugo, 2:374): "Non ascendunt [sc. mea scripta] usque ad Tullium. . . ."

²² Cf. *Epist. Hugonis* 30 (ed. Hugo, 2:370): "Conturbas me cum hortaris ut . . . in luce dormiam. . . ."

²³ Cf. *Epist. Hugonis* 1 (ed. Hugo, 2:318): ". . . dic hora est jam nos de somno surgere. . . ."

²⁴ A more explicit reference to the same Horatian verse occurs in *Epist. Hugonis* 22 (ed. Hugo, 2:356): "Non est rectum quod excedit modum, unde Flaccus Poeta [S. 1.1.106-7]: 'Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines, / quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.'" By contrast, Metel does not mark the allusion to Hor., S. 1. 4. 10 in *Epist. Hugonis* 52 (ed. Hugo, 2:403-4): "poteram olim stando pede versus componere mille. . . ."

²⁵ Cf. *Epist. Hugonis* 22 (ed. Hugo, 2:357): "Ira enim immoderata spiritualis est ignis, quam Psalmista cupiens refraenare: 'Irascimini', inquit, 'et nolite peccare' [PsG 4:5]; ac si dicat, si quis irascitur aduersus malorum nequitiam, certam irae suae ponit metam."

²⁶ Metel deploys the rhyming words "modestus/honestus" at the end of vv. 7-8 of the poem that concludes *Epist. 17*; in the first two verses of that poem, he repeats "dicat" to form the rhyme; cf. Mews, "Hugh Metel," 91.

²⁷ 1 Cor 15:28.

²⁸ The text in Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 1275 has "fiat tua" (see Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 357 n. 2).

²⁹ The rhyme in vv. 16-17 is repeated in vv. 3-4 of *Carm. 40* in the collection that follows the letters of Hugh Metel in Philipps 1694: "Spes animi, uitii requies, dux impietatis, / nummus, honor, mulier opus infestant pietatis."

In light of these indications, Hugo had plausible reasons for theorizing that the items in the final segment of the manuscript represented a selection of Metel's poetic output, which the compiler had added to balance his correspondence in prose.

In an important recent article, Constant Mews has combed Hugh Metel's letters and other historical records to reconstruct an intellectual biography of the man (ca. 1080–ca. 1150). An Augustinian canon³⁰ of Toul in Lorraine,³¹ he is described in an obituary list of Toul cathedral as "magister Hugo Metellus canonicus," a title that implies he was probably a teacher at Saint-Léon in Toul.³² His letters constantly engage with pastoral, theological and literary questions and offer a window into the culture of his region. They reveal a man who had profited from a secular education, which he advertised by decking his letters with the names and works of numerous pagan philosophers³³ and poets.³⁴ Well grounded in the liberal arts, he boasts about his astronomical and geographical knowledge, and much else.³⁵ The letters also stand as a testament to his training in rhetoric and dialectic as well as his ease in moving among the disciplines of the quadrivium.³⁶ Hugh studied under Anselm of

³⁰ *Epist. Hugonis* 21 (ed. Hugo, 2:354): "... ad militandum in castris B. Augustini missus sum."

³¹ For a map showing the geographical proximity of Toul to Metz and Reims, see L. D. Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), 446.

³² See Mews, "Hugh Metel," 63 and n. 14.

³³ *Epist. Hugonis* 34 (ed. Hugo, 2:375): "... dum enim ego cum Scipione somniarem, dum radio totum polum perquirerem, quaesivisti, si bene memini, quid propinquius consideretur circa substantias, an qualitas, an quantitas, lectio vero Macrobianae quae detinebat me forte, haec erat, cogitationi nostrae meanti a nobis ad superos occurrit prima perfectio incorporalitatis in numeris."

³⁴ Mews, "Hugh Metel," 68–76, analyses Hugh's educational background; cf. *Epist. Hugonis* 51 (ed. Hugo, 2:404): "Non sum qui fueram, nec possum quod poteram: poteram olim stando pede versus componere mille, poteram diversi generis rithmos contexere, poteram duobus vel tribus scriptoribus dictando sufficere . . ."; *Epist. Hugonis* 21 (ed. Hugo, 2:353–54): "... Dei imaginem inventis poeticis expendebam, et in philosophicis quaestionibus conterebam, . . . hauriebam fere totum heliconem, et sitiebam, cum Aristotile, dies noctesque desudabam, et cum eo quadraturam in circulo quaerebam, et cum Tullio inutiliter declamabam; *Epist. Hugonis* 45 (ed. Hugo, 2:395): "Ludicra vero poetarum, et inania philosophorum tradidi penatis ventis exsufflanda in terra oblivionis. . . ."

³⁵ See Mews, "Hugh Metel," 63–68; and *Epist. Hugonis* 34 (ed. Hugo, 2:374–75): "Animus, qui solebat girum coeli circuire, qui solebat domicilia planetarum pererrare, an sol contra firmamentum nitatur, an cum eo volvatur, diligenter inquirere, elanguit."

³⁶ *Epist. Hugonis* 51 (ed. Hugo, 2:403–4): "Olim liberalibus artibus insistebam, olim in castris Aristotelis militabam, argumentaque convergebam, quibus minus cautos decipiebam, et cum grammaticis, regulas recte loquendi colligebam, castigabam, et cum rhetoribus rhetoricis ornatibus ornabar, et cum musicis modulans, cum Arithmetica numerans, cum Geometria terram mensurans, cum Astronomia animo et oculis coelum perambulans, et cum septem planetis per Zodiacum errans. . . ."

Laon (†1117) at about the same time as Abelard, and he may also have studied later alongside Master Hugh of Chartres, the Augustinian abbot of Saint-Jean, Chartres (ca. 1131–1136), where there was a strong tradition of studying Macrobius. Mews concludes that he was the beneficiary of the curriculum taught in Toul in the 1090s by Odo of Orléans, in which Cicero and Macrobius were valued as authorities not only on rhetoric but also on geography, the stars, and the universe. Hugh believed that a rounded education in a range of ancient authors was a sound preparation for a religious life. The rich anthology of secular and religious poetry, preserved together with Hugh's letters in the Berlin manuscript, illuminates the kind of tradition that was upheld in the teaching of Odo of Orléans and Godfrey of Reims.³⁷

The evidence of the letters leaves no doubt that Hugh Metel possessed the secular education, inclination, and ability to have written the kinds of verse anthologized at the end of Phillipps 1694. This remains a possibility, but it must be stated at the outset that a significant number of the poems in this section of the manuscript are excerpted from the *Floridus aspectus* of Peter Riga.

The eighty-three items assembled after Metel's letters in Phillipps 1694, fols. 185va–190va, were written out in double columns, each containing 41 lines, except for fols. 189va (35 lines), 189vb (40 lines), and 190rb–190va (39 lines). Folio 190vb is left blank. The script is legible except for portions of fols. 188va, 189rb, 189va, 190rb, 190va, where the ink has run. Every poem, with a few exceptions (e.g., *Carm.* 4), is preceded by a title placed at the head of the poem. Only in the case of the first poem is it placed in the margin. The compositions range in length from the widely disseminated fable "De lupo et opilione" (*Carm.* 1), which runs to 108 lines, to a pangram comprising a single verse (*Carm.* 3). In contrast to the type of poetic anthologies that are exclusively biblical or theological in character,³⁸ the range of subject matter in Phillipps 1694 is considerably broader. Many poems treat figures from the Old Testament typologically or allegorize them. Others meditate on events recorded in the New Testament, including poems devoted to the Virgin Mary and to the story of Christ's life. Balanced against these are pieces not inspired by the Bible. These include verses on the destruction of Troy, a four-line condensation of Vergil's *Aeneid*, humorous vignettes on the foibles of monks, and a series of poems centred on verbal and number problems. In a category

³⁷ Mews, "Hugh Metel," 75–76.

³⁸ For examples of this kind, see the poetic anthologies edited by Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII): The Biblical Anthology from York Minster Library (MS. XVI Q 14)," *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002): 61–109, and "Notes on Poetic Composition in the Theological Schools ca. 1200 and the Latin Poetic Anthology from MS. Harley 956: A Critical Edition," *Sacris erudiri* 43 (2004): 299–391.

of their own are two texts that may be language or metrical experiments. Although the poet devoted much ingenuity to matching the end rhymes, the words do not act as signifiers that form coherent sense. They may have been written as mnemonics in order to access some literary work.³⁹ They could also be mnemotechnical verses of a chronological kind, in which letters replace numerals in a system designed to encode a significant date in the Christian calendar.⁴⁰

Several principles are apparent in the organization of the poems. After the opening fable of the wolf and the herdsman (*Carm.* 1),⁴¹ the following twenty-two poems (*Carm.* 2–27) form a coherent whole, inasmuch as they consist of a series of verbal games and arithmetical word problems. Among the mathematical puzzles is a two-line solution to the well-known river-crossing puzzle, attributed to Alcuin,⁴² followed by four other versified number problems that also incorporate the answers. Three out of this set of four stem from the same collection as the transportation problem. This bloc is defined broadly enough to embrace *Carm.* 15, which sets out the rules governing the geometry of the

³⁹ Bernhard Bischoff, "Anecdota Carolina," in *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters. Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker zum 4. September 1931*, ed. W. Stach and H. Walther (Dresden, 1931), 1–11, at 7; edits a poem comprising three *uersus memoriales* designed to assist students to remember the order of Vergil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. Bischoff also refers to poems of the same type that were written to assist in memorizing the sequence of the books of the Bible and the *Regula Benedicti*.

⁴⁰ Bernhard Bischoff, "Ostertagtexte und Intervalltafeln," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 60 (1940): 549–80, provides numerous examples of this kind of computistic verse.

⁴¹ For a survey of the occurrence of the wolf-monk in earlier literature, see B. M. Kaczynski and H. J. Westra, "The Motif of the Hypocritical Wolf in Medieval Greek and Latin Animal Literature," in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown (London, 1988), 105–41, at 118–25; Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Talking Animals: Medieval Latin Beast Poetry, 750–1150* (Philadelphia, 1993), 202–8, summarizes the contents of the poem and discusses the importance of the story-type in the development of the beast fable and of beast literature in general. Isid., *Orig.* 1.40.7, relates a "fabula," a political allegory attributed to the Greek orator, Demosthenes, in which wolves conspire to deceive shepherds in order to devour their sheep; this type of tale, classified as Aesopian, was considered to have a moral utility (*Orig.* 1.40.6): "Vnde et Aesopi tales sunt fabulae ad morum finem relatae. . . ."

⁴² The problem is no. 18 in the collection edited by Menso Folkerts, "Die älteste mathematische Aufgabensammlung in lateinischer Sprache: Die Alcuin zugeschriebenen *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes*. Überlieferung, Inhalt, kritische Edition," *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse* 116.6 (Vienna, 1978), 13–80, and revised by Menso Folkerts and Helmuth Gericke in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. Paul Leo Butzer and Dietrich Lohrmann (Basel, 1993), 273–381; on 276–77, Alcuin is identified as the probable author of the collection on the basis of the derivation of the oldest manuscripts from northeast France and southwest Germany and on Alcuin's known interest in puzzles and mathematics. None of the manuscripts, however, identifies him as the author.

chess board. The set is concluded by the unintelligible pair of poems (*Carm.* 26–27), already mentioned. The only poem in this sequence that can be definitely identified (*Carm.* 17) belongs to Peter Riga. The second grouping begins with *Carm.* 45, the eulogy for Samson, archbishop of Reims, and extends to *Carm.* 78, a poem on the burning bush. Within this section three clearly defined subsets can be discerned. The unity of the first (*Carm.* 46–56) rests upon themes and episodes drawn from the Old Testament; the second (*Carm.* 57–70) consists of poems that find their inspiration in the New Testament. The final subdivision adds a smaller group of five poems that returns to other figures and episodes narrated in the Old Testament. The only items that do not fit neatly into this biblical classification are *Carm.* 71–73, which are nevertheless loosely connected by topics of pastoral concern. The compiler signalled the third segment by grouping the “tituli” together (*Carm.* 79–82), a quartet of inscriptions that refer to episodes drawn from the Gospel narrative.⁴³ The anthology ends with a prayer directed to all the saints (*Carm.* 83), an envoi that functions as a fitting peroration, and a choice that also attests the compiler’s concern for the overall shape of the anthology.

The least defined grouping spans *Carm.* 28–44, in which no principle of unity is immediately obvious. Nevertheless, certain poems are connected by formal affinities (*Carm.* 33, 38), while others share thematic links with poems placed in other sections. Thus, the main concern of *Carm.* 28–29, 33, 37, 39, is to allegorize Old Testament figures and events, while *Carm.* 35 and 41 summarize crucial events concerning the life and death of Christ. The humorous story of the drunkard (*Carm.* 36) recalls the imaginative and instructive fable of the wolf (*Carm.* 1), whereas the praise poems of the anonymous bishop and the “magister” (*Carm.* 32, 42) anticipate the panegyric to Archbishop Samson (*Carm.* 45). The verbal games that are the focus of *Carm.* 31 and 37 recall those in the opening section, where they appear in greater numbers. The end of this bloc is sharply demarcated by a pair of poems on the secular theme of Troy and its treatment in literature (*Carm.* 43, 44).

Many of the poems transmitted in Phillipps 1694 are also preserved in other collections, a circumstance that enables them to be identified as the work of Peter Riga.⁴⁴ The most concentrated cycle of Riga’s poems occurs in the sec-

⁴³ “Tituli,” originally designed to accompany an object or a religious image, were a popular genre in the Middle Ages. For examples composed in monostichs and distichs, cf. Baudri of Bourgueil, *Carm.* 224–49, and the remarks of Jean-Yves Tilliette, ed., *Baudri de Bourgueil: Poèmes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998–2002), 2:317–18.

⁴⁴ Details are provided at the head of the relevant poems below. Boutemy, “Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* de Pierre la Rigge,” 96, argues that Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 1136, transmits an enlarged version of the work, containing almost all of Riga’s poetic production before he turned to writing the *Aurora*.

ond half of the collection (*Carm.* 45–70; 74–78).⁴⁵ Excerpted from the *Floridus aspectus*, they include a series of short poems on events in Christ's life that proved popular with medieval readers (*Carm.* 58–66). In view of this concentration, it is a reasonable inference that the four "tituli" are also Riga's work. Other poems that can be attributed to Riga with some confidence include *Carm.* 17, 29, 34, 37, and probably 28, the story of Lot and his wife. Given the provenance of Phillipps 1694, the presence of poems from the *Floridus aspectus* of Peter Riga may reflect a tribute paid to a native son. Aegidius of Paris, whose two expanded redactions of the *Aurora* were produced between 1200 and 1208,⁴⁶ attests that Riga was a priest of Reims. His connection with the ecclesiastical hierarchy of that city is confirmed by the fact that Samson, the archbishop of Reims, reportedly invited Riga to gather his early poems into the collection that came to be known as the *Floridus aspectus*.⁴⁷

Which, if any, of the remaining poems may be the work of Hugh Metel remains open to question. The manuscript tradition is one argument in favour of the attribution, one that was apparently decisive for C. L. Hugo, as discussed above. Metel's liberal education, his involvement in the religious instruction of Augustinian canons, and his poetic avocation lend support for the notion. The majority of poems copied out immediately after Metel's correspondence involve various language games and lexical puzzles that would have been useful for educational purposes. They include a single verse containing the letters of the Roman alphabet, verbal "distinctiones," letter exercises, mnemonics, palindromes,⁴⁸ etymologies, graphic riddles,⁴⁹ and other

⁴⁵ Carsten Wollin, "Die Troiagedichte des Petrus Riga in den *Carmina Burana* (CB 102 und CB 99a)," *Sacris erudiri* 43 (2004): 393–425, has recently argued that *Carm.* 43 and 44 in Phillipps 1694 are to be attributed to Peter Riga.

⁴⁶ See Beichner, *Aurora Petri Rigae* 1:xvii.

⁴⁷ See *ibid.* xiv.

⁴⁸ *Carm.* 5 exemplifies the type referred to as "uersus recurrentes", a palindrome that works by reversing the words letter by letter. Baudri de Bourgueil, *Carm.* 186 (ed. Tilliette 2:108) provides another example. For a general discussion of the genre, see Giovanni Polara, "I palindromi," in *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco*, vol. 3 (Palermo, 1991), 1335–43, at 1340–41.

⁴⁹ *Carm.* 2 and 4 continue the late antique and early medieval tradition of *aenigmata*. For surveys of the genre and its main practitioners, see Archer Taylor, *The Literary Riddle before 1600* (Berkeley, 1948), 52–68; Zoja Pavlovskis, "The Riddler's Microcosm: From Symphosius to St. Boniface," *Classica et mediaevalia* 39 (1988): 219–51; Giovanni Polara, "Aenigmata," in *Lo Spazio Letterario del Medioevo* 1. *Il Medioevo Latino*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Claudio Leonardi, and Enrico Menestò, vol. 1: *La produzione del testo*, part 2 (Rome, 1993), 197–216; Andrew Galloway, "The Rhetoric of Riddling in Late-Medieval England: The 'Oxford' Riddles, the *Secretum philosophorum* and the Riddles in *Piers Plowman*," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 68–105, at 71–72, 80, observes that in extant fifteenth-century manuscripts riddles are found in

verbal puzzles.⁵⁰ The memorable narrative poem of the rapacious and hypocritical wolf and the credulous herdsman (*Carm.* 1) would have been an edifying text for transmitting ethical lessons, and no little amusement, to a variety of audiences, both clerical and monastic.⁵¹ Second, *Carm.* 2–27 share some formal features with Metel's two acknowledged poems, which are written in rhymed hexameters. He was especially fond of writing "uersus caudati," hexameters with rhyme at the end of the verse only, as exemplified in the verse epistle to Abbot Simon. In the rhyme scheme of this poem he also intercalated leonine hexameters, with internal rhyme at the strong caesura matching the one at the end of the line, e.g., v. 11:

Sit sermo castus, sit et utilis, et sit honestus.⁵²

This technique of embedding leonines verses among a long series of "caudati" recurs in *Carm.* 6.2 and *Carm.* 7:

Blandus erat gustus, contristans extitit actus.

Aer portat aues, terrę genitura coheres;

miscellanies dealing with practical matters, such as recipes and arithmetic, and that they formed part of late-medieval rhetorical training. Martha Bayless, "The 'Collectanea' and Medieval Dialogues and Riddles," in *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, ed. Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 14 (Dublin, 1998), 13–24, at 23. Most recently, A. Bisanti, "Balderico di Bourgueil 'Enigmista,'" *Maia* 55 (2003): 555–65, reviews the history of the genre, before he analyses five of Baudri's riddling epigrams.

⁵⁰ Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998), 155–60, discusses the pedagogical effectiveness of medieval etymologizing.

⁵¹ See Kaczynski and Westra, "Motif," 126. Jill Mann, ed., *Ysengrimus*, Text with translation, commentary and introduction (Leiden, 1987), 1, observes that the beast fables in the prose Romulus-collection and in the *Fecunda ratis* of Egbert of Liège were used for teaching purposes; on p. 12 she lists the appearance of the "lupus-monachus" theme in the *Fecunda ratis* in the "Fabula de lupo et opilione," and in the "Ecbasis captiui," all works that were written before the middle of the twelfth century. Ziolkowski, *Talking Animals*, 207, cites a bull of Pope Urban II, dated 14 April 1096, in which used the proverb about the wolf and the lamb to reproach the secular clergy of Poitiers in favour of monks. Thomas A.-P. Klein, *Alexander Neckam: Nouus Avianus*, in *Favolisti Latini Medieuali e Umanistici* 7 (Genoa, 1998), 103 and n. 11, notes Isid., *Orig.* 1.40.2–3 regarding the instructional value of Aesopian animal fables; Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 28, also mentions the heuristic value of the fables of Aesop and Avianus.

⁵² Metel tends to repeat end rhymes e.g., *Epist.* 17.1–2 (ed. Mews, "Hugh Metel," 91), "dicat-dicat"; 7–8, 10 "honestus-modestus-honestus"; note also the repetition of "cottidie" before the penultimate caesuras in vv. 4–5, followed by the same word at the beginning of the next verse. The phrase "Est alius" introduces vv. 7 and 11, while the longer clause "Praestet et hunc nobis" appears at the start of vv. 9 and 12. This tendency is also present in the letter to Abbot Simon, e.g., vv. 2–3 "Quem . . . comparat"; 6–7 "non . . . tibi"; 16–17 "Victus . . . eris . . . uictus eris . . . / . . . uictus eris."

Lympha uehit lucios, scandit sapientia celos.⁵³

Carm. 2, 3, 19, 21–22, 26–27 are also cast in the form of hexameters “caudati.”⁵⁴

Metel sometimes varies his leonine hexameters by introducing the type called “unisoni,” e.g., in *Epist.* 17.11–12 :

Est alius *panis*, quo pascitur uenter *inanis*:
Praestet et hunc *nobis*, qui dat bona terrea *nobis*.

Carm. 31 (hexameters), 43, and 45 (elegiac distichs) follow the same pattern. More complex is the rhyme scheme of *Carm.* 30, in which the metre is rhymed in the second and fourth feet to harmonize with the end rhyme in vv. 1–2, but not thereafter:

Ver oritur, bruma moritur, frigus sepelitur;
Flos alitur, nemus induitur, tellus aperitur.⁵⁵
De tribulis prodire suis rosa iam meditatur;
De modulis, philomena, tuis animus renouatur.
5 Sol rutilat, cignus iubilat, pratumque nitescit.
Grando latet, decus omne patet, nemus omne uirescit.

Similarity of versification, however, is not strong enough in itself to tip the balance in favour of Metel’s authorship.⁵⁶ If the poems are his, they display another side of the man’s literary personality, distinct from the letter writer who confined his poetic impulses to prayers and pious exhortations. The sample of his undisputed poetry is too small for metrical analysis to decide the case one way or the other. But it should be noted that Metel’s techniques of versification differ from those used in the initial poems transmitted in Philipps 1694. While they share the same pattern in the distribution of dactyls and spondees over the first four feet of the hexameter (dsss), the next four

⁵³ For similar insertions of “unisoni” in poems composed of “caudati,” see *Carm.* 4.15–16; 19.2–5; 22.2; 26.3–4.

⁵⁴ Leonine elegiac distichs occur in *Carm.* 1.9–12; 63–66. For other examples of this schema, cf. Fierville, “Notices et extraits,” 55, VII; B. Hauréau, “Notice sur un manuscrit de la Reine Christine, à la Bibliothèque du Vatican,” in *Notices et extraits* 29.2 (Paris, 1880), 231–362, at 336. This twelfth- or thirteenth-century collection consists of quantitative and rhythmic verse, mostly anonymous, but there are pieces attributed to Primas, Matthew of Vendôme, and Serlo of Wilton.

⁵⁵ Hauréau, “Notice sur un manuscrit,” 337, cites a similar metrical format with internal and end rhyme as an example of what he describes as “vers détestable”: “Voce breui, sermone leui, tibi paucula seui, / Qui neque vi, nec iure breui, sed amore quieui.”

⁵⁶ The clausulae of Metel’s hexameters are as follows (with the numbers for the hexameters in Philipps 1694 in brackets): 0 (2) monosyllabic; 11 (73) dissyllabic; 9 (95) trisyllabic; 6 (20) quadrisyllabic; 3 (4) pentasyllabic.

patterns in decreasing order of frequency are different.⁵⁷ The case for Metel as the author of *Carm.* 2–27 remains unproved.⁵⁸

EDITION

Because C. L. Hugo's edition of the poems is very rare and his transcription often faulty, I have reedited them, together with others that he chose not to print. The edition presented here does not include the complete text of every poem; for the poems available in editions other than Hugo's, I usually supply only the first and last lines. In describing Phillipp's 1694 (*B*), Wilhelm Wattenbach remarked that the variation in the poetic texts preserved in the two manuscripts was extremely small.⁵⁹ If Reims 1275 (*R*) did not descend directly from *B*, it derived its text from a very close relative of the Berlin manuscript. In all but one case (*Carm.* 46.4 *benignus corr.ex benigiignus B: benignus R*), it incorporates *B*'s corrections, and it also emends several trivial slips.⁶⁰ Two other instances would have required more thought. Both concern defects in the clausulae of hexameters: first, the scribe supplied a metrical stopgap to fill a lacuna in *B* (*Carm.* 2.41);⁶¹ in the second, even though he was not alerted by a gap in the exemplar, he nevertheless noticed an omission in *Carm.* 28.17 and restored the metre by inserting once again a dactyl in the fifth foot. In *Carm.* 21.20 he possibly misread the reading in *B* or replaced the unmetrical *uitia* with *uina*. The errors particular to *R* are not numerous.

In the edition I follow the orthography of the Berlin manuscript. I have not recorded in the apparatus common alternative variations in spelling (e.g., abscidas/abcidas; anser/ancer; nequid/nequit; hebrio/ebrio; he/hee; loquantur/loquntur; extitit/exstitit; saphyrum/saphirum; uirga/uerga; nondum/nundum) or the simple mechanical errors that occur in *R*.⁶²

⁵⁷ The figures for the first four feet of Metel's hexameters are as follows: dsss 5; ddss 4; sdss 3; ssss 3; dssd 3; sdsd 2; ddsd 2; dddd 1; ddds 1; dsdd 1; dsds 1; sdds 1; ssdd 1; ssds 1. The top five schemata in the hexameter poems in Phillipp's 1694 are dsss 22; sdss 22; dssd 17; dsds 15; ddds 14.

⁵⁸ The connection between *Carm.* 2.3 and 33.3, which contains verbal play with the letters of Eua's name, is suggestive; but note that the latter is probably by Riga; cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Genesis 323 (ed. Beichner, 1:39).

⁵⁹ Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 352; also see n. 10 above.

⁶⁰ See the apparatus for *Carm.* 2.36, 12.6, 16.2, 25.1, and 83.14 in the edition below.

⁶¹ *R* has "me multa que potat" where *B* has "me (.) potat"; see the edition below.

⁶² For example, *Carm.* 4.16 mellificans *B: melleficant R*; 11.1 solidos *B: soludos R*; 19 titulus: Quedam *B: Qudem R*; 1.8 honoris *B: hanoris R*.

1. Fabula de lupo et opilione.

Inc.: Sepe lupus quidam per pascua lata uagantes
Expl.: Se male delusum comperit opilio.

2. Quedam problemata secundum litteras alphabeti.

Corda puellarum lasciuus urgeo morbis;	Amor
Verte retro nomen, totus mihi seruiet orbis.	Roma
Debeo tormenta peccantibus ad mala pronis;	Baratrum
B rapta caream, dicar res apta colonis.	Aratrum

B = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Philipps 1694

R = Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 1275

(*Carm.* 2) *Titulus* problemata B : propleuni R alphabeti R : corr. ex alphabeta B
 4 caream R : eaream B colonis B : colonis R

(*Carm.* 1) B 185va–186ra; R 182va–183ra (108 lines). See Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis des Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen* (Göttingen, 1959), nos. 6789; 17029. Text: Hugo, 2:413–15; Ernst Voigt, *Kleinere lateinische Denkmäler der Thiersage aus dem zwölften bis vierzehnten Jahrhundert* (Strassburg, 1878), 58–62; and Lenz, “Bemerkungen,” 25–28. Fierville, “Notice et extraits,” 125, prints vv. 17–20 in the course of noting that Saint-Omer 115, fol. 89v, preserves a text of the poem; and Migne published it among the works of Marbod of Rennes in PL 171:1728C–1730C, the basis, presumably, for its ascription to Marbod in Wattenbach, “Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte,” 378. See the discussion and translation in Ziolkowski, *Talking Animals*, 202–8 and 301–3 (Appendix 31).

(*Carm.* 2) B 186ra–rb; R 183ra–rb. Walther, *Initia* 3309. Text: Hugo, 2:415–16; PL 203:1396A–D but without answers to the riddles. B. Hauréau, “Notice sur un manuscrit de la Reine Christine,” in *Notices et extraits* 29.2 (Paris, 1880), 231–362, at 330, and W. Wattenbach, “Sur les poésies attribuées à Philippe de Harvengt, abbé de Bonne-Espérance,” in *Mélanges Julien Havet* (Paris, 1895; rpt. Geneva, 1972), 291–95, at 294, both print vv. 1–2; cf. Phyllis Abrahams, *Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046–1130)* (Paris, 1926), 320 n. 1. Wattenbach, “Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte,” 378, notes that the Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 344, fol. 41, preserves the poem, but he does not edit it. For the more common type of abecedarian composition, see *Carm.* 21 below. See also B. L. Ullman, “Abecedaria and Their Purpose,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1961): 181–86.

1–2 Amor/Roma: for a poem alluding to the play on these words, see Baudri de Bourgueil, *Carm.* 186 (ed. Tilliette, 2:108); and cf. *Carm.* 9.2 below.

2 Verte retro nomen: cf. *Carm.* 37.3 below; Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Genesis 323 (ed. Beichner, 1:39).

3–4 Baratrum/Aratrum: Galloway, “Rhetoric of Riddling,” 102, edits a different riddle involving these words from Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 230/116, fol. 75v: “Sum nimis ampla domus eternum sentio fumum / Si mihi b rapias de terris extraho dumum.”

5	Cuidam prebet aui fuscum natura colorem; Illi subtrahe cor, albedine uincet olorem. Ars fundum, murum, tectum pariter mihi iungit; <i>Do</i> mutatur in <i>ha</i> , piscem cuspis mea pungit. Vita mihi ridet, iuuenili gaudeo flore;	Cornix Nix Domus Hamus Ephebus
10	<i>E</i> cadat in nichilum, nimio feruesco calore. Dat mihi rima uiam, diuersa curro cauerna; Littera prima cadat, tenebras expello lucerna. Dum uolo, littera fit; uolitans sum proxima Phebo; Si capud abscidas, tibi, rustica turba, placebo.	⟨Phebus⟩ Flumen Lumen Grus Rus
15	Non sum g(r)amma, tamen scriptorum serui pennis; Verbo Romano nomen mihi pene bipennis. Sum scintilla mali, que bellis incito corda; <i>L</i> mihi iungatur, iam dulci persono corda. <i>B</i> uice <i>K</i> posita si littera <i>d</i> rapiatur,	.H. O. Ira Lira Kalenda
20	Piscis ero, per quem uiuens homo sepe uoratur. Reges exornat ex piscis tincta cruore; <i>L</i> mutetur in <i>r</i> , natat in pede, garrit in ore. Displiceo paci, letales quero ruinas; <i>S</i> uertatur in <i>e</i> , nautarum mergo carinas.	Balena Lana Rana Mars Mare
25	In siluis orior, depellor in equora flatu; <i>N</i> mihi deme, meo sulcabitur aura uolatu. Ad me promendum mater gallina laborat; <i>Vm</i> mutetur in <i>is</i> , me candida lana decorat.	Nauis Auis Ouum Ouis

10 Phebus] sol *B* : .i. sol *R* : Sol *Hugo* 15 gamma] gāma *BR* : gramma *Hugo*
 16 pene *corr.* ex peno *R* 19 rapiatur *corr.* ex rapiatur *R* 24 mergo *B* : merga *R*

5–6 Cornix/Nix: Galloway, *ibid.*, 75, cites a riddle with its solution from the fourteenth-century *Secretum philosophorum*: “Cornix est alba si cor (tollatur) ab illa. Nix.”

8 *Do* . . . *ha*: for this technique, see Remigius of Auxerre, *Commentum in Martianum Capellam libri I-II*, ed. Cora E. Lutz (Leiden, 1962), 71.20–22: “Praecluis . . . a nomine quod est cleos, id est gloria, et *e* mutata in *u* fit praecluis. . . .”

11–12 Flumen/Lumen: for riddles involving these words, see Eusebius, *Aenigmata* 34, De flumine (ed. M. De Marco, *Tatui Opera omnia*, CCL 133 [Turnhout, 1967], 244); and *Versus de nominibus litterarum*, F 1–3 (ed. Fr. Glorie, *Tatui Opera omnia*, CCL 133A [Turnhout, 1968], 732). I thank Dr. W. Maaz for bringing this parallel to my attention.

12 Littera . . . cadat: cf. *Aenigmata Symphosii* 74.3 (ed. Glorie, *Tatui Opera omnia*, CCL 133A, 695): “Littera recedat: uolucris quoque nomen habebō.”

15 pennis: cf. *Versus de nominibus litterarum*, H 1–3 (CCL 133A:733).

17 corda: cf. *Aenigmata Bonifatii*, De vitiis 2, no. 1, De iracundia (CCL 133:313).

	Sum cortex grani quem defert undique uentus.	Palea	
30	<i>P</i> caream, de me ludet lasciua iuuentus.	Alea	
	Me pede bis bino summus iubet ire creator;	Quadrupes	
	Sillaba bina cadat, sine me fit nemo uiator.	Pes	
	In speciem pasco uisum, nares in odorem;	Rosa	R 183b
	<i>A</i> de fine feras, facies de flore liquorem.	Ros	
35	Stercora semper amo, nequeo spectare seorsum;	Sus	
	Persto quod ante fui, quamuis sim uersa retrorsum.	Sus.	
	Sex costis et bis septem circumdor ocellis;	Talus	
	<i>M</i> uice <i>t</i> posita pellor feriorque procellis.	Malus	
	Vinum potanti nascens de uite ministro;	Vua	
40	<i>V</i> formetur in <i>e</i> , sum nomine plena sinistro.	Eua	
	Sum fluuius Troië; regio me (Troica) potat;	Xanctus	
	<i>X</i> pellatur ab <i>s</i> , me Christus in ethere dotat.	Sanctus	
	In quendam me Pythagoras diuisit hiatum;	Y	
	Ille uiam mortis, uite notat ille meatum.		
45	Amplector corpus, uestes astringo fluentes;	Zona	
	<i>Zo</i> uertatur in <i>m</i> , succendo cupidine mentes.	Mna	
	Teste sono duplex, sum simplex teste figura;	Et	
	Primam coniungo partem cum parte futura.		

36 retrorsum *R* : retorsum *B* 41 me Troica potat *Hugo* (2:416) : me (.) potat *B* :
 me multa que potat *R* 43 pythagoras *B* : pictogoras *R* 44 ille] *melius* iste?
 46 *Mna Hugo* : mon(.)a *B* : mona *R*

41 Xanctus: the river Xanthus.

42 *X*: cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 1.4.14.

43–44 Pythagoras: cf. *Epist. Hugonis* 49 (ed. Hugo, 2:401): “Ecce habes bivium Pithagoricae litterae, apprehende utraque manu summum, et directum ramum illius, sperne vero sinistrum ramum qui vergit inferius. . . .”; Isidore, *Etym.* 1.3.7; *De nominibus litterarum* 1–2 (CCL 133A:741).

47 *Et*: Bischoff, “Ostertagtexte,” 553 and n. 28, explains that because the Latin alphabet contained only twenty-three letters, the sequence of letters was continued at the end with the word *et*, written as an abbreviation or as a ligature, which designated items 24 and 25; he adds that in medieval education the word was treated almost as a fixed component of the alphabet. Hans Walther, “Ein Michaels-Hymnus vom Mont-St. Michel (Cod. Avranches 98),” in *Corona Quernea. Festgabe Karl Strecker zum 80. Geburtstage dargebracht*, MGH Schriften 6 (Stuttgart, 1941; rpt. 1952), 254–65 at 259–62, edits an abecedarian hymn comprising twenty-four strophes, the first twenty-three progressing through the letters from A to Z, with a final strophe that begins with “*Et*”: “*Et nunc et omni subdita evo regenti climata / orbis, Beata Trinitas, virtus, honor, laus, gloria, / metae tibi per nescia sint seculorum secula! / Amen!*”

3. Omnes littere alphabeti.

Grando quatit zelum, pax kirri fabricet hymnos.

4.

	De lignis texor, me fur aperire laborat;	Archa	
	M coniunge mihi, me diues auarus adorat.	Marcha	
	Edificor saxis; me sustinet in pede marmor;	Paries	
	P rapta caream, colo pascua, cornibus armor.	[Aries]	
5	Si desit duplex mihi sillaba, fio metallum;	[Es]	
	E mihi dematur, Troianum destruo vallum.	[Paris]	
	Alludit triplici sensu mihi sillaba trina;	Saturnus	B 186va
	Primam deme mihi, pro coniuge pugno Latina.	[Turnus]	

(Carm. 3) *Titulus in marg. B : om. R*

(Carm. 4) 1 lignis corr. ex lignos R

(Carm. 3) B 186rb; R 183rb. Walther, *Initia* 7308. Text: Hugo, 2:416. Bernhard Bischoff, "Elementarunterricht und *probationes pennae* in der ersten hälfte des Mittelalters," in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. Leslie Webber Jones (New York, 1938), 9–20, at 13–16, reproduces a number of hexameters, some containing all twenty-three letters of the alphabet, which pupils copied out in order to practice their writing.

1 kirri: *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* 2:551, s.v. cyrie "the hymn Kyrie eleison"; cf. Carm. 21.10.

(Carm. 4) B 186rb–va; R 183rb. Walther, *Initia* 4113. Text: Hugo, 2:416–17. In PL 203: 1395D–1396A, vv. 7–16 appear without the solutions in the "Logogryphi et aenigmata" printed under the name of the twelfth-century writer Philippus of Harveng (although the verse corresponding to v. 7 is different: "me variando nimis commendat syllaba trina") and vv. 1–2 and 17–18 appear on cols. 1396D–1397A (following Carm. 2 above); but Wattenbach, "Sur les poésies attribuées à Philippe de Harvengt," 293–94, found no basis either in the manuscripts or in the rest of Philip's works for attributing the verses to him. Wattenbach also prints vv. 13–14 (*ibid.*, 293). The square brackets indicate that these solutions are not written out in B.

2 Marcha: cf. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* 6:1717, s.v. 2 marca 3.

3–6 Edificor . . . vallum: these verses appear in London, British Library Harley 956 in a slightly different form and sequence; see Dinkova-Bruun, "Notes on Poetic Composition," 355, no. 112, *De pariete*: "Edificor saxis, me sustinet in pede marmor. / 'P' michi si tollas, colo pascua, cornibus armor. / 'E' michi si tollas, Troianum destruo bellum. / Si duplex desit michi sillaba, fio metallum."

3–4 Paries/Aries: *Aenigmata Aldhelmi* 86 (CCL 133:505) poses a riddle concerning these words. I owe this reference to Dr. W. Maaz.

7–10 Alludit . . . ruina: Baudri de Bourgueil, Carm. 189 (ed. Tilliette, 2:109) presents a graphic riddle based on the name "Vulturnus," parts of which are broken up to form the words "Turnus," "vulnus," and "vultur"; another version is printed by Hauréau, "Notice sur un manu-

10	Si media caream, non indigeo medicina;	[Sanus]
	Si finem rapias, non est in uentre ruina.	[Satur]
	Quam resecare solet ex arbore seua secvris;	Virga
	Sillaba bina manet ex quinque notata figvris.	[Virga]
	Vir fiet, si tu finem de nomine pellis;	[Vir]
15	A mutetur in o, uix est in mille puellis.	[Virgo]
	Montes sunt celsi; tollatur montibus / si,	Alpes
	Vivunt, mellificant; qui possunt dicere dicant.	[Apes]
	Terne terna sonant in eadem littera parte,	Turtur
	Tercia sexte, quinta secunde, primaque qvarte.	

5. Principia mensium.

Ad dominum ducit gressus bonitatis euntes;
Gratia celestis fouet ad Dominum fugientes.

6. Fines mensium.

Culpe causa fuit anguis deceptio ficti;
Blandus erat gustus, contristans extitit actus.

18 sexte B : sexta R que B : om. R

(Carm. 5) *Titulus in marg. BR* 1 euntes corr. ex euntes B 2 fugientes B : fugiun-
tes R

(Carm. 6) *Titulus in marg. BR*

scrit," 330: "Est quoddam flumen quod habet mirabile nomen. / Si caput, est miles, si finem dempseris, ales. / Si medium tollis, erit hoc venit unde cicatrix. / Flat, volat et pugnat Vultur-
nus, stillat et undat."

(Carm. 5) B 186va; R 183rb. Text: Hugo, 2:416. Walther, *Initia* 338, prints the first three words of v. 1. Bernhard Bischoff, "Ostertagtexte," 551 n. 9, attributes *Carm.* 5–6 to Hugh Metel. As another example of this kind of mnemotechnical verse he cites "Altitonans dominus divina gerens bonus extat / Gratuito celi fert aurea dona fideli," in which the initial letter of each word forms part of a sequence of letters referring to the day of the week that designates the start of each month (A D D G B E G C F A D F). In B and R, *Carm.* 5–8 are not marked off from the end of *Carm.* 4 by means of titles in the body of the column, as is usually the case.

(Carm. 6) B 186va; R 183rb. Walther, *Initia* 3539. Text: Hugo, 2:417; Hans Walther, *Pro-verbia Sententiaequae Latinitatis Medii Aevi. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung* (Göttingen, 1963), 4001 (1:473). For another example of a poem, in which letters for the days of the week are used to refer to the end of the each month, see Bischoff, "Ostertage," 551 n. 9.

7. Principia signorum.

Aer portat aues, terrę genitura coheres;
Lympha uehit lucios, scandit sapientia celos.

8. Item de signis.

Apia tange colum, uela sursum Capricornum.

9. Hii duo uersus uertuntur.

Mucro tenet mures, et te serum tenet Orcum;
Roma, tibi robur; sis rubor, ibit amor.

10. De transitu ouis, lupi et caulis.

O natat, I sequitur, redit o, c nauigat ultra;
Nauta recurrit ad o bisque natauit ouis.

(Carm. 7) *Titulus in marg. BR* 1 coheres] coheret *BR*

(Carm. 8) *Titulus in marg. BR* 1 apia *R* : A pia *B* : Agia *Hugo*

(Carm. 9) *Titulus in marg. BR* uertuntur *B* : mutantur *R*

(Carm. 10) *Titulus in marg.* de transitu lupi et ouis et caulis *R* 1 O] *add.* idest ouis *sup.*
lin. R sequitur] *add.* lupus *sup. lin. BR* o] *add.* ouis *sup. lin. BR* nauigat] *add.*
caulis sup. lin. BR 2 o] *add.* ouem *sup. lin. BR*

(Carm. 7) *B* 186va; *R* 183va. Walther, *Initia* 3539. Text: Hugo, 2:417. Hauréau, "Notice sur un manuscrit," 320, XXX, notes three short poems of mnemonic verse with the titles "Ordo signorum," "Oppositio signorum," and "Domicilia planetarum in duodecim signis." He cites one verse from Paris, BnF lat. 5009, fol. 13: "Principium Jani sancit tropicus Capricorni."

(Carm. 8) *B* 186va; *R* 183va. Text: Hugo, 2:417. Walther, *Initia* 1361: "Apis tange colum."

(Carm. 9) *B* 186va; *R* 183va. Text: Walther, *Initia* 11346a; Hugo, 2:417.

1 tenet: cf. Baudri de Bourgueil, *Carm.* 187 (ed. Tilliette, 2:108).

2 Roma . . . amor: cf. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epist.* 9.4 (ed. W. B. Anderson, *Sidonius, Poems and Letters* [Cambridge, Mass., 1965], 2:582 and n. 1), illustrates a *uersus recurrens* with the following: "Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor."

(Carm. 10) *B* 186va; *R* 183va. Walther, *Initia*, 12811. Text: Hugo, 2:417. Folkerts, "Die älteste mathematische Aufgabensammlung," 316, edits a prose text of the problem (followed by the solution): "(18) Propositio de lupo et capram et fasciculum cauli, et non potuit aliam navem invenire, nisi quae duos tantum ex ipsis ferre valebat. Praeceptum itaque ei fuerat, ut omnia haec ultra omnino illaesa transferret. Dicat, qui potest, quomodo eos illaesos ultra transferre potuit." See

11. De quodam problemate.

Accipe tot quot habes solidos et tot medii tot
 Dimidium medii, libra decena choit.
 Ex quinquaginta solidis tribus assibus octo
 Hic numerus constat, si bene cuncta notes.

12. Quoddam problema de columbis.

In lauro residens, bis sex uolitarę columbas
 Aspiciens dedit hec forte columba sonum:
 “Si numerus duplici bis cresceret ordine uester,
 Essetis centum me uolitantę simul.”
 5 Vt te non lateat uolitantis summa cohortis,
 Ex triginta tribus extitit illa cohors.

13. Item aliud de conuiuiis.

Bis sex conuiuiis bisseños diuide panes,
 Cleris, agricolis militibusque simul.

(Carm. 11) *Titulus* problemate *B* : probleumate *R* 4 cuncta *R* : concta *B*

(Carm. 12) 2 hec *B* : hunc *R* 4 Essetis *B* : Esseti *R* 6 triginta *R* : tringinta *B*

also PL 90:674C; Johannes Bolte, “Der Mann mit der Ziege, dem Wolf und dem Kohle,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 13 (1903): 95–96 and 311; and Frederick Tupper, Jr., “Riddles of the Bede Tradition: The ‘Flores’ of Pseudo-Bede,” *Modern Philology* 2 (1904–5): 561–72, at 572 and n. 3. Marcel Danesi, *The Puzzle Instinct: The Meaning of Puzzles in Human Life* (Bloomington, 2002), 153–55, provides a diagram that illustrates each move stage by stage. For African versions of the problem, see Marcia Ascher, “A River-Crossing Problem in Cross-Cultural Perspective,” *Mathematics Magazine* 63 (1990): 26–29, at 26–27.

(Carm. 11) *B* 186va; *R* 183va. Walther, *Initia* 264. Text: Hugo, 2:417.

1 solidos: 1 solidus = 12 denarii.

2 libra = 20 shillings.

(Carm. 12) *B* 186va; *R* 183va. Walther, *Initia*, 8965. Text: Hugo, 2:417; PL 203:1397. Folkerts, “Die älteste mathematische Aufgabensammlung,” 351–52, edits a prose version of the problem (followed by the solution): “(45) Propositio de columba: Columba sedens in arbore vidit alias volantes et dixit eis: Utinam fuissetis aliae tantum et tertiae tantum. Tunc una mecum fuissetis C. Dicat, qui potest, quot columbae erant in primis volantes.”

(Carm. 13) *B* 186va–vb; *R* 183va. Walther, *Initia*, 2196. Text: Hugo, 2:417; PL 203:1397–1398. Folkerts, “Die älteste mathematische Aufgabensammlung,” 352–53, edits a prose text of the problem (followed by the solution): “(47) Propositio de episcopo qui iussit XII panes in clero dividi. Quidam episcopus iussit XII panes dividi in clero. Praecepit enim sic ut singuli presby-

Liba duo clerum, libi pars quarta colonum,
 Dimidius panis militis ora cibatur.
 5 Vt tot sint homines quot panes, sint ibi quinque
 Cleri, ruricole ter duo, solus eques.

R 186vb

14. Item aliud de columbis.

Edificat centum graduum collectio scalam;
 In primo residet sola columba gradu.
 Post binę uolucres, tres postea, quatuor inde,
 Centenos numerus ordinat iste gradus.
 5 Consului summam cum quinquaginta columbis;
 Quinque columbarum milia summa tenet.

15. De natura scacorum.

Nil pedes excedit, numquam redit, antea errat,
 Dum capit in finem fercia nomen ei.
 Seruat in alfino primum natura colorem,
 Qui torte sequitur per tria puncta uiam.

(*Carm.* 14) *Titulus* Item *om.* Hugo

(*Carm.* 15) 1 antea] anteat *BR* : aut eat Hugo 2 fercia *corr.* ex forcia *BR*

teri binos acciperent panes, diaconi dimidium, lector quartam partem. Ita tamen fiat, ut clericorum et panum unus sit numerus. Dicat, qui valet, quot presbyteri, vel quot diaconi aut quot lectores esse debent"; and Galloway, "Rhetoric of Riddling," 104, edits a prose text of the same arithmetical problem (twelve loaves of bread to be divided in exactly the same way between twelve people, composed of "milites," "pedites" and "puelle") together with the solution from Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 230/116, fol. 171r.

(*Carm.* 14) *B* 186vb; *R* 183va. Walther, *Initia* 566. Text: Hugo, 2:417; PL. 203:1398. Folkerts, "Die älteste mathematische Aufgabensammlung," 348–49, edits a prose version (followed by the solution: a total of 5050 doves): "(42) Propositio de scala habente gradus centum. Est scala una habens gradus C. In primo gradu sedebat columba una, in secundo duae, in tertio tres, in quarto IIII, in quinto V. Sic in omni gradu usque ad centesimum. Dicat, qui potest, quot columbae in totum fuerunt."

(*Carm.* 15) *B* 186vb; *R* 183va. Walther, *Initia* 11787. Text: Hugo, 2:417–18. Cf. Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum* 2.184 (ed. Thomas Wright, Rolls Series 34 [London, 1863], 324–26); *Corrogationes noui Promethei* 1329–66 (ed. Laurel Susan Cropp, *A Critical Edition of Alexander Neckam's Corrogationes Noui Promethei* [Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1991], 221–22); *Carmina medii aevi maximam partem inedita* (Berne, 1877), 137–41, *Carm.* 82 (Versus de Scachis); and *Carm.* 83 (*Carmina Ludi Scachorum*).

2 fercia: cf. R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965), 189, s.v. ferzia chess-queen.

- 5 Saltanti similis oblique miles oberrat,
 Cui numquam remanet qui fuit ante color.
 Rocus agit totum, nisi sint obstacula lustrō
 Antea uel retro uel per utrumque latus.
 Paulatim per puncta uagans propriique coloris
 10 Non oblita manet fercia qualis erat.
 Non tangit regem; rex nil transit, uariatur;
 Quem cacus demat sepe timere facit.
 Interea predantis spacium si uenerit hostis,
 Preda fit illius, linea cuius erat.

16. De tribus mortuis quos Dominus suscitauit.

Mens mala, mors intus; malus actus, mors foris, vsus
 Tumba; puella, puer, Lazarus ista notent.

17. De nomine Adam.

Anatole, Disis, Artos, Messinbria: mundi
 Quatuor he partes esse loquantur Adam.

(*Carm.* 16) 2 notent *R* : netent *B*

(*Carm.* 17) 1 artos (i.e. Arctos) *R* : arcus *B*

14 linea: cf. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, 5:1616, s.v. linea 5c.

(*Carm.* 16) *B* 186vb; *R* 183va. Walther, *Initia* 10911. Text: Hugo, 2:418; A. B. Scott, Deirdre F. Baker, and A. G. Rigg, "The Biblical Epigrams of Hildebert Le Mans: A Critical Edition," *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985): 272–316, at 310, no. 66, vv. 1–2; Gerald of Wales, *Symbolum electorum carm.* 31, ed. J. S. Brewer, Roll Series 21.1 (London, 1861; rpt., 1966), 373: De tribus mortuis a Christo suscitatis; Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum* 2.11 (ed. Wright, 135), and *Gloss on the Psalter* (London, Lambeth Palace, 61, fol. 1va; Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 284, fol. 162va) [attributing the couplet to Hildebertus]; Walter Map, *De nugis curialium* (ed. M. R. James [Oxford, 1914], 24); PL 171:1279A; Wilmart, "Le florilège de Saint-Gatien," 27; R. W. Hunt, "A Manuscript containing Extracts from the *Distinctiones monasticae*," *Medium Aevum* 44 (1975): 238–41, at 239; Dinkova-Bruun, "Notes on Poetic Composition," 325, no. 17.

(*Carm.* 17) *B* 186vb; *R* 183va. Walther, *Initia* 954. Text: Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 378; B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1890–93), 3:248; A. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III: Pièces inédites ou peu connues du MS. 1136 de l'Arsenal," *Latomus* 8 (1949): 283–301, at 286, B.1–2; cf. Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 466; Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Genesis 317–18 (ed. Beichner, 1:39). For a different poem on the same topic, see Dinkova-

18. Quoddam problema.

- Vt tot emantur aues, bis denis uterę nummis;
 Perdix, anser, anas, empta uocetur auis.
 Sit simplex obolus precium perdicis; ematur
 Sex obolis anser bisque duobus anas.
 5 Vt tua procedat in lucem questio, mentem
 Consulo; sic loquitur pectoris archa michi: R 183vb
 "Sint anates tres atque due; simplex erit anser;
 Accipe perdices quatuor atque decem."

19. Quedam differentie partium.

- Dat pilus huic barbam, pilum plagam, pila ludum.
 Verbere tundo solum, set forcipe tondeo mentum. B 187ra
 Pendo qui fur sum; pendo qui te traho sursum.
 Virgam prendo manu; conuiua prandeo gustu.
 5 Nomino rete plagam; pono pro uulnerę plagam.

20. Item quedam differentie.

Flans madet ymbre Nothus; notus ex patre degener extat.
 Saphirum lapidem, saphyrum cognosce colorem.
 Hec pars sola: leo pecus est, Leo uir, Leo signum.
 In terra pecus est canis, in celo Canis astrum.

(*Carm.* 18) 1 aues *BR* : oves *Wattenbach* 4 bisque *B* : quinque *R*

(*Carm.* 19) 2 tundo] tondo *BR* 4 prendo] prando *BR* 5 rete *B* : te *R*

Bruun, "Notes on Poetic Composition," 321, no. 3. A summary of the tradition that viewed the name "Adam" as an acronym for the Greek terms for the four points of the compass is offered in *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, ed. Bayless, 235.

(*Carm.* 18) *B* 186vb; *R* 183va–vb. Walther, *Initia* 19900.

(*Carm.* 19) *B* 186vb–187ra; *R* 183vb. Walther, *Initia* 4067.

1 ludum: cf. Serlo of Wilton, *Carm.* 2.91 (*Serlon de Wilton: Poèmes latins*, ed. J. Öberg [Stockholm, 1965], 85): "Ludum laudo pile. . ."

5 plagam . . . plagam: cf. Serlo of Wilton, *Carm.* 2.87 (ed. Öberg, 85): "Recia, regna plagas dicunt et vulnera plagas."

(*Carm.* 20) *B* 187ra; *R* 183vb. Walther, *Initia* 6589.

1 Nothus: cf. Serlo of Wilton, *Carm.* 2.83 (ed. Öberg, 84): "Perflat summa Nothus . . ."; notus: i.e. "nothus," an illegitimate son.

21. In primo uersu incipiunt omnes partes in *a* et sic de ceteris.

Inc.: Ardet amans animus, accendit amicus amicam;
Expl.: Xpistus Xpistorum xanctus Xanxonia y y et z.

22. Quoddam problema.

Mira loquar: sine re fit causa, dies sine sole,
 Ver sine florē, quies sine pace, pater sine prole.
 Fit sine spinetis rosa, fit uentus sine flatu,
 Fit sine fraude dolus et culpa fit absque reatu.
 5 Sepe tuli celum sine sideribus, sine signis,
 Sepe focum feci sine fomentis, sine lignis.

23. De his que ad scriptorem pertinent.

Inc.: Omni conueniunt scriptori quatuor: anser
Expl.: Fert ouis; incaustum promere spina solet.

24. De quatuor temporibus anni.

Ver, estas, aptunus, hyenps sunt quatuor anni
 Tempora, que currus lustrat, Apollo, tuus.

(*Carm.* 21) *Titulus* In hiis uersibus continentur omnes littere alphabeti *R*

(*Carm.* 21) *B* 187ra; *R* 183vb (21 lines). Walther, *Initia* 1441. Text: Hans Walther, "Lateinische Verskünsteleien des Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 91 (1961–62): 330–50, at 342. Two misreadings in Walther's edition require correction: v. 20 "Vir uirtute uiget, uesanus uina ueretur" (uina *R*: uitia *B*: viva Walther); v. 21 "Xpistus Xpistorum xanctus Xanxonia y y et z" (xanctus xanxonia Wattenbach: xanxonia xanctus *BR*: xanctus xanxoma Walther; y y et z *R ut uid.*, Wattenbach: y y et – *B*: x. y. z. Walther). Fierville, "Notice et extraits," 135–36 (cf. 154, XV), edits from Saint-Omer 115, fol. 97v, an abecedarian poem, although it lacks a verse beginning with *k* (*Inc.*: "Ardua nulla bonis spe sydere regionis. / Bacchus sumatur modice, sensus cumulatur"). Hauréau, "Notice sur un manuscrit," 336, cites two verses from a poem of ten leonine hexameters: "Pulcher, pube Paris, Pyrrhus probitate probaris, / Actibus Alcides, armis animosus Atrides." For an abecedarian hymn on Judgement Day and another poem in this form, see *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, ed. Bayless, 186–90. Serlo of Wilton, *Carm.* 36 (ed. Öberg, 109–10), is an acrostich that spells out the name PATRICIUS.

(*Carm.* 22) *B* 187ra; *R* 183vb. Walther, *Initia* 11070.

(*Carm.* 23) *B* 187ra; *R* 183vb (4 lines). Walther, *Initia* 13242. Text: Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 379.

Ver sua grana serit, fouet estas semina, fota
Colligit auptunnus, lecta recondit hyemps.

25. De quatuor temporibus anni.

Bis duo tempora sunt anno, menses duodeni,
Ebdomade decies quinque duęque simul.
Ter centum decies senos cum quinque diebus
In se collectos quislibet annus habet.
5 Horę sunt centum per septem millę per octo,
Sex per denarium, si numerando probes.

26. Versus florigeri.

Ornassem gemmas quid posse dari neque fari
Iam posse ueor que secla deam dominari.
Dic mihi de Simoneę gena, gusto de Salamoneę
Nec dea deuota necdum fio dea lota.
5 Guttare noxa meo nec herinum nec Machareum
Nec uicere nec faueo nec anum nec pisa Lieum.
Pande solum penam diuinam Pan uiciosus
Spes arboream frontem magis ossa dolosus.
Aga duella tripes morituros debuit helle
10 Pallia de barbis Bachum sale destruo uellę.

R 184ra

(Carm. 25) *Titulus* De B : Item de R 1 duodeni R : duedeni B

(Carm. 26) 6 uicere B : uice R

(Carm. 24) B 187rb; R 183vb. Walther, *Initia* 20124a. Text: Alexander Riese, ed., *Anthologia Latina* 1.1 (Leipzig, 1904; rpt. Amsterdam, 1972), 315, no. 864, app. crit.

1–4 Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler, “Romanische Bronzeschalen mit mythologischen Darstellungen: Ihre Beziehungen zur mittelalterlichen Schulliteratur und ihre Zweckbestimmung,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 11 (1957): 1–34, at 16–17, suggests that the poem illuminates the composition of a scene engraved on the Annus-bowl depicting the seasons (p. 14, Abb. 14).

4 Cf. Honorius Augustodunensis, *De imagine mundi* 2.55 (PL 172:154A–B): “Autumnus . . . dicitur ab Autumo, id est colligo, scilicet fructus terrae. . . .”

(Carm. 25) B 187rb; R 183vb. Walther, *Initia* 2179.

3–4 Cf. Honorius Augustodunensis, *De imagine mundi* 2.62 (PL 172:155B): “Solaris annus est, cum sol omnia signa zodiaci perlustrat, qui trecentis sexaginta quinque diebus et sex horis constat.”

(Carm. 26) B 187rb; R 183vb–184ra (at the bottom of fol. 183vb are the catchwords “dic michi de”). Walther, *Initia* 13481.

27. Item uersus de archiepiscopo.

Arceo uesicas Nestor passum Machareus
 Belua cras fatum labor oris dimanicheus
 Subueniant sua fata Saul dea retia solis
 De crispis et de piscinis et dea prolis
 5 Hastas degentes corium facit apia uere
 Alea mons tarde latus herea facta facere
 Dra dei mandat caupones allia saxi;
 Liuores ore uehit et uolat ylioni.

28. De Loht et uxore eius.

Loht talamique comes hominum duo uota figurant,
 Quos a mundanis spesque timorque trahunt.
 Angelus ad patria(m) iubet hos exire; sacerdos
 Istos terrena labę carerę iubet.
 5 Postponunt patriam, fugiunt incendia mundi,
 Hii fugiendo faces, hii metuendo malum.
 Illis est uetitum post tergum flecterę lumen;
 Istis est uetitum rursus hiarę malo.
 Vxor Loht flectit oculum post terga salisque
 10 Vertitur in statuam, non bene salsa prius.
 Ad culpe uomitum molles redeunt aliisque
 Sunt condimentum ne paciantur idem.
 Montis ad adscensum quia Loht uirtute carebat,
 Ire Segor placuit, consulit illa fuge.
 15 Contemptor mundi si mox nequit esse Maria,
 Spem prebere tamen practica uita potest.

B 187va

(Carm. 27) 8 ylioni BR : ylioni axi Wattenbach

(Carm. 28) Titulus loht B : loht R 3 ad B : a R iubet B : iubet R

(Carm. 27) B 187rb; R 184ra. Walther, *Initia* 1417. Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 379: "8 Verse, mir ganz unverständlich."

(Carm. 28) B 187rb–va; R 184ra. Walther, *Initia* 10398.

7 Illis . . . lumen: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Genesis 835 (ed. Beichner, 1:59).

10 Vertitur . . . prius: cf. *Aurora*, Lib. Gen. 836.

11 Ad . . . redeunt: cf. Prov 26:11.

De Segor ad montem Loht nititur attamen ire;
 Iustus ab actiuis ad meliora potest.
 Loth iustos, uomitus iterantes femina signat;
 20 Mons speculans uita est, practica uita Segor.

29. De holocausto Iheroboal.

Iheroboal paleas purgabat; missus ad illum
 Angelus ex hirco sacra paranda iubet.
 In petra poni succus cum carne iubetur;
 Iussio pondus habet; ille peregit opus.
 5 Angelica uirga tanguntur singula; flammam
 Petra uomit, flamma deuorat omne sacrum.
 Purgator paleę diuina uidet, quia munda
 Mens uicio penetrat intima uisa dei.
 Angelus offerri iubet hedum; quando iubetur,
 10 Occidit uicium quod caro nostra petit.
 In petra carnes ponuntur, quando superni
 Regis ad exemplum se caro nostra domat.
 Offert cum carne succum, qui crimina carnis
 Et fluxum carnis cum ratione premit.
 15 Angelus hec uirga tetigit, quia celica uirtus
 Nunquam priuat ope, quos bona uelle uidet.
 Ignis de petra nascens uorat omnia; flatus
 Spiritus a Xpisto concremat omne malum.

(*Carm.* 28) 17 nititur attamen ire *R* : nititur ire *B*

(*Carm.* 29) *B* 187va; *R* 184ra–rb. Walther, *Initia* 8158; cf. Beichner, “*Floridus Aspectus*,” 469, O; Jud 6:20–22.

2–3 Angelus . . . iubetur: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Iudicum 87–89 (ed. Beichner, 1:235).

5–6 Angelica . . . sacrum: *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 91–92.

7 Purgator . . . munda: cf. *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 93.

9 Angelus . . . hedum: *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 95.

11–13 In . . . succum: *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 97–99.

14 Et . . . premit: cf. *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 100.

15 Angelus . . . tetigit: Jud 6:21.

15–16 Angelus . . . uidet: *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 101–2.

17 Ignis de petra: Jud 6:21.

17–18 Ignis . . . malum: *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 103–4; cf. Beichner, “*Floridus Aspectus*,” 469.

20 Succum cum carne uorat ignis; noxia mentis R 184rb
 Cum culpis operum flamma superna cremat.

30. De ortu ueris.

Ver oritur, bruma moritur, frigus sepelitur;
 Flos alitur, nemus induitur, tellus aperitur.
 De tribulis prodire suis rosa iam meditatur;
 De modulis, philomena, tuis animus renouatur.
 5 Sol rutilat, cignus iubilat, pratumque nitescit.
 Grando latet, decus omne patet, nemus omne uirescit. B 187vb

31. De nomine Petri.

Nomen scriptori dant sillaba prima Pelori,
 Littera prima thori, finalis sillaba Flori.

32. De quodam episcopo.

Cuius uita sacro digne respondet honori,
 Coccum bis tinctum, presul, habeto, precor.
 Cor fraterna tuum penetret dilectio; totam
 Se tua succendat mens in amore Dei.
 5 Concordare tuos mores ad utrumque merendum
 Nouimus etatis nec meminisse sue.
 Flos licet etatis tenero de gramine nondum
 Prodierit, canos mens tamen intus habet.

(*Carm.* 30) *Titulus* De ortu et nobilitate ueris R 4 renouatur B : reuocatur R 5 nitescit B : uirescit R

(*Carm.* 32) *Titulus* De quodam episcopo B : de quolibet bono episcopo R 2 Coccum B : crocum R bistinctum B : bis stinctum R 6 nec B : non R

19–20 Succum . . . operum: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 99–100.

20 cremat: cf. Beichner, “*Floridus Aspectus*,” 470.

(*Carm.* 30) B 187va–vb; R 184rb. Walther, *Initia* 20132.

(*Carm.* 31) B 187vb; R 184rb. Walther, *Initia* 11920. Text: Wattenbach, “Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte,” 379. Cf. Peter Stotz, “Pegasus mit Fuss-Fesseln: Von der Behinderung des Dichters durch das Versmass am Beispiel der Eigennamen in der lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters,” *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 37 (2002): 1–32, at 18–20.

- Etatis tenerę uirtus oblita reliquit
 10 Omne quod est iuuenis, moribus usa senis.
 Se quodam merito mens preterit ipsior ipsa
 Quod non natura moribus esse uolens.
 Nullos incutiat igitur tibi lingua timores
 Inuida; dat clipeum uita pudica tibi.
 15 Verba licet reprimas, pro te tua facta loquuntur;
 Sunt oratores iusque piumque tui.

33. De Maria et synagoga.

- Inc.:* "Virgo deum peperit, saluum mihi crede pudorem;
Expl.: "Me uictam fateor, credere sperno tamen."

34. De Lia et Rachel.

- Empta labore Rachel mox non respondet amanti;
 Lia locum tenuit nocte priore thori.
 Si te delectet uite dulcedo quiete,
 Primitus actiui disce laboris opus.
 5 Iacob peccata supplantans, Lia laboris
 Actio terreni, uita quieta Rachel.
 Fusca fuit facies Lie, quia sepe nociuo
 Puluere fuscari practica uita solet.
 Pura Rachel facies nescit maculam, quia pure
 10 Nobis ostendit uita quieta Deum.

B 188ra

(*Carm.* 33) *Titulus* De maria et synagoga B : de maria uirgine et synagoga R

(*Carm.* 32) B 187vb; R 184rb. Walther, *Initia* 3528.

(*Carm.* 33) B 187vb; R 184rb (14 lines). Walther, *Initia* 20502. Text: Hans Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 5.2 (Munich, 1920; rpt. Hildesheim, 1984), 232, XVII.

1 saluum . . . pudorem: cf. Hildebert, *Carmina minora* 12.1 (ed. A. B. Scott [Leipzig, 1969; Munich, 2001], 4): "Lacto Creatorem: saluum mihi crede pudorem."

(*Carm.* 34) B 187vb–188ra; R 184rb. Walther, *Initia* 5364; cf. Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 468, I.

3–4 Si . . . opus: cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 288, I.11–12.

6 uita . . . Rachel: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Genesis 957 (ed. Beichner, I:64).

8 Puluere . . . solet: *Aurora*, Lib. Gen. 962; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 288, I.16.

Prolem Lia parit, quia per documenta salutis
 Sepe parit fructus practica uita Deo.
 Est sine prole Rachel, dum mens intenta supernis
 Fraterno tardat utilis esse lucro.

35.

De prima hora diei.

Iam passum fraudes, sputa, uerbera, probra Pilato
 Iusticię lumen obtulit hora prior.

De tertia hora.

Cum sinagoga fremit, cum Xpistum spina coronat,
 Tercia que quartam preuenit hora fuit.

De sexta hora.

5 Equa lancę diem medium librabat Apollo,
 Cum se porrexit in cruce nostra salus.

De nona.

Nona suspirat fur; Xpistum uita reliquit;
 Sauciat hasta latus, sanguis et unda fluit.

De uespera.

10 Syndonę uelatum sepeliuit uespera corpus;
 Discipulis similis lauerat hora pedes.

(Carm. 34) 14 lucro] *add. Explicit et expunxit R*

(Carm. 35) *Titulus (III)* De iii^a hora *B* : de tertia hora diei *R* 3 fremit *B* : premit *R*
Titulus (VI) hora *R* : *om. B*

11 per documenta: cf. *Aurora*, Lib. Gen. 965.

13–14 mens . . . lucro: cf. Peter Riga, *Recapitulationes (Sine D)* 59–60 (ed. Beichner, 2:607); Boutemy, “Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III,” 288, I.17–18.

(Carm. 35) *B* 188ra; *R* 184va. Walther, *Initia* 9718; Fierville, “Notices et extraits,” 154, XVIII, edits a poem of eight verses that gives a mystical explanation of the hours from the Church Office: *Inc.*: “In matutino dampnatur tempore Xpistus.”

De completorio.

Sudor sanguineus supremam consecrat horam,
Iam sudante Ihesu, iam ueniente Iuda.

De matutinis.

Tempus commendat nocturnum nocte resurgens,
De tenebris uicto demone nostra salus.

36. De quodam rustico hebrio.

Inc.: Rusticus ad tectum gressum referebat ab urbe.
Expl.: Ad tectum fracto uase reduxit iter.

37. De hoc nomine Eva.

E precedat et *u* post littera prima sequatur;
Ex hac iunctura pars lacrimosa datur.
Verte retro nomen, fit dulce satisque suaue;
Eua uiam clausit quam reserauit “*ae*”.

38. De pica.

“Sis mea candida”; “Sis non, set mea nigra uoceris”;
Candida nec dici nigra nec esse queo.

(*Carm.* 35) *Titulus (Compl.)* compl *B* : complectorio *R* *Titulus (Mat.)* matutinis *R* :
matut' *B* 14 nostra *BR* : vestra *Wattenbach*

(*Carm.* 36) *Expl.* tectum *B* : rectum *R*

(*Carm.* 38) 1 candida] *add.* albedo *sup. lin. BR* 2 Candida] *add.* pica *sup. lin. BR*
queo *B* : potest *R*

(*Carm.* 36) *B* 188ra–rb; *R* 184va (22 lines). Walther, *Initia* 16961. Text: Wattenbach, “Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte,” 379–80; Riese, *Anthologia Latina* 1.2 (Leipzig, 1906), 44.

(*Carm.* 37) *B* 188rb; *R* 184va. Walther, *Initia* 5050.

3 Verte . . . nomen: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Genesis 323 (ed. Beichner, 1:39).

(*Carm.* 38) *B* 188ra; *R* 184va. Walther, *Initia* 18274.

1 candida . . . nigra: cf. Serlo of Wilton, Appendix II: A P 4 (ed. Öberg, 72), 138: “Est nigris atque *pice* albedo nigredoque *pice*.”

- “Es mea”; “Non, mea”; non naturam, consulo libram;
 Dirigo; respondet pondere libra pari.
 5 Nec tua nec tua sit; dubius color errat in illa,
 Qui diuisorem nescit habere suum.
 Inquit Aristoteles: “Nigra dicitur; ecce nigredo!”
 “Non,” inquit Socrates, “candidus ecce color!”
 Non nigra, non alba, non sum mediata colore;
 10 Ergo mihi nullus dicitur esse color.

39. De transitu maris rubri.

- Iudeos rex Egipti nos rex tenebrarum
 Pugnandos sequitur insidiando premit
 Vnda maris rubri, fons Xpisti sanguine tinctus,
 Hostes extinguit, crimina nostra lauat.
 5 Post mare Iudeos bellorum turbo molestat;
 Post baptismum sacrum nos mala multa manent.
 Munerat illorum merces terrena laborem;
 Que nos expectat gloria fine caret.

R 184vb

40. De femina et nummo et honore.

- Inc.:* Fax odii, stimulus sceleris, subuersio morum,
Expl.: nummus, honor, mulier opus infestant pietatis.

(*Carm.* 38) 3 Es nea] al (i.e. albedo) *sup. lin.* B : albedo pica ni pi *sup. lin.* R 7 Aristoteles] aristotiles R 8 ecce B : esse R 9 nigra] *add.* pica *sup. lin.* BR

(*Carm.* 39) 5 turbo B : turba R

(*Carm.* 40) *Titulus* et nummo *om.* R : et *superscr.* B

(*Carm.* 39) B 188ra; R 184va–vb. Walther, *Initia* 9889.

3 rubri: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Exodi 221–22 (ed. Beichner, 1:100)

fons Xpisti: cf. Boutemy, “Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III,” 289, L.6.

sanguine tinctus: cf. *ibid.*, L.4.

4 extinguit: cf. *ibid.*, L.3: “Hostes extinctos sepelit Rubrum Mare.”

(*Carm.* 40) B 188vb; R 184vb (4 lines). Walther, *Initia* 6293. Text: Wattenbach, “Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte,” 380.

Inc. subuersio morum: cf. Hildebert, *Carm. minora* 50.1–2 (ed. Scott, 40).

41. De cursu Petri apostoli et Iohannis euangeliste.

Ad Domini tumulum Petrum currendo Iohannes
 Preuolat; ipse tamen stat remanetque foris.
 Qui sequitur prius ingreditur; qui preuolat, intrat;
 Tardius hec nobis pagina sacra refert.

- 5 Ista sacramentum spirant aliquod; sinagoge
 Designatur in his ecclesieque fides.
 Ecclesiam Petrus, sinagogam denotat alter;
 Discipulus cursus est utriusque fides.
 10 Ad Domini cultum gentes precessit Hebreus,
 Set Xpisti mortem credere tardat adhuc.
 Post tamen intrabit tumulum, quia denique Christum
 Credet et in mundi fine fidelis erit.

B 188va

42. De aduentu cuiusdam noui magistri.

Inc.: Lucifer exoritur, emittunt sidera lumen;
Expl.: Hic canit, illa refert; hec nitet, ille docet.

43. Versus de excidio Troie super omnes uersus
qui facti sunt huiusmodi.

Inc.: Feruet amore Paris, nauem parat, immolat aris;
Expl.: Regia nupsit ei uirgo fauore dei.

(*Carm.* 41) 1 timulum *B* : tumidum *R* 11 intrabit *B* : intrauit *R*

(*Carm.* 42) *Titulus* noui magistri *BR* : ludimagistri *Wattenbach*

(*Carm.* 41) *B* 188va; *R* 184vb. Walther, *Initia* 335.

(*Carm.* 42) *B* 188va; *R* 184vb (10 lines). Walther, *Initia* 10424. Text: Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 380.

(*Carm.* 43) *B* 188va-vb; *R* 184vb-185ra (52 lines). Walther, *Initia* 6462. Text: Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte," 381-82; *Carmina Burana* 102 (ed. Otto Schumann, *Carmina Burana* 1.2: Die Liebeslieder, 2d ed. (Heidelberg, 1941; rpt. 1971), 160-65 (*Carm.* 102). See also E. Faral, "Le manuscrit 511 du "Hunterian Museum" de Glasgow," *Studi medievali*, n.s., 9 (1936): 18-119, at 48, 50. Wattenbach (380) assigns the un-attributed poem to Peter Riga on the basis of its similarity to the verses on Archbishop Samson (*Carm.* 41). This attribution is upheld by Carsten Wollin, "Die Troiagedichte des Petrus Riga in

44. Summa Uirgilii in his uersibus continetur.

Inc.: Feruet amore Paris, Helenam rapit; utitur armis
Expl.: Italiam; Turnus uincitur; Alba manet.

45. Versus de laude Sansonis archiepiscopi.

Inc.: Illum qui roseis scintillat ubique tropheis
Expl.: Inclita Sansonis facta tot ampla bonis.

46. De decem preceptis legis.

Inc.: Sperne deos; non periures; requies celebretur.
Expl.: Illius in rebus te nesciat ulla cupido.

(*Carm.* 45) *Titulus* archiepiscopi] *add. remensis R*

den *Carmina Burana* (CB 102 und 99a),” *Sacris erudiri* 43 (2004): 393–425, at 400–7; the text is printed on 414–16.

(*Carm.* 44) *B* 188vb; *R* 185ra (4 lines). Walther, *Initia* 6461. Text: Wattenbach, “Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte,” 382; Riese, *Anthologia Latina* 1.2: LXIII; *Carmina Burana* 102 (ed. Schumann, 163); and Wollin, “Die Troagedichte,” 407.

(*Carm.* 45) *B* 188vb–189ra; *R* 184ra (32 lines). Walther, *Initia* 8739. Text: Wattenbach, “Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte,” 382–83. A. Boutemy, “Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II: Analyse du manuscrit 1136 de la Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal,” *Latomus* 8 (1949): 159–68, at 161, no. 12. The copy of the poem in Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 1136 consists of only thirty verses. The extra couplet (vv. 31–32) in Philipps 1694 may be an independent epigram, added by the compiler-poet. Boutemy, “Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* de Pierre la Rigge,” 98–100, discusses the authorship of the poem. Hauréau, “Notice sur les mélanges poétiques,” 301, noted that the poems in Peter Riga’s *Floridus aspectus* were assembled at Archbishop Samson’s request; cf. Beichner, *Aurora Petri Rigae* 1:xv. For Peter Riga’s eulogy of Archbishop Samson (1140–61) *Inc.*: “Tange manus calamum, Sampsonis pinget triumphos,” see PL 171:1388C–1389B; Wattenbach, “Beschreibung einer Handschrift der Stadtbibliothek zu Reims,” 505; Fierville, “Notice et extraits,” 93, XIV: Saint-Omer 115, fol. 48r; and Beichner, “*Floridus Aspectus*,” 462.

(*Carm.* 46) *B* 189ra; *R* 185ra–rb (6 lines). Walther, *Initia* 18486; *Proverbia* 30130; Beichner, “*Floridus Aspectus*,” 473, edits the poem from London, British Library Egerton 2951, where it runs to eight verses; cf. Dinkova-Bruun, “Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII),” 81, no. 11.

Inc. Sperne deos: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Exodi 377 (ed. Beichner, 1:106)
 non periures: *Aurora*, Evangelium 1153 (ed. Beichner, 2:470).

Expl. Illius . . . cupido: cf. Ex 20:3–17.

47. De vii diebus.

Inc.: Prima dies celum format, creat altera terram;
Expl.: Sub sexta fit Adam; septima complet opus.

48. De Adam et Eva.

Vt scriptura refert, in Adam sopor irruit. Euam
 Celestis figulus format ab osse uiri.
 Ecclesiam genuit lateris de uulnere, sompnium
 Letalem passus in cruce Xpistus homo.

49. De Abel.

Munde carnis ebur, rosa fusi sanguinis, aurum
 Iusticie—celebrant hec tria nomen Abel.
 Hec tria uirtutum festiua monilia fulgent
 Plenius in Xpisto, quem notat ille tribus.

50. De Ysaac.

Inc.: Implens iussa patris ad mortem ducitur Ysaac;
Expl.: Nil patitur Deitas, cum moriatur homo.

(*Carm.* 47) *Inc.* format om. R

(*Carm.* 47) B 189ra; R 185rb (4 lines). Walther, *Initia* 14555: "Prima dies celum firmat . . ."; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 163, 24 fol. 30v: "Versus P(etri) R(igae) de opere vi dierum"; Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 465. Cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Genesis 6 (ed. Beichner, 1:21); Gen 1:8–2:2.

(*Carm.* 48) B 189rb; R 185rb. Walther, *Initia* 19870.

2 Celestis . . . uiri: cf. Gen 2:21–22.

3–4 Ecclesiam . . . homo: cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 286, A.3–4; Jo 19:34

(*Carm.* 49) B 189rb; R 185rb. Walther, *Initia* 19870.

3 monilia: cf. Fierville, "Notice et extraits," 105.31: "Verborum restant bis quinque monilia."

4 Plenius . . . tribus: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Lib. Gen. post 430 Aegid. 2 (ed. Beichner, 1:44); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 286, C.4.

(*Carm.* 50) B 189rb; R 185rb (4 lines). Walther, *Initia* 8805. Text: Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 287, G ("D)e Abraham et Y(s)aac"), and "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 163, 24 fol. 31r; cf. Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 468, G.

Expl. Nil . . . homo: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Lib. Gen. 845–48 (ed. Beichner, 1:60).

51. De Esau.

Inc.: Esau debetur patris benedictio; fratrem
Expl.: Succedens totum gens aliena tulit.

52. De Moyse.

Inc.: In petra Moyses requieuit; petra figuram
Expl.: Adueniens legis triste remouit onus.

53. De Gedeonis uellere.

Primo madet uellus, rorem sitit area; uellus
 Iudeam, gentes arida signat humus.
 Ros sacre legis primum respersit Hebreos;
 Omnis cetera plebs hanc siciebat aquam.
 5 Signum mutatur: fusum bibit area rorem;
 Lana sitim patitur et sine rore manet.
 Sic sua dona Deus in nos conuertit, Hebreos
 Permittens inopes muneris esse sui.

(*Carm.* 53) *Titulus* de uellere gedeonis *R*

(*Carm.* 51) *B* 189rb; *R* 185rb (4 lines). Walther, *Initia* 5532; cf. Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 468, H.

Expl. gens . . . tulit: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Lib. Gen. 917–18 (ed. Beichner, 1:62); cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 287, H.4: "... gens aliena metit."

(*Carm.* 52) *B* 189rb; *R* 185rb (8 lines). Walther, *Initia* 9047: "In petra Moyses requieuit petra figuram"; cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 289, N ("De Moyse, Aaron et (H)ur"); Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 469, N.

Inc. In . . . requieuit: cf. Ex 33:21.

Expl. Adueniens . . . onus: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Exodi 343–44 (ed. Beichner, 1:104).

(*Carm.* 53) *B* 189rb; *R* 185rb. Walther, *Initia* 14621; cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 164, 24 fol. 33v, and "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, P ("De uellere Gedeonis"); Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 470, P.

1–2 uellus¹ . . . humus: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Iudicum 107–8 (ed. Beichner, 1:235); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Aspectus Floridus* III," 290, P.1–2; cf. Peter Riga, *Recapitulationes* (*Sine M*) 259–60 (ed. Beichner, 2:616).

3 Ros . . . Hebreos: cf. *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 109.

5–6 Signum . . . patitur: *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 111–12; cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, P.5–6. Cf. Jud 6:36–40.

7 Sic . . . Hebreos: *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 113; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus*

54. De Sansone.

Pro sponsa pugnans, pro nobis hostia factus,
 Sanson init Gazam, Tartara Xpistus adit
 Sansonem sepiit plebs Philistea; sepulchro
 Xpisti custodes dat sinagoga suos.
 5 Hic urbis portas predam tulit, ille profundi;
 Preualet ille suis hostibus, ille suis.
 Armat se Sanson maxilla, se cruce Xpistus;
 Vincitur hinc hostis, sternitur inde Satan.
 Hic medio noctis surgens, hic mane resurgens,
 10 Hostes eludit, demonis arma terit.
 Victo ciue potens, elusis uictor Hebreis,
 Ad montem Sanson, fertur ad astra Deus.

B 189va

(*Carm.* 54) 4 x̄p̄i B : Cristi R 12 montem B : montes R

III," 290, P.7.

8 Permittens . . . sui: cf. *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 114 (ed. Beichner, 1:236); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, P.8.

(*Carm.* 54) B 189rb–va; R 185rb. Walther, *Initia* 14767. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 164, 24 fol. 33v, and "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, Q ("De Sansone"); Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 471, Q, notes that the poem is preserved in London, British Library Egerton 2951, with a different opening couplet.

2 Sanson . . . Gazam: cf. Jud. 16:1.

Tartara . . . adit: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 286 (ed. Beichner, 1:242); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, Q.2.

3–4 Sansonem . . . suos: *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 287–88 (ed. Beichner, 1:242); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, Q. 3–4; cf. Jud 16:21.

5–6 Hic . . . suis: *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 291–92 (ed. Beichner, 1:242); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, Q.9–10.

5 portas: cf. Jud 16:3; for the parallelism between Samson and Christ, cf. *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 269–72 (ed. Beichner, 1:241–42); cf. Alexander Neckam, *Carm.* 12.15–18 (ed. H. Walther, "Zu den kleineren Gedichten des Alexander Neckam," *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 2 [1965]: 111–29 at 127); D. Kuijper, "De nonnullis versibus Nequam poetae attributis," *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 3 (1966): 247–49 at 249.

7 Armat . . . maxilla: cf. Jud 15:15.

9–10 Hic . . . terit: *Aurora*, Lib. Iud. 289–90 (ed. Beichner, 1:242); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, Q.7–8; cf. Jud 16:14

11 Victo . . . Hebreis: cf. Jud 16:30.

11–12 Victo . . . Deus: cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, Q.11–12.

55. De Daud et Vria.

- Designat Xpistum Daud, Vrias sinagogam,
 Bersabee legem, si bene scripta notes.
 Nuda placet mulier oculo regis, quia legem
 Nullo uestitam tegmine Xpistus amat.
 5 Vriam priuat rex coniuge, Xpistus Hebreos
 lege sua; spoliat hanc sociando sibi.
 Quam gerit incautus, Vriam littera perdit.
 Que gerit Hebreus per sua scripta perit.

56. De throno Salamonis.

- Inter opes uarias, quarum florebat honore,
 Festiua Salomon erigit arte thronum.
 Vendicat ex ebore sibi materiam thronus; auri
 Regia nobilitas uestit, et ornat ebur.
 5 Cristum rex Salomon, Deitatem denotat aurum;
 Ipsa Maria thronus est, pudor eius ebur.

(*Carm.* 55) *B* 189va; *R* 185rb. Walther, *Initia* 4277; cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 164, 24 fol. 33v, and "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, R ("De David, Vria et Bersabee"); Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 471, R.

1–2 Designat . . . notes: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber secundus Regum 195–96 (ed. Beichner, 1:278); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, R.1–2.

3 nuda placet: cf. A. B. Scott, "*Biblical Epigrams*," 315, no. 8, v. 3: Quid significat historia Daud et Bethsabée: "nuda placet Christo lex non uestita figuris."

regis: cf. *Aurora*, Lib. sec. Reg. 169–70, 197 (ed. Beichner, 1:277–78); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, R.3.

4 Nullo . . . amat: cf. *Aurora*, Lib. sec. Reg. 199 (ed. Beichner, 1:278).

5–6 Vriam . . . lege sua: *Aurora*, Lib. sec. Reg. 201–2; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, R.7–8.

7–8 Quam . . . perit: *Aurora*, Lib. sec. Reg. 203–4; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, R.9.

(*Carm.* 56) *B* 189va; *R* 185va. Walther, *Initia* 9476: "Inter opes varias qualiter florebat honore"; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 164, 24 fol. 34r, and "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, S ("De trono Salomonis"); cf. Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 471 S.

1–4 Inter . . . ebur: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Lib. tertius Reg. 189–92 (ed. Beichner, 1:294); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, S.1–4; cf. 3 Reg 10:18

3 ex . . . thronus: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Evangelium 111 (ed. Beichner, 2:428).

5–6 Cristum . . . ebur: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Lib. tertius Reg. 201–2 (ed. Beichner, 1:294–95); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 290, S.5–6.

57. De ortu sancti Iohannis Baptiste.

Sermonem patris natus Baptista refrenat;
 Cum Deus exoritur, iussio legis obit.
 Legis preco silet, quia lex fit muta; Iohannes
 Obstruit ora patris, gratia legis opus.
 5 Cristo nascente lux umbram, gratia legem,
 Res speciem, nouitas depulit omne uetus.

58. De partu virgineo.

Celestis	uerus	sacer	integra	natus	adorans	B 189vb
Preco	sol	flatus	virgo	creator	homo	
Iussa	decus	partum	messiam	terrea	plausus	
Fert.	seruat.	sacrat.	concipit.	intrat.	agit.	

59. De natiuitate Xpisti.

<i>Inc.:</i>	Natus	Casta	Nitens	Exultans	Perfidus	Empta
<i>Expl.:</i>	Nos.	labem.	lumen.	gaudia.	iura.	Deum.

60. De oblatione Xpisti.

Virgo, puer, Symeon, sacrum, legem, sua uota
 Inplet, fert, gestat, turture, sponte, manu.

(*Carm.* 57) 3 iohannes R : iohannes B

(*Carm.* 57) B 189va; R 185va. Cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 165, 24 fol. 34r, and "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 291, V. - De Zacharia et Iohanne.

3-4 Iohannes . . . opus: Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 291, V.3-4.

5-6 lux . . . uetus: *ibid.*, V.5-6.

(*Carm.* 58) B 189va-vb; R 185va. For an example of this type of verse ("singula singulis"), see Faral, "Le manuscrit 511," 105 C). Walther, "Lateinische Verskünsteleien," 339-40, edits poems composed of *versus rapportati*, which are arranged to be read from top to bottom.

(*Carm.* 59) B 189vb; R 185va. Text: "Floridus Aspectus," *Carm.* 10, PL 171:1390C; Fier-ville, "Notice et extraits," 91; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 159, 3 fol. 2v; Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 457.

(*Carm.* 60) B 189vb; R 185va. Walther, *Initia* 20545.

61. De baptismo Xpisti.

Labe, lacu, signo, purus, lotus, manifestus,
Mundat, sacrat, alit, nos, elementa, fidem.

62. De apparitione Xpisti.

Abluitur clamat sacratur adest solidatur
Saluator. genitor. vnda. columba. fides.

63. De passione Xpisti.

Fert, agitat, dampnat, Messias, hostis, Hebreus,
Probra, suos, Xpistum, carne, furore, cruce.

64. De mutatione elementorum.

Pendet sudat hebet nutat queritur reseratur
Vita. lapis. lumen. terra. gehenna. polus.

65. De resurrectione Xpisti.

Demon mors baratrum Xpistus Galilea fideles
Flet. perit. orbatur. surgit. aditur. ouant.

(*Carm.* 61) *B* 189vb; *R* 185va. Walther, *Initia* 10054.

(*Carm.* 62) *B* 189vb; *R* 185va. Walther, *Initia* 175. Text: "Floridus Aspectus," *Carm.* 11, PL 171:1390C; Fierville, "Notice et extraits," 91, 5^o, edits the poem from Saint-Omer 115, fol. 45v ("De baptismo Christi"); cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 159, 3 fol. 3r.

(*Carm.* 63) *B* 189vb; *R* 185va. Text: "Floridus Aspectus," *Carm.* 13, PL 171:1390D ("Fert Probra; Agitat reos Damnat Christum; Christus carne; Daemon furore; Phariseus Cruce"); Fierville, "Notice et extraits," 91, 6^o; cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 160, 3 fol. 3r.

(*Carm.* 64) *B* 189vb; *R* 185va. Walther, *Initia* 175. Walther, *Initia* 12923.

2 polus: cf. Hildebert, *Carm. minora* 20.1 (ed. Scott, 10): "Trina domus nobis, lar, tumba, polusque paratur."

(*Carm.* 65) *B* 189vb; *R* 185va. Walther, *Initia* 4034. Text: "Floridus Aspectus," *Carm.* 14, PL 171:1390D; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 160, 3 fol. 3r.

66. De ascensione Xpisti.

Nube, metu, cantu, Xpistus, grex, angelus, astra,
Scandentem grates, scandit, adorat, agit.

67. De aduentu spiritus sancti.

Expectat, replet, expellit, grex, spiritus, ardor,
Munera, corda, metum, mente, calore, fide.

68. De iudicio Xpisti.

Iudex, celum, Stix, discernet, nutriet, vret,
Facta, bonos, reprobos, iure, quiete, foco.

69. De fallacia prothoparentum.

Anguis, femina, uir, mendax, ignara, scienter,
Suadet, agit, sequitur, falsa, nociua, malum.

70. De omnibus gradibus Xpisti.

Inc.: Natus purus homo fortis surgens leuis vnus
Expl.: Corpus aquas penam mortem se celica totum.

B 190ra

(*Carm.* 70) *Expl.* aquas BR : aqua Hugo celica BR : cochica Hugo totum BR : totus Hugo

(*Carm.* 66) B 189vb; R 185va. Walther, *Initia* 12346. Text: Hugo, 2:418.

(*Carm.* 67) B 189vb; R 185va. Text: "Floridus Aspectus," *Carm.* 16, PL 171:1391A; Hugo, 2:418; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 160, 3 fol. 3r.

(*Carm.* 68) B 189vb; R 185va. Walther, *Initia* 9893. Text: "Floridus Aspectus," *Carm.* 17, PL 171:1391A; Hugo, 2:418; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 160, 3 fol. 3r; Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 458, describes the poem as "a twelve-word summary of the incident in Luke ii.22f."

(*Carm.* 69) B 189vb; R 185va. Walther, *Initia* 1048. Text: Hugo, 2:418.

(*Carm.* 70) B 189vb–190ra; R 185va (4 lines). Walther, *Initia* 11631. Text: "Floridus Aspectus," *Carm.* 18, PL 171:1391A; Hugo, 2:418; Fierville, "Notice et extraits," 91, 7° (Saint-Omer 115, fol. 45v); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 160, 3 fol. 3r.

71. De triplici genere pastorum.

Inc.: Trinus in ecclesia dominatur rector: amicus

Expl.: Pro precio seruit; dissipat ille gregem.

72. De his que prosunt anime post mortem.

Illis quos nondum mundatio plena piauit,

Inpendunt munus quatuor ista suum:

Carorum ieiuna caro, deuotio iusti,

Res miserum pascens, hostia sacra Deo.

5 Ista salus tantum uirtutem complet in illis,

Vita quibus meruit muneris huius opem.

73. De natvra colvmbe.

Septem compluitur donis natura columbe;

In tot uirtutes crescere debet homo.

Nobilitas huius uolucris sine fellis aceto est;

Sic odii felle uiscera mundet homo.

5 Cui uolucres alię uigilant, fugit illa rapinam;

Ne uelit esse nocens, sic prohibetur homo.

Hec pullis aliis maternum soluit amorem;

Omnibus affectum soluere curet homo.

Vt niteat granum paleas euiscerat illa;

10 Vt uirtus niteat, praua relinquat homo.

Hec gemit et nullo uocis iubilo citharizat;

Quod male deliquit, sic bene plangat homo.

Munit ab accipitre preuiso cura columbam;

Ne quid agat demon, sic speculetur homo.

15 In petra figit uolucris sollercia nidum;

In Xpisto penitus spem sibi figat homo.

(*Carm.* 71) *B* 190ra; *R* 185vb (4 lines). Cf. Walther, *Initia* 19443: "Trinus in ecclesia viget ordo notus in istis." Text: Hugo, 2:418; PL 171:1440B; Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 473, edits the poem from London, British Library Egerton 2951, with the rubric "De tribus rectoribus ecclesie" and with six verses (the second couplet, which Phillipps 1694 lacks, is "Pastor amans, custos spe lucri, fur rapiendo, / Dat pretium, prebet pascua, perdit ouem").

(*Carm.* 72) *B* 190ra; *R* 185vb. Walther, *Initia* 8728. Text: Hugo, 2:418–19.

(*Carm.* 73) *B* 190ra; *R* 185vb. Walther, *Initia* 17527. Text: Hugo, 2:419.

11 gemit: cf. Is 59:11.

15 In petra: cf. Cant 2:14.

74. De Sara et Agar.

Sara parit, discedit Agar; pariente fideles
Ecclesia populos, dat sinagoga locum.

75. De Heliseo et puero.

Non confert puero baculi premissio uitam;
Vt uitam reddat post Helyseus adest.
Non hominem saluat premissę littera legis;
Post ueniente Ihesu uiuere cepit homo.
5 Quod non fit baculo presente, fit hoc Helyseo;
Quod lex non potuit, gratia complet opus.
Infans nos, baculus legem, Xpistumque propheta
Denotat; illa tria forma fuere trium.

B 190rb

76. De Eleazaro.

Eleazar pugnans elephantem perforat hostem;
Vincit et a uicto uincitur hoste simul.

(*Carm.* 74) B 190ra; R 185vb. Walther, *Initia* 17283. Text: Hugo, 2:419; cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 163, 24 fol. 3r, and "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 287, F; Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 468, F.

1–2 Sara . . . locum: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Genesis 841–42 (ed. Beichner, 1:59).

(*Carm.* 75) B 190ra–rb; R 185vb. Walther, *Initia* 11993. Text: Hugo, 2:419; cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 164, 24 fol. 34r, and "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 291, T ("De puero quem Heliseus suscitauit"); Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*" 472, T.

1 Non . . . uitam: Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber quartus Regum 111 (ed. Beichner, 1:308); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 291, T.5; cf. 4 Reg 4:31.

2 Vt . . . adest: cf. 4 Reg 4:32–37.

3 Non . . . legis: *Aurora*, Lib. quartus Reg. 113; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 291, T.7.

4 Post . . . homo: cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 291, T.8.

5 Quod . . . Helyseo: cf. *Aurora*, Lib. quartus Reg. 107–8.

7 legem: cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 291, T.3.

(*Carm.* 76) B 190rb; R 185vb. Walther, *Initia* 5330. Text: Hugo, 2:419; cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 164, 24, fol. 34r., and "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 291, U ("De Eleazar et elefante"); Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 472, U.

2 Eleazar . . . simul: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Machabeorum 137–38 (ed. Beichner, 1:405); 1 Mach. 6:43–46; *Epist. Hugonis* (ed. Hugo, 2:336): "Victus victor eris, si victus eris pietate."

- Hunc notat Eleazar, qui carnea uota refrenans
 Peccati superat bella, set inde tumet.
 5 Tunc ueluti uictor benedicitur et quasi uictus,
 Cum carnem superans mente superbit homo.

77. De rubo quem uidit Moyses.

- Inc.:* Obstupuit Moyses ardere nec vrere flammam.
Expl.: Carnalis populi lex abolere nequit.

78. Item de rubo.

- Nil agit in dumo nature nescius ignis;
 Ignem non patitur obsitus igne rubus.
 Xpistus in igne crucis sic arsit nec tamen arsit;
 Non arsit Deitas et tamen arsit homo.
 5 Hoc arsit quod homo est; patitur caro, non tamen arsit
 Quod Deus est, tetigit passio nulla deum.
 Dumus habens spinas caro Christi est, que licet expers
 Tocius maculę crimina nostra tulit.

R 186ra

(*Carm.* 76) 3 Hunc] Hec BR refrenans R : tefrenans B 4 inde R : inde corr. ex unde B ut uid.

3 qui . . . refrenans: *Aurora*, Lib. Machab. 139 (ed. Beichner, 1:405); Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 291, U.1–3.

4 Peccati . . . tumet: cf. *Aurora*, Lib. Machab. 140; *Epist. Hugonis* (ed. Hugo, 2:321): "Legimus in libro Machabaeorum, Eleazarum victo elephanti succubuisse; sunt enim multi qui diabolium vincunt, sed victo per elationem superbiae succumbunt."

5–6 Tunc . . . homo: *Aurora*, Lib. Machab. 141–42.

(*Carm.* 77) B 190rb; R 185vb (6 lines). Walther, *Initia* 13096. Text: Hugo, 2:419–20; Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* II," 164, 24 fol. 32v, and "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 288, K ("De rubo et igne"); Beichner, "*Floridus Aspectus*," 468, K.1–6.

Inc. Obstupuit . . . flammam: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Exodi 81 (ed. Beichner, 1:94); Ex 3:2.

Expl. Carnalis . . . nequit: cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 288, K.6.

(*Carm.* 78) B 190rb; R 185vb–186ra. Walther, *Initia* 11775.

1–2 Nil . . . rubus: cf. Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Liber Exodi 75–76 (ed. Beichner, 1:94).

3–4 Xpistus . . . homo: cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 288, K.9–10.

5–6 Hoc . . . deum: *ibid.*, K.11–12.

7 spinas: cf. Boutemy, "Recherches sur le *Floridus Aspectus* III," 288, K.7–8.

79. Versus super picturam.

Virgo parens, uirgo saluator, virgo Iohannes,
Mente stupet, pendet arbore, morte dolet.

80. Item alii uersus super picturam.

Obsequitur parit	exoritur	stupet	inspiciit	[orat]
Preco.	uirgo.	Deus	mula	[iuuena] Ioseph.

81. Item uersus super aliam picturam.

Xpistus, plebs, Martha, soluit, miratur, adorat,
Corpus, signa, deum, funere, corde, prece.

82. Item alii uersus singula singulis ad picturam.

Xpistus, defunctus, uiuens, plebs, Martha, Maria,
Imperat, egreditur, it, stupet, orat, ouat.

Ego flos campi et lilium conuallium inter spinas.

B 190va

83. Oratio de omnibus sanctis.

Flos in agro, sidus in celo, remus in unda,
Erue nos, o uirgo parens, a morte secunda.

(Carm. 79) *Titulum om. R*

(Carm. 81) *Titulus: uersus R : om. B*

(Carm. 82) 3 *uersiculum om. R*

(Carm. 83) *Titulus: Oratio B : oratio bona R*

(Carm. 79) B 190rb; R 186ra. Walther, *Initia* 20533.

1 Virgo parens: cf. Hildebert, *Carm. minora* 12.2 (ed. Scott, 4): "res nova: virgo parens, et caro patre carens."

(Carm. 80) B 190rb; R 186ra. Walther, *Initia* 13092.

(Carm. 81) B 190rb; R 186ra. Walther, *Initia* 2776. Text: Hugo, 2:420.

(Carm. 82) B 190rb–va; R 186ra. Walther, *Initia* 2765. Text: Hugo, 2:420

3 Ego . . . spinas: Cant 2:1.

(Carm. 83) B 190va; R 186ra. Walther, *Initia* 6697; cf. Dinkova-Bruun, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII)," 91, no. 40.

2 parens: cf. *Carm.* 75.1.

- Ad te suspirat confessio pura reorum;
 Parce tuis, defende tuos, miserere tuorum.
 5 Tota cohors celi, numero diuisa noueno,
 Adsideat nobis uultu festiua sereno.
 Vox uerbi, baptista Dei, sponsi paraninphe,
 Per te nos mundet celestis gratia linphe.
 Tui nomen firmum dant firma uocabula petre;
 10 Fulciat in terris tua nos oratio, Petre.
 Flecte pias aures ad uerba precantia, Paule,
 Vt sibi nos societ eterne conditor aule.
 Andree meritum, qui pertulit in cruce penam,
 Que nos astringit, uitiorum soluat habenam.
 15 Iacobe, quem Xpisto ceruix incisa sacrauit,
 Emunda mentes, quas actio nulla piauit.
 Dulcis amice Ihesu, quem nulla libido notauit,
 Ora pro populo, quem uirtus rara beaut.
 Sancte Thoma, cui plebs cordis suspirat ab imo,
 20 Pectora nostra laua uitiorum sordida limo.
 Iacobe, quem Xpisto sociauit lignea moles,
 Per te nos saluet lumini patris unica proles.
 Tu lampas uel lampadis os, Philippe, uocaris,
 Implores nobis oleum celeste rogaris.
 25 Bartholomee reos tua uox a crimine purget,
 Nos sub peccato temptacio demonis urget.
 Matheus, cuius in mundo scripta choruscant,
 Nubila discutiat que cordis lumina fuscant.
 Plebem mens cuius nimis est in crimine prona,
 30 Simonis auxilio post uitam, Xpiste, corona.
 Excusa precibus nostrum, Thadee, reatum;
 Per te peccator se gaudeat esse beatum,
 Excusa miseros electus sorthe mathia,
 Nobis quod petimus uera prestante sophia.
 35 Te, martir, te, confessor, te, uirgo, precamur,
 Vt uestris meritis eterna luce fruamur.

14 astringit R : astringit B
 non legitur B

17 nulla B : ulla R

23 Tu] non legitur B

26 Nos]

9 Tui . . . petre: cf. Hildebert, *Carm. minora* 49.1 (ed. Scott, 39): "Petre, super petram nec inaniter edificasti"; Dinkova-Bruun, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII)," 91, no. 40.1–2.

23 os: cf. Dinkova-Bruun, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII)," 91, no. 40.13.

Auxilium nobis petat omnis turba piorum,
Per Xpistum dominum, qui numerat acta suorum.

38 suorum] *add.* Explicit tota cumpilacio huius operis R

INCIPITS OF THE POEMS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

- Abluitur clamat sacratur adest solidatur (62).
Accipe tot quot habes solidos et tot medii tot (11).
Ad dominum ducit gressus bonitatis euntes (5).
Ad Domini tumulum Petrum currendo Iohannes (41).
Aer portat aues, terre genitura coheres (7).
Anatole, Disis, Artos, Messinbria: mundi (17).
Anguis, femina, uir, mendax, ignara, scien-ter (69).
Apia tange colum, uela sursum Capricor-num (8).
Arceo uesicas Nestor passum Machareus (27).
Ardet amans animus, accendit amicus ami-
cam (21).
Bis duo tempora sunt anno, menses duodeni (25).
Bis sex conuiuiis bisenos diuide panes (13).
Celestis uerus sacer integra natus adorans (58).
Corda puellarum lasciuis urgeo morbis (2).
Cuius uita sacro digne respondet honori (32).
Xpistus, defunctus, uiuens, plebs, Martha, Maria (82).
Xpistus, plebs, Martha, soluit, miratur, ado-
rat (81).
Culpe causa fuit anguis deceptio ficti (6).
Dat pilus huic barbam, pilum plagam, pila
ludum (19).
De lignis texor, me fur aperire laborat (4).
Demon mors baratrum Xpistus Galilea fide-
les (65).
Designat Xpistum Daud, Vrias sinagogam (55).
E precedat et u post littera prima sequatur (37).
Edificat centum graduum collectio scalam (14).
Eleazar pugnans elefantem perforat hostem (76).
Empta labore Rachel mox non respondet amanti (34).
Esau debetur patris benedictio; fratrem (51).
Expectat, replet, expellit, grex, spiritus, ar-
dor (67).
Fax odii, stimulus sceleris, subuersio mo-
rum (40).
Fert, agitat, dampnat, Messias, hostis, He-
breus (63).
Feruēt amore Paris, Helenam rapit; utitur ar-
mis (44).
Feruēt amore Paris, nauem parat, immolat
aris (43).
Flans madet ymbre Nothus; notus ex patre
degener extat (20).
Flos in agro, sidus in celo, remus in unda
(83).
Grando quatit zelum, pax kirri fabricet hym-
nos (3).
Iam passum fraudes, sputa, uerbera, probra
Pilato (35).
Iheroboal paleas purgabat; missus ad illum
(29).
Illis quos nondum mundatio plena piauit
(72).
Illum qui roseis scintillat ubique tropheis
(45).
In lauro residens, bis sex uolitare columbas
(12).
In petra Moyses requieuit; petra figuram
(52).
Inplens iussa patris ad mortem ducitur Ysaac
(50).
Inter opes uarias, quarum florebat honore
(56).

- Iudeos rex Egipti nos rex tenebrarum (39).
 Iudex, celum, Stix, discernet, nutriet, vret (68).
 Labe, lacu, signo, purus, lotus, manifestus (61).
 Loth talamique comes hominum duo uota figurant (28).
 Lucifer exoritur, emittunt sidera lumen (42).
 Mens mala, mors intus; malus actus, mors foris, vsus (16).
 Mira loquar: sine re fit causa, dies sine sole (22).
 Mucro tenet mures, et te serum tenet Orcum (9).
 Munde carnis ebur, rosa fusi sanguinis, aurum (49).
 Natus Casta Nitens Exultans Perfidus Emp-
 ta (59).
 Natus purus homo fortis surgens leuis vnus (70).
 Nil agit in dumo nature nescius ignis (78).
 Nil pedes excedit, numquam redit, antea er-
 rat (15).
 Nomen scriptori dant sillaba prima Pelori (31).
 Non confert puero baculi premissio uitam (75).
 Nube, metu, cantu, Xpistus, grex, angelus, astra (66).
 O natat, l sequitur, redit o, c nauigat ultra (10).
 Obsequitur parit exoritur stupet inspicit [o-
 rat] (80).
 Obstupuit Moyses ardere nec vrere flam-
 mam (77).
 Omni conueniunt scriptori quatuor: anser (23).
 Ornassem gemmas quid posse dari neque
 fari (26).
 Pendet sudat hebet nutat queritur reseratur (64).
 Prima dies celum format, creat altera terram (47).
 Primo madet uellus, rorem sitit area; uellus (51).
 Pro sponsa pugnans, pro nobis hostia factus (54).
 Rusticus ad tectum gressum referebat ab urbe (36).
 Sara parit, discedit Agar; pariente fideles (74).
 Sepe lupus quidam per pascua lata uagantes (1).
 Septem compluitur donis natura columbe (73).
 Sermonem patris natus Baptista refrenat (57).
 "Sis mea candida"; "Sis non, set mea nigra uoceris" (38).
 Sperne deos; non periures; requies celebre-
 tur (46).
 Trinus in ecclesia dominatur rector: amicus (71).
 Ver, estas, auptunnus, hyenps sunt quatuor anni (24).
 Ver oritur, bruma moritur, frigus sepelitur (30).
 "Virgo deum peperit, saluum mihi crede pudorem" (33).
 Virgo parens, uirgo saluator, virgo Iohannes (79).
 Virgo, puer, Symeon, sacrum, legem, sua uota (60).
 Vt scriptura refert, in Adam sopor irruit. Euam (48).
 Vt tot emanant aues, bis denis uterę nummis (18).

University of Toronto.

A CURIAL SERMON BY CARDINAL BERTRAND DU POUJET*

Blake Beattie

PAPAL Avignon was one of the great centers of fourteenth-century preaching. For more than seven decades, preachers traveled from every part of Western Christendom to proclaim the Word in the churches and convents of the New Rome, and above all, the papal palace. It was here, of course, that the popes delivered most of their sermons, both liturgical and extraliturgical, though a great many other ecclesiastical dignitaries came to preach in the papal chapel as well. Some of these, like Pierre Roger (the future Clement VI) or Richard FitzRalph, the archbishop of Armagh, were highly celebrated orators whose substantial bodies of surviving sermons remain the objects of considerable scholarly attention;¹ others, though perhaps as well regarded in their own time, have been treated less favorably by the vicissitudes of time and the fragility of the inscribed page. The Carmelite bishop of Terralba (in Sardinia), Joan de Clarano († 1356), for example, was a prolific preacher whose curial sermons once comprised three volumes; today, only one of Clarano's sermons is known to survive, in a single manuscript now housed in the cathedral library of Valencia.² That manuscript contains thirty-three sermons, at least thirteen of which and perhaps the majority of which were delivered at papal

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¹ For Clement's preaching, see G. Mollat, "L'oeuvre oratoire de Clément VI," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 3 (1928): 239–74; Philibert Schmitz, "Les sermons et discours de Clément VI, O.S.B.," *Revue bénédictine* 41 (1929): 15–34. A list of forty-eight sermons delivered by Pierre Roger throughout his career, up to and including his pontificate as Clement VI, is found in Diana Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge, 1989), 211–15. For FitzRalph, see Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), esp. 84–107, 183–85.

² Valencia, Biblioteca de la catedral 215, fols. 93ra–104vb; the sermon is edited by Marc Dykmans, "Jean XXII, et les Carmes. La controverse de la Vision," *Carmelus* 17 (1970): 151–92. For the lost sermons, see *Bibliotheca Carmelitana, notis criticis et dissertationibus illustrata: cura et labore unius e carmelitis provinciae Turoniae collecta*, 2 vols. (Orléans, 1752; rpt. Rome, 1927), 1:826.

Avignon in the 1330s, 1340s, and 1350s. It remains the single most important and extensive collection of sermons *per diversos* known to survive from Avignon; even so, it represents only a tiny fraction of the total number of sermons that papal Avignon would have produced.³

The loss of materials has been particularly hard on liturgical sermons by cardinals. Changes in the ceremony of the papal chapel made cardinalatial preaching an important liturgical phenomenon at Avignon, where the popes began a slow but steady retreat from preaching *in propria persona* during pontifical liturgies. Curial protocol increasingly held that only a cardinal was of sufficient dignity to preach *inter sollemnia* on behalf of a pope who declined to do so.⁴ It did not matter that the majority of cardinals at Avignon were lawyers and administrators with little or no formal training as preachers; liturgical dignity, not experience, was the chief criterion for preaching *in vice papae* at pontifical celebrations. By the time Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi (1295–1341) composed his important ceremonial, shortly before 1320, forty-one of the fifty-two pontifical celebrations per year included liturgical preaching.⁵ If the popes chose not to preach in person at just one-third of these, cardinal-surrogates would still have delivered close to a thousand sermons in the chapel during the papacy's seventy-year stay at Avignon. Under the circumstances, the Avignonese chapel could probably be considered as the single most important center of cardinalatial preaching during the Middle Ages.

Unfortunately, many of the sermons of the papal chapel have suffered from the same ill fortune which has consigned poor Joan de Clarano to obscurity. The great majority of curial collections have simply not survived. The library of Benedict XIII (1394–1423) contained thirteen such collections, as many as nine of which may have come from papal Avignon; not one can be identified with any certainty among surviving manuscripts.⁶ Another important curial collection, whose rubrics were recorded by Étienne Baluze in the seventeenth

³ For the manuscript, see Elías Olmos y Canalda, *Catálogo descriptivo: Códices de la catedral de Valencia*, 2d ed. (Valencia, 1943), 159. See also Thomas Kaeppli, "Predigten am päpstlichen Hof von Avignon," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 19 (1949): 388; Johann-Baptist Schneyer, *Geschichte der katholischen Predigt* (Freiburg, 1969), 171; and Blake Beattie, "A Book of the Schismatic Pope Benedict XIII († 1423)? Clues to the Ownership of a Collection of *Coram Papa* Sermons," *Mediaeval Studies* 57 (1995): 345–56.

⁴ See Marc Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la Renaissance*, vol. 2: *De Rome en Avignon, ou le cérémonial de Jacques Sefaneschi* (Brussels and Rome, 1981), 405, lines 5–9. Exceptions could be made for exceptional preachers; see Blake Beattie, "The Sermon as *Speculum Principis*: A Curial Sermon by Luca Mannelli, O.P.," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 42 (1998): 26.

⁵ Dykmans, *Le cérémonial de Jacques Sefaneschi*, 405–11.

⁶ It seems likely, however, that the Valencia manuscript was once among these books; see Beattie, "A Book of the Schismatic Pope Benedict XIII († 1423)?" 351–56.

century,⁷ once existed at Cluny but disappeared around the time of the French Revolution. Today, the Valencia manuscript, with just five cardinals' sermons, constitutes an unusually rich source of materials.⁸ Formal collections of sermons by cardinals seem not to exist. The few cardinals' sermons that do survive from Avignon are for the most part dispersed in various manuscripts, without much apparent rhyme or reason, and some sermons, which are known to have been preserved, cannot be traced with any certainty. The Dominican cardinal Matteo Orsini (1327–40), for example, preached *coram papa* in 1332; the text apparently survives among the eighteen anonymous sermons of the Valencia manuscript, though it is impossible to say which one it is.⁹ The texts of cardinals' sermons from Avignon may once have numbered in the thousands, but finding one today owes more to serendipity than to anything else.

Given the general dearth of materials, Cambridge, Pembroke College 98 is a minor blessing for students of later medieval curial preaching. This rather brief but interesting manuscript contains another of the very few consciously assembled collections of curial sermons *per diversos* known to survive from papal Avignon. It was obtained by a monk and former prior of Bury St. Edmunds, Robert Kelyngham. The contents, laid out on the verso sides of two flyleaves at the beginning of the book, reveal two distinct and apparently unrelated interests: the Mass, and in particular its proper celebration; and preaching by—or at the court of—Pope Clement VI (1342–52).¹⁰ The manuscript contains two sermons by Pierre Roger—the “archbishop of Rouen” or “cardinal of Rouen” identified by Kelyngham in the table of contents—and another two, which he delivered after his election as Clement VI. It also includes a *collatio* delivered by Bernat Oliver, bishop of Huesca, in the private chapel of Cardinal Pedro Gomez on Ash Wednesday, 1344; a sermon delivered in the papal chapel by the titular patriarch of Antioch, Gerard Eudes, on Passion Sunday, 1345; and the *reportatio* of a sermon delivered in the same venue by Cardinal Bertrand du Poujet on the third Sunday of Lent, 1345.¹¹

⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France cod. Baluze 21, *Extraits relatifs à l'histoire du pape Clément VI et de sa famille*, fols. 5r–6r.

⁸ Cardinal Pierre de Préz († 1361), fols. 1ra–5vb; Cardinal Pierre Bertrand († 1348), fols. 22ra–28rb; Cardinal Élie Talleyrand de Périgord († 1364), fols. 35va–41ra; Cardinal Ymbert du Puy († 1348), fols. 90ra–92va; Cardinal Gui de Boulogne († 1373), fols. 177ra–184ra.

⁹ See Étienne Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium, hoc est historia pontificum Romanorum qui in Gallia sederunt*, ed. G. Mollat, 4 vols. (Paris, 1914–22), 2:267.

¹⁰ See the Appendix below. The three items on first flyleaf provide a broad description of the contents of the manuscript; the second flyleaf provides a more detailed listing.

¹¹ For the manuscript, see Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905), 90–92.

To the student of later medieval curial preaching, the material by Clement VI is interesting, though it does not add anything new to Clement's already very substantial (and quite thoroughly catalogued) corpus of sermons; copies of the same sermons survive in any number of other manuscripts. More remarkable, perhaps, are the sermons delivered by other preachers. The Augustinian Friar Bernat Oliver († 1348) was a well-known Aragonese prelate and anti-Jewish polemicist who was no stranger to the pulpit of the Avignonese chapel.¹² Gerard Eudes († 1348) was the controversial Franciscan Minister General and, after 1342, titular patriarch of Antioch, a highly respected theologian whose sermon is certainly of interest to scholars of the Avignonese curia.

The most remarkable sermon in the manuscript, however, is arguably the one by Poujet. It is not of a piece with the others. Roger, Oliver, and Eudes were all university-trained theologians whose sermons betray considerable homiletic experience. Poujet was not; indeed, it is somewhat ironic that curial protocol should have led Poujet to preach before—and in the place of—Clement VI, one of the premier preachers of the fourteenth century. Poujet had far more in common with the five cardinals—Pierre de Préz, Pierre Bertrand, Élie Talleyrand de Périgord, Ymbert du Puy, and Gui de Boulogne—whose sermons appear in the Valencia manuscript. They were, like Poujet, lawyers and diplomats, with minimal training in academic theology and little or no experience as preachers. They preached *coram papa* during pontifical celebrations because contemporary protocol required it. Their sermons utilize a simple, three-point organizational structure; these are occasionally inexpert in their composition and heavily dependent on contemporary preaching aids. They rely on a very traditional corpus of authorities, the most frequently cited of whom are Augustine of Hippo, Gregory the Great, and Bernard of Clairvaux. Their messages are straightforward, seasonally appropriate pastoral exhortations. They tend, in the manner of much later medieval preaching, to expound in the main on moral matters, though one need not attribute this, as some scholars have, to a “decline in theology” following “the golden age of scholasticism” in the mid-thirteenth century.¹³ In short, the cardinals' sermons are important and interesting documents of the fourteenth-century curial culture that produced them, but they will never be regarded as shining exemplars of the preacher's art.¹⁴

¹² Valencia 215 contains two sermons which Bernat preached *coram papa* at Avignon (fols. 72rb–78vb; 105ra–113rb). Another Cambridge manuscript (Pembroke College 87) includes a copy of a *collatio* he delivered in the house of Cardinal Pedro Gomez.

¹³ See Jean Leclercq, “Le sermon, acte liturgique,” *La Maison-Dieu* 8 (1946): 43–44.

¹⁴ See Blake Beattie, “The Preaching of the Cardinals at Papal Avignon,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 38 (1996): 17–37.

Yet Poujet's sermon, for all its similarities to others preached by cardinals at Avignon, is remarkable in several important ways. For one thing, its preacher was one of the towering figures of the fourteenth-century curia; for this alone, the sermon would be worthy of examination. Beyond this, however, the sermon has a somewhat idiosyncratic, rather personal tone that sets it apart from the others. It is possible that one of Poujet's *familiares*, with a stronger background in preaching and theology than Poujet himself possessed, was left with the task of adducing authorities or even, conceivably, of composing the more overtly theological sections of the sermon. Still, the sensibility that pervades the sermon would seem to be very much Poujet's own. With its anecdotal asides and its clear but indirect reference to the experience of Poujet's famous Italian legation, the sermon takes an unusually personal approach to the subject matter. It speaks, moreover, to the unexpected subject of the crusade. The crusade, of course, was an important goal for the popes of Avignon,¹⁵ but the liturgical sermons of the Avignonese curia tend to concentrate on moral and devotional matters, or on abuses in the curia; as a general (though not necessarily absolute) rule, they eschewed discussion of contemporary events. Poujet's sermon, then, affords some unusual insights into the mind of an exceptionally prominent and influential curialist of the fourteenth century.

Bertrand du Poujet was born to a lesser noble family near Cahors around 1280. As a young man he studied law, most likely at Montpellier or Toulouse, and pursued a career in the Church. His connection to Cahors served him well when his fellow Cahorsin, Jacques Duèse, was elected Pope John XXII in August 1316. Though little known at the time, Poujet was raised to the cardinalate in December of the same year. His sudden advancement and exceptionally close relationship with the pope soon engendered intense resentment, especially among the Italian cardinals and the Gascon faction that had enjoyed prominence under Clement V.¹⁶ Rumors circulated that Poujet was a nephew of John XXII, the son, perhaps, of one of the pope's sisters; wags, the most eloquent of whom was Petrarch, later claimed, on the basis of the strong physical resemblance between the two men, that Poujet was the pope's illegitimate son.¹⁷ In fact, Poujet was not among John XXII's close kinsmen,¹⁸ though he was undeniably one of John's most trusted and capable advisers.

¹⁵ See Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusade, 1305–1378* (Oxford, 1986).

¹⁶ See Bernard Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon (1309–1376): Étude d'une société* (Paris, 1962), 211, 240.

¹⁷ See, e.g., Petrarch's *Liber Epistolarum sine titulo*, Ep. VII.

¹⁸ See Edmond Albe, *Autour de Jean XXII: Les familles du Quercy* (Rome, 1902–6), 1:169–71.

Poujet's fame lies principally with his heroic, if ultimately unsuccessful, legation to Italy. Between 1320 and 1334 he coordinated a series of actions against the resurgent Ghibellines of northern and central Italy. During the period from 1320 to 1323 Poujet enjoyed considerable success in his campaigns against the linchpin of the Ghibelline alliance, Milan, and its ruling family, the Visconti. These were followed by the catastrophic reversals of 1324 and 1325, when Guelf coalition forces suffered crushing defeats at Altopascio and Zapolino. The appointment of a second legate, Cardinal Giovanni Orsini, in the spring of 1326 left Poujet free to concentrate exclusively on the northern theater. From his base at Bologna he tried but failed to prevent the emperor Ludwig IV from entering Italy in 1327; Ludwig's expulsion in the winter of 1330 ultimately had more to do with the defection of his erstwhile allies than with anything the legates had done. Even so, it was very much to Poujet's advantage, and by the spring of 1330 he had effected a tentative *rapprochement* with the Milanese *signore*, Azzo Visconti. But Poujet's subsequent alliance with King John of Bohemia, a colorful adventurer who sought to create a kingdom for himself in Italy, put Poujet at odds with virtually all the Italian powers. In 1332 the Lombard *signori* joined forces with the Guelf communes of Tuscany and the Angevin kingdom of Naples to form the League of Ferrara, with the express aim of driving John of Bohemia and Poujet from Italy. On 18 June 1333 the League defeated Poujet and the Bolognese at Argenta; John withdrew from Italy soon afterward. Poujet was never able to regain the advantage, and in August of 1334 the Bolognese expelled him from the city and destroyed *La Galliera*, the fortress which he constructed in anticipation of the pope's return to Italy. After fourteen years of exhausting and often brilliant campaigning, Poujet's mission had come, at last, to nothing.¹⁹

Its inglorious conclusion notwithstanding, Poujet's legation was anything but an unmitigated disaster. It is true that Poujet failed to comprehend the motives of the Italian powers or the fluid nature of Italian alliances, with ruinous results.²⁰ On the other hand, his successes, however ephemeral, suggested

¹⁹ For Poujet's general commission (19 July 1334), see John XXII, *Lettres communes, analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. G. Mollat, 16 vols. (Paris, 1904–47), no. 12112. For his legation, see Lisetta Ciaccio, *Il cardinal legato Bertrando del Poggetto in Bologna (1327–1334)*, Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Romagna, ser. 3, 23 (1904–5); and Carol A. Marcus, "The Mission of Bertrand de Poujet, the Legate of Lombardy (1320–1334): The First Seven Years" (unpublished thesis, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 1977). For a concise overview, see the narrative in Guillaume Mollat, *Les papes d'Avignon (1305–1375)*, 9th ed. (Paris, 1950), 158–200. For John of Bohemia in Italy, and Poujet's complex relationship with him, see Giovanni Tabacco, *La casa di Francia nell'azione politica di papa Giovanni XXII* (Rome, 1953), 299–311.

²⁰ See Giovanni Tabacco, "Programmi di politica italiana in età avignone," in *Aspetti*

that a sufficiently determined and capable commander could indeed prevail over even the most formidable coalitions of opposing powers in Italy. The failure of Poujet's legation led Benedict XII and Clement VI to pursue less ambitious—and less expensive—policies in Italy; when these proved wholly ineffectual, Innocent VI and Urban V returned to the bellicose policy of John XXII. In many respects, Poujet's mission served as a model for the ultimately successful legation of the great Cardinal Gil de Albornoz in the 1350s and 1360s.

Poujet, however, would not live to see his legacy vindicated. Upon his return to Avignon, he took his place among the leading diplomats of the curia. In 1348 he helped to negotiate peace between Queen Jeanne of Naples and her erstwhile brother-in-law, Louis I of Hungary, who held Jeanne responsible for the murder of her husband—and Louis's brother—in September 1345. Otherwise, he took on the less strenuous role of elder statesman and distinguished himself as a generous patron of scholars and religious foundations. At the time of Poujet's death in February 1352, even Petrarch, long one of Poujet's most strident detractors, could not refrain from praising him for his long and distinguished service to the Church.²¹

The major themes of Poujet's long and storied career are apparent in the sermon he delivered before Clement VI on 27 February 1345. The composition of the sermon clearly owes much to Poujet's private library, the contents of which are known to us. Upon his death, Poujet bequeathed his library to the Clarician convent of Saint-Marcel, which he had founded in 1321 at Castelnau-Monratier in his native Cahors. The library, however, came into the possession of the archbishop of Naples, Bertrand Meissonier, the archbishop of Naples, then passed through various hands before it was finally restored in 1369 to the Claresses, upon the orders of the papal chamberlain and archbishop of Auch, Arnaud Aubert.²² The text of Arnaud's order lists nineteen books, at least nine of which would have proved useful in the composition of Poujet's sermon: a concordance of the Bible; a book *De virtutibus et potestate summi pontificis*, which included some of the letters of Gregory the Great; a

culturali della società italiana nel periodo del papato avignonese. Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale (Università degli studi di Perugia) 19 (Todi, 1981), 66–67.

²¹ Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon*, 213–214; see Petrarch's *Rerum familiarum libri*, XII.6 For Poujet, see Baluze-Mollat, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium* 2:220–24; Pierre Jugie, "Un Quercynois à la cour pontificale d'Avignon: le cardinal Bertrand du Poujet (v.1280–1352)," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 26 (1991): 69–95; and Guillaume Mollat, "Bertrand du Poujet," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1912–), 8:1068–74.

²² See Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques au temps de la papauté d'Avignon*, vol. 2: *Inventaires de prélats et de clercs français* (Paris, 2001), 291.

history of the Old Testament, with commentaries by Bede; Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* (from which Poujet drew at least one Augustinian citation); John Chrysostom's *De dignitate conditionis humane*; a book of *Distinctiones*; a collection of sermons; an elegant pontifical (which eventually wound up in the library of Cardinal Pietro Corsini);²³ and an equally elegant missal, which provided Poujet with both his scriptural theme and (from the Lenten preface) the doxology with which he ended his sermon.²⁴ All or most of the sources cited in Poujet's sermon probably came to him through these books.

Poujet took his theme from the Gospel reading for the day, *Erat Ihesus demonium eiiciens, et illud est mutum. Et cum eiecisset demonium, locutus est mutus* (Lc 11:14). Like other curial preachers presented with similar scriptural themes, especially during Lent,²⁵ Poujet took this as an opportunity to examine the demons that afflicted the contemporary Church, in the hope of exorcizing them. At its core, this sermon is a call for ecclesiastical reform, as the Avignonese curia understood it. It opens with a brief protheme (lines 7–12) which ends with a recitation of the Ave Maria, a common but not universal practice among curial preachers at Avignon.²⁶ The sermon proper begins with an acknowledgment of Satan's power over the world, then celebrates the far greater power of Christ; indeed, Christ's power to expel demons, subsequently transferred to his apostles and still preserved in the ritual of exorcism, is Poujet's essential metaphor for ecclesiastical reform.

Many of the abuses Poujet addressed were, appropriately enough, especially pertinent to the curia. Poujet identifies three principal types of demons, the first of which, *mutum*, represents for Poujet both prelates and their subjects who remain silent when Christian morality dictates that they should speak out. Too many prelates, he complains, decline to admonish their errant congregations through timidity, laziness or ignorance, or, most disturbingly

²³ See Daniel Williman, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques au temps de la papauté d'Avignon*, vol. 1: *Inventaires de bibliothèques et mentions de livres dans les Archives du Vatican (1287–1420) – Répertoire* (Paris, 1980), 279, no. 145.

²⁴ For the list, see Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques* 2:292–293, no. 352.1.

²⁵ See, for example, the sermons by Cardinal Élie Talleyrand de Périgord (Valencia 215, fols. 35ra–41ra) and the Franciscan William of Alnwick, bishop of Giovinnazzo (fols. 55va–63ra), both delivered on the theme *Si in digito Dei eicio demonia, profecto peruenit in uos regnum Dei* (Lc 11:20) at Avignon on 7 March 1333 (Talleyrand preached in the papal chapel; Alnwick preached at the Dominican convent).

²⁶ Cf. *coram papa* sermons by Cardinal Pierre Bertrand (Valencia 215, fol. 22rb); Bernat Oliver, bishop of Barcelona (fols. 72vb and 105rb); Angelo Cerretani, bishop of Grosseto (fol. 123vb); Cardinal Gui de Boulogne (fol. 177ra); and Gonzálo de Aguilar, bishop of Sigüenza (fol. 195va).

for Poujet, out of fear that their own moral failings may come to light. Similarly, many subjects fail to reprove bad prelates simply because prelates do not wish to be corrected. According to Poujet, too many subjects assume the character of evil counselors, ignoring prelates' vices and praising their misdeeds. Poujet's critique grows sharper as he turns to the second type of demon, *legio*, like the host of demons that inhabited the Gadarene swine. The uncleanness of the pigs symbolizes luxury and gluttony, both of which were widely seen as all-too-common at the curia; indeed, both John XXII and Innocent VI promulgated constitutions which sought, without much success, to rein in the size and extravagance of cardinals' households at Avignon.²⁷ For Poujet, *legio* also symbolizes two grosser sins attributed to the prelates of the time. The first of these is sexual immorality, in reference to which Poujet cites an anonymous bishop whose "legion" of twenty concubines had apparently been discussed in a recent consistory.²⁸ No less disturbing to Poujet was the tendency of too many prelates to maintain a "legion" of kinsmen and associates, whom the prelates shamelessly enrich or advance.

Poujet's scandalous bishop underscores an unusual feature of his sermon: its reliance on colorful and ostensibly contemporary anecdotes in support of its point. Other cardinals preaching in the chapel avoided colorful *exempla* as a matter of course, restricting themselves exclusively to examples taken from scripture. Poujet was more willing to look for object lessons in the wider world. To illustrate his discussion of "mute" demons, for example, Poujet describes a curious incident, which apparently took place not far from Avignon:

I heard that in this land there was a certain woman from these parts—I'm not saying that I saw her—who did not know how to speak any other language or dialect; but, having become possessed by a demon, she spoke Hungarian. A certain Bulgarian bishop went to talk with her and said that this woman spoke Hungarian as well as anyone in the world could.²⁹

The tale has all the makings of a modern "urban legend": it is reputed to having taken place in an unspecified but not too distant location; the narrator puts some distance between himself and the purported occurrence, with the disclaimer that he himself was not an eyewitness; an anonymous interlocutor (in this case, a "certain Bulgarian bishop," of which there could hardly have been a surfeit at the Avignonese curia) provides the vital link between the teller and

²⁷ See Norman P. Zacour, "Papal Regulation of Cardinals' Households in the Fourteenth Century," *Speculum* 50 (1975): 434–55.

²⁸ See lines 156–59 in the edition below. The reference to a recent consistory suggests that this lascivious bishop was a real person who was well known to Poujet's audience; if he was, however, a heroic search has yet to reveal his identity.

²⁹ See lines 84–89.

the tale. Of course, it is impossible to say whether this alleged case of demonic possession (or some mental affliction that passed for possession) ever actually took place, or even whether Poujet believed that it did, or why a demon might choose to speak Hungarian. In any case, Poujet is unique among the cardinals preaching in the Avignonese chapel in employing so unusual and engaging an *exemplum*, at least ostensibly rooted in contemporary events, to illustrate his point.

Despite their recourse to somewhat unusual *exempla*, Poujet's treatments of "mute" and "legion" demons tackle what were probably, for the most part, fairly widespread problems at the Avignonese curia, if the sermons of other preachers are any indication. His attack on evil counselors, for example, is echoed in sermons by Cardinals Pierre de Préz and Gui de Boulogne, both of whom blasted the flatterers and detractors who clogged the courts of powerful churchmen.³⁰ Poujet's critique of prelatial patronage likewise has parallels elsewhere: the Dominican Provincial of France, Pierre de Palme railed against it in 1340 while preaching in the private chapel of Cardinal Pierre de Préz—who had effected the ennobling of his own burgher family some years earlier.³¹ The denunciation of sexual immorality, by contrast, is rather more unusual; other curial preachers are silent on the subject, though critics of the papacy suggested that it was a problem at the court of Clement VI. It might be too much to suggest that Poujet was mounting an oblique attack on certain members of his audience, though his singular candor on the subject of clerical incontinence is certainly noteworthy.

Nevertheless, it is only in treating the third type of demon, *lunaticum*, that Poujet's sermon breaks significantly with the themes of other cardinals' sermons at the fourteenth-century curia. The lunatic, for Poujet, is inconstant; he sometimes does good, sometimes does bad, but always acts with a divided conscience, itself an emblem of insufficient faith. The Church, he observes, has both the power and the authority to accomplish its objectives, but will never do so without full faith in God.³² To make his point, Poujet turns to the recent experience of the crusade—a subject noticeably absent from the sermons of other cardinals preaching *inter sollemnia* in the papal chapel. Poujet was himself something of a crusader at heart: several of his northern Italian campaigns, most notably his early struggle against Matteo and Galeazzo Vis-

³⁰ See Blake Beattie, "Coram Papa Preaching and Rhetorical Community at Papal Avignon," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden, 2002), 80–82.

³¹ Baluze-Mollat, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium* 2:245 n.3.

³² See lines 211–14.

conti in Milan, had been formally sanctioned as crusades,³³ and when King Philip VI of France came to Avignon in 1336 to promise, among other things, the undertaking of a new crusade, Poujet was one of several cardinals who eagerly took up the cross.³⁴ More significantly, however, Poujet links the crusade to the reform of the Church. This connection can be traced at least as far back as the pontificate of Innocent III, but it acquired a new vitality in the fourteenth century through the works of prominent crusading theorists like Ramon Llull, Pierre Dubois, and Marino Sanudo Torsello.³⁵ In an age that witnessed the first formal alliances of European powers (including Byzantium) against the Turks,³⁶ the connection between crusade and reform was extremely important to the popes and their advisers. Yet cardinals preaching at Avignon ignore it. Their sermons treat ecclesiastical reform in essentially private terms, as the simple observance of seasonal injunctions by individual members of the curia. Poujet is very unusual among preachers *inter sollemnia* in articulating what was probably a centerpiece of fourteenth-century ecclesiology: that reform was a larger, concerted, more collective spiritual regeneration, directly linked to the all-important matter of the crusade.

To convince his audience that a pure and single-minded Church could indeed prevail over the enemies of the faith, Poujet again turns to contemporary events, citing two recent triumphs in the struggle against the infidel: a *uictoria nouiter contra Turcos habita* (lines 215–16), undoubtedly a reference to the Christian capture of Smyrna on 28 October 1344; and a *uictoria concessa de Sarracenis in Yspania* (216–17), which almost certainly refers to the capture of Algeciras (26 March 1344) by Alfonso XI of Castile after a grueling, two-year siege. It is probably not a mere coincidence that the most important member of Poujet's audience, Pope Clement VI, had played a central role in coordinating both campaigns.³⁷ One might reasonably see Poujet's remarks as an enthusiastic endorsement of papal involvement in future campaigns. More immediately, however, they were intended to demonstrate the tangible results

³³ See Housley, *Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 76.

³⁴ Baluze-Mollat, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, 2:223.

³⁵ See Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land. The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000). For Llull in particular, see Pamela Drost Beattie, "Pro exaltatione sanctae fidei catholicae: Mission and Crusade in the Writings of Ramon Llull," in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J.*, vol. 1, ed. Larry J. Simon (Leiden, 1995), 112–29.

³⁶ A. Laiou, "Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: The Background to the Anti-Turkish League of 1332–1334," *Speculum* 45 (1970): 374–75.

³⁷ See Housley, *Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 33–35; 59–61. Smyrna in fact remained under papal rule (though not without considerable difficulty) until 1374; *ibid.*, Appendix II, 303–9.

of spiritual and moral reform when applied to the all-important program of the crusades.

In many respects, the distinctive tone and character of Poujet's sermon are the products of his long and arduous legation to Italy. At any number of points, the language of the sermon betrays a legate's sensibility. Early on, Poujet notes that Christ, before his resurrection, authorized the apostles to expel demons only within the borders of historic Israel; after his resurrection, however, Christ enjoined them to do so everywhere.³⁸ Poujet explains:

And there is a great difference between these two commissions, because one is a special commission, namely the one before [Christ's] resurrection, and the other is general, as the gloss says.³⁹

In fact, the *Glossa ordinaria* on this passage says nothing about special or general commissions, though the distinction would mean much to a legate, who was empowered with both a general mandate of legation and any number of special mandates, augmenting and refining the extent of his legatine power. Other cardinals preaching in the papal chapel—most notably Cardinals Pierre de Préz, Pierre Bertrand, and Ymbert du Puy—resort to legal language and images which betray their training as lawyers.⁴⁰ The mentality which informs the composition of Poujet's sermon, by contrast, is overwhelmingly that of a battle-hardened legate.

As legate, Poujet was enjoined to effect a very specific type of reform. This reform could not be understood in terms of private, internal transformation or broad and gradual changes to Christian society. It assumed that the *rectus ordo Italiae* had been overturned by the papacy's enemies in Italy, whose forcible and immediate pacification was essential to the restoration of a stable social and political order there. Its principal targets were tyrants, rebels, and heretics; its principal instruments were excommunication, interdict, and sieges of cities. The memory of Poujet's legation intrudes one last time, toward the end of his discussion of the crusade, when Poujet raises the problem posed by the "enemies of God" or "enemies of our faith." These are not presented as metaphors or abstractions; they are not sins or spiritual problems, but real people. This is in and of itself unusual, though the identities of these enemies are even more remarkable, for they include not only Turks and Saracens, but Christian rulers in Italy. Poujet does not name these enemies, though their identities are clear enough: he is referring to the Ghibelline *signori* of north-

³⁸ See lines 40–48.

³⁹ See lines 48–50.

⁴⁰ See Blake Beattie, "Lawyers, Law and Sanctity in Sermons from Papal Avignon," in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle et al. (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), 259–82.

ern and central Italy, and perhaps to the Aragonese in Sicily. Even more strikingly, Poujet expressly calls upon the Italians to reject their servitude to these enemies of God; so long as they toil under their Ghibelline tyrants, the Italians are impeded from making a meaningful contribution to the struggle against Islamic enemies in the East.⁴¹ In effect, Poujet is advocating political rebellion as an essential element of ecclesiastical reform. One can almost hear the frustrations of fourteen years of campaigning in this brief yet startling passage. More importantly, perhaps, one hears the voice of man with very specific and even programmatic ideas about the nature and necessity of reform within fourteenth-century Christian society. For Poujet, reform in Italy entailed the rejection of a political order which set itself in opposition to the papacy's political programs.

Poujet's attack on the Italian *signori* is one of many points in a sermon which is, for all its conformity to the conventions governing liturgical preaching in the Avignonese chapel, unusually personal in its tone and perspective. The sermon as a whole illustrates just how valuable medieval curial sermons can be, not only for the insight they provide into the history of preaching itself and the intellectual culture of the curia, but also because of their ability, in some instances, to humanize and to give dimension to the curial personalities of the age. Poujet's unique inclusion of the crusade, his emphasis on its connection to Church reform, and the obvious importance of his experience as legate in shaping the style and tone of his sermon, make it much more than a simple liturgical exercise and thus much more meaningful for the students of the Avignonese curia.

NOTE ON THE EDITION

Because this edition comes from a single manuscript, I have endeavored to retain the orthography of the original as much as possible, except where doing so might affect the grammatical sense of the sentence or cause confusion. Thus, I retain the scribe's unusual numerical usages, e.g., *M^o CCC XLIIII*, rather than *M^o CCC XLV* (5), but not those which are clearly erroneous; e.g., *Mathei XVII* (210), when the scriptural text in fact comes from Matthew 15. Likewise, I have preserved idiosyncratic but comprehensible spellings, e.g., *cottidie* (75), *mitat* (125); *audacter* (167). On the other hand, I have emended *subdes* to *sudes* (126) and *noscere* to *nocere* (177), to give two examples, for the obvious reason that the scribal rendering changes the essential meaning of the text.

⁴¹ Lines 230–33.

(Cambridge, Pembroke College 98, fols. 53vb–58rb)

Reportatio fratris Berardini de Vrbe ueteri fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini ordinis de sermone facto in capella pape per reuerendum in Christo patrem et dominum dominum Bertrandum episcopum Hostiensem et Vellatrecensem cardinalem, in tercia dominica XL, in ciuitate Auinionensis, anno domini M^o CCC XLIIII, tempore sanctissimi in Christo et domini Clementis diuina prouidencia pape VI, sui pontificatus anno tercio, etc.

Erat Iesus demonium eiciens, et illud erat mutum. Et cum eiecisset demonium, locutus est mutus, Luce XI. Crisostomus super isto uerbo (Luce) XI dicit (licet ponatur super Matheum), mutus est ille qui, cum loquitur, non loquitur uerba Dei; que uerba loqui non possumus sine diuina gratia. Et quia ego locutus sum uerba Dei, ideo pro impetranda gratia Spiritus sancti recurremus ad matrem gracie dicentes, aue Maria.

Erat Iesus demonium eiciens, etc. Augustinus in omelia de nupciis dicit, omnia que facit dominus Iesus non solum ualent (ad) excitanda corda nostra miraculis, sed eciam ad edificanda corda nostra in doctrina fidei. Et Gregorius in omelia XVI dicit quod miracula domini nostri Iesu Christi ita accipienda sunt, sicut uerba que diuinam uirtutem et nostram doctrinam loquuntur. Ex quibus uerbis habetur quod Christus fuit primo in uirtute potentissimus, fuit secundo in doctrina utilissimus. Et licet Christus in faciendo miracula potentiam suam ostenderit, plus tamen ostendit de potencia sua in eiectione demoniorum quam in alio miraculo. Dicit Leo papa in epistula ad Flavianum quod in Christo fuerunt due nature, diuina uidelicet et humana; per diuinam naturam operabatur tamquam per agens secundarium et instrumentale. Et quia Christus per diuinam naturam eiciebat demonia, ideo in eiectione ipsorum magnam uirtutem ostendebat et magnam potenciam. Quod patet dupliciter: primo ex parte eicientis; secundo ex parte eiecti.

2 reuerendum] re reuerendum MS

3–4 Vellatrecensem] Vellatrecensem MS

15 miraculis] miracula MS 17 sicut] sic MS

7–8 *Erat* . . . mutus: Lc 11:14.

9–10 mutus . . . Dei: cf. Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae XC in Matthaem*, Hom. 40 (41).3 (PG 57:441–43).

14–15 omnia . . . fidei: cf. Augustinus, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus CXXIV* 9.1 (ed. R. Willems, CCL 36 [1954], 91.19–21).

16–17 miracula . . . loquuntur: cf. Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in euangelia*, Hom. 2.1 (ed. R. Étaix, CCL 141 [1999], 13.8–11).

22–23 in Christo . . . instrumentale: cf. Leo Magnus, *Epistola 28, ad Flavianum episcopum Constantinopolitanum contra Eutychem perfidiam et haeresim* (PL 54:751–81 passim).

Ex parte eicientis patet tripliciter: | primo per modum eiciendi; secundo per 54rb
 modum disputandi; tercio per modum committendi. Primo modo superando et
 30 comminando patet de modo imperandi et comminandi, quia ipsi spiritus in-
 mundi siue demones sunt obedientes, quantum ad eorum eiectionem, ipsi
 Christo. Sic habetur Marci primo et Luce III, ubi dixit Christus demoni quod
 exiret ab homine. Et dicitur ibi quod *erat in synagoga eorum homo in spiritu*
inmundo, et clamauit dicens, quid nobis et tibi, Iesu Nazarene, uenisti perdere
 35 *nos? Scio quia sis sanctus Dei. Et comminatus est ei Iesus dicens, obmutesce*
et exi de homine. Et discerpens eum spiritus inmundus et clamans uoce magna
exiuit ab eo. Et mirati sunt omnes, et dicebant, quia in potestate spiritibus
inmundis imperat, et obediunt ei. Alio modo disputando, sicut patet in euuan-
 40 gelio hodierno et ut patet in omelia Ymo(nis?) super Matheum. Alio modo
 committendo, nam Christus specialem modum seruauit committendo discipu- 54va
 lis potestatem eiciendi demonia (uniuersaliter), sed dixit, ut habetur Mathei X,
in uia gentium ne abieritis, et in ciuitates Samaritanorum ne intraueritis, sed
pocius ite ad oues, que perierunt domus Israel. Euntes autem predicate dicen-
 45 *tesque, quia appropinquabit regnum celorum. Infirmos curate, mortuos susci-*
tate, leprosos mundate, demones eicite. Sed post resurrectionem commisit
 50 ipsis apostolis auctoritatem predicandi et eicendi demones uniuersaliter, ut
 patet Marci ultimo, cum dixit, *euntes in mundum uniuersum predicate euuan-*
gelium omni creature, etc., ut apparet ibi. Et est magna differentia inter istas
 duas commissiones, quia una est specialis commissio, uidelicet illa que fuit
 ante resurrectionem, alia fuit generalis, sicut dicit glosa. Et Gregorius super
 illo uerbo, *demonia eicient*, facit questionem: quare modo non fiunt ista
 miracula sicut olim fiebant? Et dicit quod modo non est neccesarium, quia

35 discerpens] diserpens MS

43 perierunt] pierunt MS

43 alia in marg. MS

32–37 erat . . . ei: Mc 1:23–27; cf. Lc 4:33–36.

37–38 Alio . . . Matheum: cf. fortasse Haymo, *Homiliae de tempore*, Hom. 42, *Dominica tertia in Quadragesima* (PL 118:257C, 260B); Hom. I, *Dominica prima aduentus* (PL 118:14B–C).

42–45 in . . . eicite: Mt 10:5–9.

47–48 euntes . . . creature: Mc 16:15.

48–50 Et . . . generalis: cf. Glossa ad *In uiam gentium* (Mt 10:5) et ad *Omni creature* (Mc 16:15); cf. Beda, *In Matthaeei euangelium expositio* 2.10 (PL 92:52; Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Matthaeeum libri octo ad Haistulphum archiepiscopum Moguntinum* 3.10 II (PL 107:891C–D). De distinctione inter speciales atque generales commissiones non dicunt glossae.

51 demonia eicient: Mc 16:17.

51–52 *demonia* . . . fiebant: cf. Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in euangelia*, Hom. 29.4 (CCL 141:247.75–78); sed haec quaestio non apparet in scriptis Gregorii.

- tunc fiebant propter augmentum fidei. Sed si bene consideremus, et nunc expelluntur demones ab hominibus | sicut olim expellebantur, sicut patet in exorcismo, quia per exorcismum demones a pueris eiciuntur, ut dicit Gregorius, 54vb
- 55 et ita specialiter sequencia dicti euuangelii. Vnde adhuc hodie in ecclesia Dei similia et maiora mirabilia fiunt sicut olim fiebant. Verum est quod aliquando demones expelluntur per iniustos homines, sicut patet Mathei VII. Dicitur ibi quod multi uenient ad Iesum et dicent ei, *domine, domine, nonne in nomine*
- 60 *tuo prophetauimus, et in nomine tuo demonia eiecimus, et in nomine tuo multas uirtutes fecimus? Et tunc confitebor illis, quia nunquam noui uos; discedite a me, omnes operarii iniquitatum.* Habetis ergo per istud quod Christus ostendit plus de potencia in eiectione demoniorum quam in alio miraculo, et quod dedit singularem commissionem, et quod adhuc hodie in ecclesia alio
- 65 modo eiciuntur adhuc hodie demones, sicut patet Luce VII, cum Iesus purgauit Mariam Magdalenam a septem peccatis mortalibus; dicitur postea in principio VIII capituli quod *erat ibi Maria Magdalena, a qua demonia septem | exiue-* 55ra
- rant.* Et sic per confessionem et per penitentiam eiciuntur demonia. Et satis patet potencia Christi in eiectione demoniorum primo ex parte eicientis.
- 70 Secundo ex parte eiecti. Nam demon dicitur princeps mundi, sicut habetur Iohannis XII, *princeps huius mundi eiecit foras.* Et Iob primo, dixit demon quasi mundi princeps, *circuiui terram, et perambulauit eam.* Et Iohannis XIII, dixit Christus, *uenit enim princeps mundi huius, et in me non habet quidquam.* Ergo, si demon dicitur mundi princeps, patens est (potencia). Sed Christus
- 75 eiecit demones et cottidie eicit ab ecclesia sua; ergo, Christus potencior est quam demon. Vnde ipse dicit Luce XI et in euuangelio hodierno, *cum fortis armatus custodit atrium suum, in pace sunt omnia que possidet; si autem fortior illo superueniens uicerit illum, omni a bona eius distribuet, et auferet arma uniuersa in quibus confidebat.*
- 80 Sed uerum est quod triplex est genus demoniorum expulsorum per Christum, quia primum genus est mutum, secundum genus uocatur legio, tertium | 55rb
- genus uocatur lunaticum.

58 demones in marg. MS

68 sic corr. e sicut MS

78 uicerit] uincerit MS

52–55 modo . . . eiciuntur: cf. ibid. (CCL 141:248.88–91).

59–62 domine . . . iniquitatum: Mt 7:22–23.

65–66 Iesus . . . mortalibus: vid. Lc 7:47–50.

67–68 erat . . . exiuerant: Lc 8:2.

71 princeps . . . foras: Jo 12:31.

72 circuiui . . . eam: Job 1:7.

73 uenit . . . quidquam: Jo 14:30.

76–79 cum . . . confidebat: Lc 11:21–22.

85 Primum genus uocatur mutum, et ratio est quia ille qui talem spiritum habet non loquitur nisi secundum quod demon mouet sibi linguam. Audiui quod in terra ista fuit quedam mulier de partibus istis—non dico quod uiderim—que nesciebat aliam linguam loqui uel aliud ydioma; et facta demoniaca loquebatur Vngaricum. Iuit quidam episcopus Vulgarus ad loquendum secum, qui dixit quod illa mulier loquebatur ita bonum Vngaricum sicut homo de mundo posset loqui.

90 Sed in ecclesia Dei sunt aliquando muti prelati et muti subditi. Prelati dicuntur muti quia non corrigunt: ipsi debent subditos suos corrigere correctione generali, uidelicet per predicationem publicam, et correccione speciali, uidelicet <per> reprehensionem fraternam et secretam. Vnde dicebat apostolus <secunda> ad Timotheum IIII, *predica uerbum, insta oportune, inopportune; digne obsecra, <increpe> in omni paciencia et doctrina*. Vnde dicit glosa quod si oporteat pati ad mortem, non debet | homo dimittere ueritatem, Mathei VI. 55va
Vnde Ysaie LVIII, *clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta uocem tuam, et annuncia populo meo scelera eorum, et domui Iacob peccata eorum*. Verum est quod loqui ueritatem dimittunt aliqui propter timorem, aliqui propter pigritiam, aliqui propter ignoranciam. Dicit Ieronimus super Ezechielem, magnum discrimen est et magnum periculum in populo Dei, cum predicatio diuini uerbi propter timorem dimittitur. De quibus dicitur Ysaie LVI, *speculatores eius ceci omnes, nescierunt uniuersi; canes muti non ualentes latrare, uidentes uana, dormientes*. Et sic prelati sunt muti quando uident mala in populo sibi commisso, et propter timorem non reprehendunt.

105 Sed aliqui dimittunt uicium proprium quia timent ne dicatur eis, *eice primo trabem de oculo < tuo>*, et tunc uidebis eicere festucam de oculo fratris tui, Mathei VII. Ista tamen reprehensio in prelati non debet habere locum, qui se debent corrigere et esse aliis in ex|emplum; ut dicebat apostolus, *castigo corpus meum et in seruitutem redigo, ne cum aliis predicauerim, ipse reprobis efficiar*, primo ad Corinthios IX. Et saltim debent populum commissum regere 55vb

87 qui *corr. e* qui qui MS
speculatores MS

94 Timotheum] Tytum MS

102 speculatores *corr. e*

94–95 *predica . . . doctrina*: 2 Tim. 4:2.

96 si . . . ueritatem: non inueni; sed vide glossam ad *Beati qui persecutionem* (Mt 5:10).

97–98 *clama . . . eorum*: Is 58:1.

100–102 *magnum . . . dimittitur*: cf. Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV* 1.3.18–19 (ed. F. Glorie, CCL 75 [1964], 38.1054–56).

102–4 *speculatores . . . dormientes*: Is 56:10.

106–7 *eice . . . tui*: Mt 7:5.

109–11 *castigo . . . efficiar*: 1 Cor 9:27.

correcione secreta, sed multi nolunt scire peccata commissi populi, de quibus dicit propheta, *tamquam surdus non audiebam, et sicut mutus non aperiens os suum*. Sed contra tales mutos dicit dominus Ezechielis III^o, *si dicente me ad*
 115 *impium, morte morieris, et non annuncciaueris ei, neque locutus fueris ut auertatur a uia sua impia, et uiuat, ipse impius in iniquitate sua morietur, sanguinem autem eius de manu tua requiram*.

Sed sicut prelati inueniuntur muti, ita reperiuntur muti subditi, qui uidentes malum prelatum non audent ipsum reprehendere, quia prelati nolunt correc-
 120 cionem recipere. Sed audiamus quid dicit Gregorius in registro, ego ab omnibus corrigi uolo, et illum uerum amicum michi reputo per quem recolo peccata mea. Sed | illi qui non reprehendunt uos, sed laudant opera uestra 56ra
 mala, sunt consiliarii mali, de quibus dicit Salomon Ecclesiastici XXXVII, *a malo consiliario serua animam tuam; prius scito que sit illius neccessitas, et*
 125 *quid ipse in animo suo cogitabit, ne forte mitat sudem in terram, et dicat tibi, bona est uia tua, et stet econtrario uidere quid tibi eueniat*. Sudes secundum expositores sunt lingua, et significant illos qui dant consilia mala, qui et, si aliquando dant bona consilia, semper tamen respiciunt propriam utilitatem, nec curant quod possit accidere illis quibus dant consilium. Et a talibus consi-
 130 liatoribus summe cauendum est. Et de istis consiliariis dicitur Iob IIII, ut Gregorius exponit V libro moralium. Sed sunt quidam homines affectati qui nesciunt dare consilium nisi secundum propriam utilitatem; et isti sunt directe muti. De quibus dicitur secunda Petri secundo capitulo quod *sunt filii male-*
 135 *diccionis, delinquentes rectam uiam errauerunt, secuti sunt uiam Balaam*. Sic illi qui secuntur mala consilia sequuntur | uiam Balaam, qui audiuit loquentem 56rb
 bestiam; dicit ibi glosa quod multi catholicorum ita diligunt mercedem iniquitatis, ut docti clerici ab indoctis laycis lacerentur. Sed quid dicit propheta, *muta fiant labia dolosa*.

112 nolunt] uolunt MS 116 in sup. lin. MS 121 illum] add. laudant opera uestra et
 del. MS 126 Sudes] subdes MS

113–14 tamquam . . . suum: Ps 37:14.

114–17 si . . . requiram: Ez 3:17–18.

120–22 ego . . . mea: Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum epistularum*, Lib. II, Ep. 44, *Gregorius Natali episcopo Salonitano* (ed. D. Norberg, CCL 140 [1982], 134.56–60).

123–26 a . . . eueniat: Eccli 37:9–10.

130 Et de istis . . . Iob IIII: cf. Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob* 5 passim (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 143 [1979]).

133–34 sunt . . . Balaam: 2 Petr 2:15.

135–36 Balaam . . . bestiam: vid. Num 22:28–30.

136–37 multi . . . lacerentur: Glossa ad *Secuti uiam Balaam* (2 Petr 2:15); cf. Beda, *In II epistolam s. Petri* 2 (PL 93:78D).

- 140 Aliud genus demoniorum expulsum a Christo uocatur legio, de quo habetur Marci V et Luce VIII. Dicitur Marci V quod cum Iesus descendisset de nauī, *statim occurrit ei de monumentis homo . . . et neque cathenis iam quisquam poterat eum ligare, qui compedibus et cathenis iunctus disrupisset cathenas . . . et nemo poterat eum domare. . . . Et Iesus interrogauit eum, quod est tibi nomen? Ille respondit, nomen michi est legio, quia multi sumus.*
- 145 Et Christus dixit quod exirent; et cum ibi esset grex porcorum, dixerunt, si eicis nos hinc, *mitte nos in porcos*, quod factum est. Et statim porci fugientes precipitauerunt se in mare. Et dicitur quod iste homo demoniacus stabat nudus. Porcus est animal inmundum, et significat homines imundos, per inmundiciam luxurie et gule. Et dicitur quod stabat iste homo in monumentis, 56va
- 150 ubi ponuntur cadauera, que sunt fetida. Sic isti fetores sunt per eorum luxuriam. Et erat nudus, quia tales sunt uirtutibus nudi, uel dicuntur nudi quia iacent nudi cum nudis, uel dicuntur nudi quia ebrietas habet hominem nudare, sicut patet de Noe Genesis IX. Et dicitur quod iste demon non tenebatur cathenis; et significat religiosos qui non tenentur ligamento sue perfeccionis.
- 155 Et dicitur quod non tenebatur compedibus; et significat clericos qui non tenentur ligamento sacri ordinis. Vel potest dici quod quidam faciunt legionem concubinarum, qui eis non sufficit una uel due, sed uolunt habere infinita, sicut fuit nuper allegatum in consistorio de quodam episcopo qui habebat XX concubinarias. Alio modo dicitur legio quia uenter et genitalia uicina sunt, ut 56vb
- 160 dicit Gregorius. Alia est carnalitas, ut in clero sunt aliqui qui, cum sunt prelati, statim faciunt legionem; statim uocant omnes consanguineos et affines, omnes | beneficiant, omnes ditant, omnia ipsorum facta tractant et lites et questiones et matrimonia in cameris suis. Sed de hoc habemus figuram primo Maccabeorum VI. Ibi dicitur quod *Eleazar uidit unam de bestiis loricatam lorice regis, et erat eminens super ceteras bestias, et uisum est ei, quod in ea esset rex; et dedit se ut liberaret populum suum, et adquireret nomen eternum. Et cucurrit ad eam audacter in medio legionis, interficiens a dextris et a sinistris et cadebant ab eo hinc et illuc. Et iuit sub pedibus elephantis, et sub-*

139 Aliud genus demoniorum] *add.* 2^m genus demoniorum *in marg.* MS 154 significat religiosos] *add.* nota contra religiosos *in marg.* MS 164 Maccabeorum] Matthei MS

138 muta . . . dolosa: Ps 30:19.

139 a . . . legio: vid. Mc 5:9; Lc 8:30.

141–44 statim . . . sumus: Mc 5:2–9.

152–53 ebrietas . . . Noe: vid. Gen 9:21.

159 legio . . . sunt: cf. Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob* 31.45.89 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 143B [1985], 1611.58–61).

164–69 Eleazar . . . eum: 1 Mach 6:43–46.

- 170 *posuit se ei, et occidit eum.* Eleazar interpretatur “Deus custos” uel “custos meus.” Et quis est ecclesie sue custos? Certe ipse Deus, qui uidet legionem, scilicet parentes prelati, et uidet bestiam, uidelicet malum prelatum, et uenit Deus occidit ad dextram, idest omnes consanguineos prelati ex parte patris, et ad sinistram, idest omnes consanguineos ex parte matris, et postea occidit bestiam, scilicet malum prelatum. Sed dicitur quod illa legio demoniorum perit inter porcos, idest intra homines carnales et dissolutos, | nec potuissent 57ra in porcos ire nisi permissi fuissent. Vnde dicit Augustinus quod dyabolus non potest nocere quantum uult, sed quantum nocere permissus est.
- Aliud genus demoniorum dicitur lunaticum, de quo habetur Mathei XVII quod *sepe cadebat in ignem, et sepe in aquam.* Et dicitur lunaticus secundum 180 glosam qui ad aliquam horam operatur bonum, et postea desistit et facit oppositum; et significat hominem inconstantem. De quo habetur Iacobi primo, *uir duplex animo inconstans est in omnibus uis suis.* Sed dicit glosa quod duplex est quia ad preces genua flectit, sed tamen mordente consciencia de impetracione diffidit. Vel alio modo intelligitur lunaticus ille qui precedit duplici 185 corde, quia non habebat plenam fidem. Nec poterunt curare lunaticum, unde cum pater lunatici diceret Christo, *obtuli eum discipulis tuis, et non poterunt eum curare.* Dicit Rabanus et Beda, hoc fuit quia non habuerunt fidem, sicut patet per responsionem Christi, quia cum discipuli dicerent Christo, *quare nos non potuimus eicere,* respondit Christus, | *propter incredulitatem uestram.* 57rb
- 190 *Amen quippe dico uobis, si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis*

177 nocere¹] noscere MS nocere²] noscere MS 178 Aliud genus demoniorum] *add.*
 3^m genus demoniorum *in marg.* MS 181 Iacobi primo] *add.* Iacob *in marg.* MS 185 ha-
 bebat] habebant MS 189 propter incredulitatem uestram] *add.* nota hic qualiter incredulitas
 granum aufert *in marg.* MS 190 sinapis] *add.* non accendit calorem nisi teratur etc. sed
 uerum est quod *per homoioteleuton* (cf. 197–98) *et del.* MS

176–77 dyabolus . . . est: cf. Augustinus, *Sermones de vetere Testamento* 15A, *Sermo habitus Hipponi Zarito in basilica Margarita* (ed. C. Lambot, CCL 41 [1961], 208.222–23); assumptum de Thomae Hiberniensis *Manipulo florum*, s.v. Diabolus (*Manipulus florum* [Vercelli. 1494], 149).

179 sepe . . . aquam: Mt 17:14.

179–81 lunaticus . . . oppositum: cf. Glossa ad *Quia lunaticus est* (Mt 17:14).

182 uir . . . suis: Jac 1:8.

182–84 duplex² . . . diffidit] Glossa ad *Vir duplex* (Jac 1:8); cf. Beda, *Expositio super diuini Iacobi epistolam* 1 (PL 93:12).

186–87 obtuli . . . curare: Mt 17:15.

187 hoc fuit . . . fidem: cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Mattheum libri octo* 5.17 III (PL 107:1002D); Beda, *In Matthei evangelium expositio* 3.17 (PL 92:82B); Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in evangelium Matthei libri quatuor* 30 (ed. D. Hurst & M. Adriaen, CCL 77:361–66).

195 *monti huic, transi huic, et transibit, et nichil impossibile erit uobis.* Et Rabanus et Beda dicunt quod ideo dominus noster comparauit fidem grano sinapis, quia sicut granum sinapis facit eicere superflua que sunt in cerebro, quia calefacit cerebrum, ita fides facit quod emittantur dubitationes quas habere possumus de diuinis operibus, quia calefacit et accendit affectum nostrum. Vnde Christus ibidem reprehendit patrem lunatici et discipulos, et dicit discipulis, *si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis*, etc. Sed uerum est quod granum sinapis non accendit calorem nisi teratur. Sic nec fides nisi in tribulationem cognoscitur. Vnde dicit glosa, granum quippe synapis, nisi teratur, nequaquam uirtus eius agnoscitur. Sic si uirum sanctum tritura persecucionis oprimat, 200 mox in feruorem uirtutis (mutatur) quidque in illo dum despicabile infirmumque uidebatur. Et ista sententia | habetur Marci IIII, unde Christus bene sciebat 57va secreta discipulorum, sed noluit manifestare; sic neque uoluit manifestare Iudam. Sed multa nobis negantur per modicam fidem, sicut patet Mathei XIII, 205 quod cum Petrus non dubitauit, siccis pedibus ad Christum super aquas iuit; sed cum fides infirma fuit, et statim incepit mergi, unde Christus sibi dixit, *modice fidei, quare dubitasti?* Verum est quod aliqui postulatotes dicunt quod ideo fides discipulorum fuit inualida, quia ipsi fuerunt indignati, ex eo quod soli Petrus et Iohannes et Iacobus fuerunt uocati ad uisionem in montem, sicut apparet Mathei XVII. 210

Sic est hodie in ista sancta ecclesia. Nam sancta ecclesia habet suam auctoritatem et potestatem, et habet usum clauium; et quidam non facit que uellet facere, et tum non potest uenire ad finem eius quod uult: et ratio est propter modicam confidenciam quam sumimus de Deo. Sed ubi nobis plene confidimus, tunc consequimur bonum quod optamus, sicut patet de uictoria nouiter contra Turcos | habita, et similiter de uictoria concessa de Sarracenis in 215 Yspania. Et satis habemus figuras expressas de Moyse, qui mare diuisit et 57vb

193–94 calefacit] celefacit MS

197 habueritis] habuerit MS

202 bene iter. MS

188–91 propter . . . uobis: Mt 17:18–20.

192–95 ideo dominus . . . nostrum: non inueni; cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Matthaeum libri octo* 5.17 III (PL 107:1003D–1004A; Beda, *In Matthaei evangelium expositio* 3.17 (PL 92:82C).199–200 granum . . . agnoscitur: non inueni; sed vide glossam ad *Sicut granum synapis* (Mt 17:19).

202–3 Christus . . . noluit manifestare: vid. Mc 4:22.

203–4 sic . . . Iudam: vid. Mt 26:21–25; Mc 14:18–21; Lc 22:21–23.

205–7 cum . . . dubitasti: vid. Mt 14:29–31.

209 soli . . . montem: vid. Mt 17:1–9.

217–18 figuras . . . fecit: vid. Ex 14:26–29, 4:1–9, 7:8–13, 19–21, 8:5–7, 16–18, 20–24, 9:1–7, 8–12, 22–23, 10:12–20, 21–23, 12:12–29, 16 passim, 17:5–7, 8–13, 34:29–30.

multa miracula fecit, sicut patet in Exodo, et de Iosue, quando transiuit Iordanem et cepit ciuitatem Ierico, sicut patet in Iosue. Infinita enim miracula
 220 facta sunt propter fidem, sicut patet per apostolum ad Hebreos XI. Nam propter
 fidem magnum miraculum factum est tempore Gedeonis, quando ipse cum
 trecentis hominibus lambientibus aquam debellauit tot populos inimicos Dei,
 sicut apparet Iudicum VII. Gedeon interpretatur "temptacio iniquitatis eorum."
 225 Sic nos debemus temptare iniquitates inimicorum fidei nostre ad repellendum
 inimicos fidei, et transire et transfretare sicut fecerunt Rubenite et Gaadite et
 dimidia tribus Manasse, qui dimiserunt uxores, filios, et totam substantiam
 citra Iordanem, et iuerunt in subsidium aliarum tribuum contra inimicos Dei,
 sicut apparet Numeri XXXII. Rubenite interpretatur | "uidentes," et significant 58ra
 statum clericorum, qui debent singulari modo (uidere) illa que sunt Dei. Gaadite
 230 interpretatur "abicientes seruitutem," et significant Ytalicos, qui debent
 abicere seruitutem istorum inimicorum Dei. Sed Manasses interpretatur "necessitas,"
 et significat Ytalicos et alios orientales, qui debent sibi neccessitatem
 sumere ad debellandum inimicos Dei. Vnde multa sunt facta miracula
 contra Dei inimicos propter fidem, sicut patet de uictoria Yspanie, et de aliis
 235 et similiter multa facta ecclesie proficua non prosequimur, neque prosequi
 possumus propter defectum fidei. Sed dicitur in dicto euuangelio Mathei XVII
 quod *hoc genus demoniorum non eicitur nisi in oracione et ieunio*. Et racio
 est quia oracio expellit demones, quia secundum Damascenum, oracio est peticio
 decencium a Deo. Et Beda dicit similiter de bonitate et utilitate oracionis.
 240 Et similiter ieunium expellit demones, quia ut dicit Ieronimus, ieunium comprimit
 uicia et largitur uirtutes. Et sicut cantamus modo in prefacione, qui cor-

225 Rubenite] rubente MS 226 uxores] uxorem MS 228 Rubenite] rubente MS
 230 Ytalicos] stauicos MS debent] *add. habere et del.* MS 234 Yspanie *corr. e* Ysapanie
 MS 236 XVII] XVI MS

218–19 transiuit . . . Ierico: vid. Jos 3–6 passim.

218–20 Infinita . . . fidem: vid. Hebr 11 passim.

221–22 magnum . . . Dei: vid. Jud 7, 4–12; 15–25.

225–27 Rubenite . . . Dei: vid. Num 32 passim.

237 hoc . . . ieunio: Mt 17:20.

238–39 oracio . . . Deo: Johannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei orthodoxae* 3.24 (PG 94:1090); sed assumptum certissime ex sancti Thomae Aquinatis *Compendio theologiae ad fratrem Reginaldum socium suum carissimum* 2.7.

239 de bonitate . . . oracionis: non inveni.

240–41 ieunium . . . uirtutes: non inveni.

241–44 qui corporali . . . seculorum: vid. *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis* 287, Feria IIII: Caput de ieuniis, statio ad sanctam Savinam (ed. O. Heiming, CCL 159B [1987], 35);

porali ieiunio uicia comprimis mentem eleuas, uirtutem largiris et premia, 58rb
quas uirtutes et que premia nobis concedat Deus, qui benedictus uiuit et regnat
in secula seculorum, AMEN.

243 uirtutes] *add.* nobis conceda *et del.* MS

Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis 279, Feria IIII: Caput de ieiuniis, statio ad sanctam Savi-
nam (ed. P. Saint-Roch, CCL 159C [1987], 38)..

APPENDIX:

(Descriptive flyleaves to Cambridge, Pembroke College 98)

Hunc libellum procuravit ffrater Robertus Kelyngham monachus monasterii sancti Edmundi ad vsum et vtilitatem fratrum dicti monasterii. In quo continentur quedam solempnes propositiones de diuersis materiebus propositae coram summo pontifice et eius cardinalibus.

Item quidam tractatus de officio misse.

Item quidam casus qui accidere possunt in missa per negligenciam sacerdotis et quid agendum sit in eisdem, secundam sentenciam sancti Thome. |

Libellus de procuracione Roberti Kelyngham quondam prioris in quo continentur quedam propositiones solempnes de diuersis materiebus, prout hic inferius seriose annotantur.

Propositiones Petri Rotamagensis archiepiscopi facta [*sic*] in presencia domini pape et cardinalium in publico consistorio; folio i^o, et incipit *Sanctissime pater*, etc.

Sermo Clementis pape sexti factus in publico consistoria [*sic*] contra archiepiscopum Maguntinum; folio 13^o, et incipit *Filius noster iste proteruius et contumax est*, etc.

Sermo cardinalis Rotomagensis factus coram pape [*sic*] in die purificationis beate Marie virginis; fol. 18, et incipit *Tulerunt illum in Iherusalem*, etc.

Sermo Clementis pape sexti factus in die cinerum pontificatus sui anno tercio; folio 31^o, et incipit *Ipse me reprehendo*, etc.

Collacio Bernardi Osconensis episcopi factus in domo Petri Yspani episcopi cardinalis; folio 50, et incipit *Gratias Deo*, etc.

Reportacio Berardini fratris heremitarum sancti Augustini de sermone facto per Bertrardum [*sic*] episcopum Hostiensem tercia dominica quadragesime; folio 53^o, et incipit *Erat Ihesus*, etc.

Sermo Geraldii ordinis fratrum minorum patriarche Antiocheni factus in capella Clementis pape sexti dominica in passione domini; folio 58, et incipit *Christus assistens pontifex*, etc.

Tractatus quidem de officio misse; fol. 71, et incipit *Ihesus Christus primus et summus pontifex*, etc.

Casus qui per negligenciam sacerdotis accidere possunt in missa secundum summam sancti Thome; fol. 75, et incipit *Periculis seu defectibus*, etc., et vsque in finem libri, etc.

University of Louisville.

JEAN GERSON'S AUTHENTIC TRACT ON JOAN OF ARC:
SUPER FACTO PUELLAE ET CREDULITATE SIBI
PRAESTANDA (14 MAY 1429)*

Daniel Hobbins

AMONG the earliest works in defense of Joan of Arc is a short tract by Jean Gerson (1363–1429), the chancellor of the University of Paris. Its occasion was one of the most spectacular military victories in French history. On 8 May 1429, French troops under Joan's command broke the English siege at Orléans in the first step toward the French recovery north of the Loire.¹ Just six days later, on 14 May, Gerson wrote from Lyon a short defense of Joan and her mission: *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*.²

That is one version of events. But anyone approaching this episode through the scholarly literature will immediately confront doubt and confusion. In 1957, Dorothy Wayman wrote an influential article that cast doubt on the authenticity of the work. Wayman claimed that Gerson actually wrote a different treatise on Joan that had long been attributed to Henry of Gorkum, *De qua-*

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OC = P. Glorieux, ed., *Jean Gerson: Oeuvres complètes*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1960–73).

OO = L. E. Dupin, ed., *Joannis Gersonii Opera omnia*, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1706).

¹ The work's occasion appears clearly in the description that accompanies the title in many of the manuscripts: "Lugduni 1429 die 14 Maii in vigilia Penthecostis post signum habitum Aurelianus in depulsione obsidionis Anglicanae." See further below under 3.6, "The 'Common Title Element.'"

² This is usually referred to as *De mirabili victoria*, but that title is a later scribal invention, as the edition below indicates; and though it is frequently described as Gerson's last work, his last work was instead the *Tractatus super Cantica Canticorum* (OC 8:565–639; see the colophon on 639). In general on connections between Joan of Arc and Lyon, see René Fédou, "Jeanne d'Arc vue de Lyon," in *Horizons marins, itinéraires spirituels (V^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. Henri Dubois, Jean-Claude Hocquet, and André Vauchez, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987), 1:43–54.

*dam puella conversante inter armigeris in habitu virili.*³ Although these arguments have never been accepted by Gerson specialists⁴ and have been directly challenged in recent scholarship,⁵ they have found their way into more general literature on Joan of Arc and have led to doubts on this question in an entire generation of Joan biographies and more specialized studies.⁶ The argument

³ Dorothy G. Wayman, "The Chancellor and Jeanne d'Arc, February–July, A.D. 1429," *Franciscan Studies* 17 (1957): 273–305.

⁴ Glorieux accepted *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* as authentic and included it in his edition. Brian Patrick McGuire draws parallels between the work and Gerson's *Super Cantica Canticorum*; see his "Jean Gerson, the Shulammite, and the Maid," in *Joan of Arc and Spirituality*, ed. Ann W. Astell and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, 2003), 183–92. For Gilbert Ouy, see Danièle Calvot and Gilbert Ouy *L'oeuvre de Gerson à Saint-Victor de Paris* (Paris, 1990), 92. Max Lieberman considered the work "absolument authentique" ("Gersoniana II," *Romania* 78 [1957]: 147). André Combes considered it authentic except perhaps for the last section, the "Triplex veritas" on Joan's clothing, because this additional section was not explicitly attributed to Gerson in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 14904 (*Essai sur la critique de Ruysbroeck par Gerson*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1945], 92 n. 1). The "Triplex veritas" is in fact attributed to Gerson in two other manuscripts that were unknown to Combes; see the variant in *LO* in the edition below at line 111.

⁵ G. Peyronnet, "Gerson, Charles VII et Jeanne d'Arc: La propagande au service de la guerre," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 84 (1989): 334–70. An earlier article responding in part to Wayman is H. G. Francq, "Jean Gerson's Theological Treatise and Other Memoirs in Defense of Joan of Arc," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 41 (1971): 58–80 (70–72 for the response to Wayman).

⁶ Studies that restate Wayman's doubts or that accept (implicitly or explicitly) her attribution of *De quadam puella* to Gerson include Dominique Goy-Blanquet, "Shakespeare and Voltaire Set Fire to History," in *Joan of Arc, A Saint for All Reasons: Studies in Myth and Politics*, ed. Dominique Goy-Blanquet (Aldershot and Burlington, Vt., 2003), 15–16; Françoise Meltzer, *For Fear of the Fire: Joan of Arc and the Limits of Subjectivity* (Chicago, 2001), 151 n. 48; Benjamin Cornford, "Christine de Pizan's *Dotie de Jehanne d'Arc*: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Charles VII," *Parergon*, n.s., 17.2 (2000): 75–106; Susan Crane, "Clothing and Gender Definition: Joan of Arc," in *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures*, ed. Denise N. Baker (Albany, 2000), 217 n. 50; Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Christine de Pizan and Jean Gerson: An Intellectual Friendship," in *Christine de Pizan 2000*, ed. John Campbell and Nadia Margolis (Atlanta, 2000), 204–5; Karen Sullivan, *The Interrogation of Joan of Arc* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1999), 33; Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, trans. and revised by Jeremy duQuesnay Adams (New York, 1998), 289 (cf. p. 70, where a work credited to Gerson is dated to June, presumably *De quadam puella* which has sometimes been dated to June, and pp. 184–85, where *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* is credited to Gerson and dated to May); Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* (New York and London, 1996), 158–59 nn. 18 and 25; Nadia Margolis, *Joan of Arc in History, Literature, and Film* (New York and London, 1990), 224, 237; Anne Llewellyn Barstow, *Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1986), 41, 133–34; Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (New York, 1981), 146; Frances Gies, *Joan of Arc: The Legend and the Reality* (New York, 1981), 57; M. G. A. Vale, *Charles VII* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974), 56; and John Holland Smith, *Joan of Arc* (New York, 1973), 105, 114, 207 n. 7.

against the authenticity of the tract of 14 May has now been restated in a recent book and article.⁷

Before forging ahead, it is worth stepping back for a moment and asking, Why all the attention to a tract written, it would seem, on the spur of the moment and in haste, entirely without polish, a work that at times is reduced to a careless ordering of "circumstances"? What is really at stake here? The problem of authorship is not simply a puzzle to be solved by antiquarians. If the treatise is authentic, we have the chance to hear the most important theologian of this era commenting on Joan of Arc at a defining moment in her career, indeed providing one of our earliest witnesses to her initial success. For Joan experts, the work would provide a witness to the level of her theological support at the highest levels. Scholars of late medieval mystics (especially female mystics) have used the tract to explore Gerson's attitudes toward women claiming special revelation. And for Gerson specialists, the work could serve as a window to other parts of his world, such as his political identification with the house of France, his sense of party interests at this period, and his use of theological opinion as a political weapon.

It is important to resolve this debate if possible, just as with the controversy over the *Imitation of Christ*, ascribed to Gerson himself by ardent Gallicanists for the better part of the last five centuries. To a degree, the field is stuck here until questions of authenticity are settled. Every conclusion drawn from the work, every larger argument depending in any way upon evidence from this text can only be provisional while doubt remains about authorship.⁸ The *Imitation of Christ* debate diverted enormous scholarly attention and energy. On the one hand, this was understandable given the stakes, the authorship of one of our most important medieval devotional works. The evidence was also contradictory. The manuscripts contain various attributions (including attributions to Gerson), hence resolving the question required monumental investigations into manuscript evidence: exploring attributions, of course, but also dating, hands, provenance, and so forth. This also led to many incidental discoveries, and even gave a boost to the study of Gerson's works by scholars looking for evidence both for and against his authorship.⁹ On the other hand,

⁷ Deborah A. Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate* (Woodbridge, 2000), and "Gerson Judging Women of Spirit: From Female Mystics to Joan of Arc," in *Joan of Arc and Spirituality*, 147–65.

⁸ A good example of the difficulties caused by the lingering question of authenticity can be found in the essays of Yelena Mazour-Matusevich and Brian Patrick McGuire in the volume *Joan of Arc and Spirituality*.

⁹ See, for example, a study on Gerson's self-referencing that is still worth consulting, J. Huijben, "Gerson et l'Imitation," *La vie spirituelle* 40 (1934 Supplément): 28–47.

the debate did not always lead to a deeper understanding of the Brethren of the Common Life any more than the debate over Gerson's authorship has improved our understanding of Gerson or his position on discretion of spirits.¹⁰ Yet with the tract edited in the present article, the evidence is clear and, as far as I can tell, unanimous. Gerson was the author.

In what follows, then, I first examine manuscript and other evidence to resolve any lingering doubts about the authenticity of *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*.¹¹ Some of this evidence has appeared before, but Gerson scholars have never assembled it into one coherent argument nor presented the case as strongly as it can be made. Attempts to attribute the *De quadam puella* to Gerson have clouded the issue still further. For this reason, I also examine the attribution of this work to Gerson.

The style of the text, at times elliptical and rushed, has also impeded understanding. The second section thus provides a clear explanation of what the tract says. In general, Gerson writes not merely to defend belief in Joan as permissible, as a detached academic might do, but insists that those of her party are obliged to support her and in fact risk divine displeasure if they refuse to do so. This too has not always been appreciated, that Gerson supported Joan fully and without hesitation.

The manuscripts of the work, including many unknown to Glorieux, have never been thoroughly studied, yet they provide a wealth of information about how Gerson wrote and distributed the work. The third section attempts to clarify the circumstances of the work's composition and to present an overview of the text's distribution. The exact reason Gerson wrote the work in the first place has been the source of much speculation, but the best answer remains the explanation in the majority of the manuscripts: the victory of Joan at Orléans on 8 May 1429. The brevity of the text allows for a complete critical edition, and in the fourth section I provide a new edition of the work that is as close as possible to the final version of the text.

¹⁰ A good access to the debate over the authorship of the *Imitation* is the "Introduction" in John Van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings* (New York, 1988), 8–10, with notes to the literature.

¹¹ Cf. the discussion of the authorship of works attributed to another major fifteenth-century author, Denys the Carthusian, in Kent Emery, Jr., "Lovers of the World and Lovers of God and Neighbor: Spiritual Commonplaces and the Problem of Authorship in the Fifteenth Century," in *Historia et Spiritualitas Cartusienensis* (Colloquii Quarti Internationalis Acta, Gandavi, Antverpiae, Brugis, 16–19 Sept. 1982), ed. Jan De Grauwe (Destelbergen, 1983), 177–219. See also the same author's *Dionysii Cartusienensis Opera selecta. Prolegomena: Bibliotheca manuscripta 1B*, CCCM 121A (Turnhout, 1991), esp. the discussion of the *Specula* (445–541) and of the *De via purgativa* (588–702).

1. AUTHENTICITY

The authenticity of *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* was first questioned, it seems, in 1606 when a Swiss editor and lawyer named Melchior Goldast published the tract in a small collection of works on Joan of Arc, including *De quadam puella* (which he attributed to Gorkum).¹² In 1706, the editor L. E. Dupin likewise refused to attribute the work to Gerson, possibly following Goldast's lead.¹³ Nonetheless, over the next two centuries the work was again accepted as authentic by such scholars as Quicherat in his edition of the trial of Joan of Arc, and by J. B. Monnoyeur for his edition of 1930.¹⁴ The question resurfaced in 1957 when Wayman argued, largely on the basis of style, that the treatise was a "politically-bent substitution" by Anglo-Burgundians.¹⁵ A recent study of Joan of Arc and now a separate article, while backing away from claims about forgery, have argued strongly against Gerson's authorship once more.¹⁶

Underlying these claims is a confusion in the earliest editions. The 1483–84 first edition of Gerson's complete works included as a Gerson treatise a work entitled *De quadam puella conversante inter armigeris in habitu virili*. All the later editions included this treatise, beginning with Johann Prüss's Strasbourg edition of 1488 (edited by Geiler von Kaysersberg). But these later editions all added a line stating that while the earlier edition ascribed the work to Gerson, it was more in the style of Henry of Gorkum.¹⁷ Immediately after this text, all

¹² The collection's title is *Sibylla Francica seu de admirabili puella, Iohanna Lotharinga, pastoris filia ductrice exercitus Francorum sub Carolo VII* (Ursellis [Oberursel], 1606). The claim against Gerson's authorship was added to the title: "3. Johannis de Gerson, Cancellarii Parisiensis apologia pro eadem; quam tamen veluti spuriam censet Goldastus. – 4. Ejusdem veritas ad justificationem ejusdem Puellae: quam et ipsam spuriam esse affirmat Goldastus." I cite the description from Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, *Le livre d'or de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1894; rpt. Amsterdam, 1970), 31.

¹³ *OO* 4:864: "Etiam Gersonio perperam ascriptum." I am assuming, of course, that the absence of the work from the first edition of 1483–84 resulted from the lack of an exemplar, like the many other authentic works that were omitted from that edition. See n. 18 below.

¹⁴ Jules Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1841–49), 3:298–306; J. B. Monnoyeur, *Traité de Jean Gerson sur la Pucelle* (Paris, 1930).

¹⁵ Wayman, "Chancellor," 273–305 (quotation on 294). Of the older biographies I have seen, those that address the issue accept the attribution. See A.-L. Masson, *Jean Gerson: Sa vie, son temps, ses oeuvres* (Lyon, 1894), 384–87, but note that Masson also accepted the *De quadam puella* as authentic; and James L. Connolly, *John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic* (Louvain, 1928), 195 n. 1.

¹⁶ Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate*, 126–49, 195, and "Gerson Judging Women of Spirit," 147–49.

¹⁷ *OO* 4:870: "Cuius editio magistro Joanni de Gerson ascribitur: sed magis apparet stylus Magistri Henrici de Gorkheim." Like the text itself, the line was copied from one edition to

of these editions printed *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*, under the title *De mirabili victoria cuiusdam puellae*, as the authentic work of Gerson.¹⁸

Besides editing works on German antiquities and on the constitutional history of the Empire, Melchior Goldast earned a reputation for theft of manuscripts (particularly from the monastery of St. Gall) and for forgery of historical documents.¹⁹ This would not matter much for our purposes if he had some standing as an authority on Gerson's works. Yet he published the work at the age of twenty-eight, and I have found no evidence that he ever had any real knowledge of Gerson. His rejection of the tract's authenticity, unsupported by any evidence, can have no value here. (The same year that Goldast edited the work, Richer produced his important edition of the complete works, in which he attributed the work to Gerson.) Dupin on the other hand concerned himself more than any previous editor with problems of attribution. But as Max Lieberman observed, he had serious lapses, in one case attributing a work to Gerson and then printing it in the same volume as part of a work by Henry of Langenstein;²⁰ many of his other attributions have been rejected.²¹ In any case, Dupin also neglected to explain why he believed that Gerson did not write the work in question. His opinion likewise has small value on this question. More recent arguments against its authenticity have been based largely on style and content and have ignored manuscript evidence. We turn first then to this question of direct testimony, or manuscript evidence; second to indirect testimony, or references to the work in other sources; third to internal evidence, or correspondences in other works of Gerson; and fourth, as a codicil, to the attribution of the *De quadam puella* to Gerson.

the next. Wayman ("Chancellor," 284) wrote that the Strasbourg 1514 edition of J. Knoblauch was the second edition, and she has been followed by later writers. It is instead the eighth edition of Gerson's *Opera omnia*. Cf. *OC* 1:71–72.

¹⁸ The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Stuttgart, 1968–) fails to distinguish between the *De quadam puella* of Gorkum and Gerson's work immediately following. Also, many authentic works of Gerson besides *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*, too many to list here, were omitted from the first edition of 1483–84. See *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* 9:426–45.

¹⁹ Anne A. Baade, *Melchior Goldast von Haiminsfeld: Collector, Commentator and Editor* (New York, 1992), 44–47. The publication of the *Sibylla Francica* is mentioned on p. 36. Baade notes that in 1643 Hermann Conring, "considered the founder of the history of German law . . . accused him of lack of judgment in his choice of documents and of deceit in having forged papers added to the works of other chroniclers and writers" (41).

²⁰ Lieberman, "Gersoniana II," 147. For further criticism of Dupin, see *OC* 1:3–8.

²¹ See *OC* 1:39–70.

1.1. Direct Testimony.

I have identified seventeen independent manuscripts of the tract,²² although two of these were copied from the 1488 edition and hence have no value as independent witnesses. Six additional copies mentioned in catalogues (medieval or modern) are now lost. Gerson's authorship is attested in every one of these surviving manuscripts.²³ Ten of the fifteen manuscripts (not counting the two copied from the first edition) also provide the date of composition, 14 May 1429, and the place, Lyon. The additional "Triplex veritas" (lines 110–42), which appears in five manuscripts²⁴ and defends Joan for wearing male clothing, is attributed to Gerson in two of these manuscripts; as we shall see, there is no reason to doubt this attribution. In common with other Gerson manuscripts, most were copied not in France but in German-speaking lands. The Council of Basel (1431–37) clearly played an important role in the distribution of the work.²⁵ The only dated copy of the text bears the explicit "1435 at the Council of Basel," and others were copied there as well.²⁶ The tract almost always circulated with other Gerson texts.²⁷ One manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) lat. 14904 (*R* in the edition below), was copied at the famous abbey of St. Victor in Paris, where a great and systematic effort began to copy Gerson's works after the end of the English occupation in 1436.²⁸ This is one small piece of evidence in support of authenticity: the copyists here (whose names we know) took great interest

²² By "independent" I mean to exclude copies of the text included in manuscripts of the *Collectarium historiarum* of Jean Dupuy, and those included in nullification trial manuscripts. See further below on these manuscripts under 3.1, "Three Transmissions of the Text."

²³ It is clear from the catalogue descriptions that three of the six lost copies were likewise attributed to Gerson.

²⁴ This excludes the two manuscripts copied from the first edition; see below under 3.2.

²⁵ On the importance of the Councils of Constance and Basel in the distribution of ideas and manuscripts, see Paul Lehmann, "Konstanz und Basel als Buchermarkte während der grossen Kirchenbersammlungen," in *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1941; rpt. Stuttgart, 1959), 253–80; Jürgen Miethke, "Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentliche Meinung," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37 (1981): 736–73; and Johannes Helmuth, "Kommunikation auf den spätmittelalterlichen Konzilien," in *Die Bedeutung der Kommunikation für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, ed. Hans Pohl (Stuttgart, 1989), 154–66.

²⁶ See the description of *W*, p. 126 below; and for other manuscripts copied at the Council of Basel, see p. 138.

²⁷ One lost manuscript, Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale Lescalopier 76, contained only *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*.

²⁸ Following Dupin, who claimed to be using St. Victor 699 for his edition (now Paris, BnF lat. 14905), Monnoyeur mistakenly thought that this St. Victor manuscript also included the text (*Traité de Jean Gerson sur la Pucelle*, 19 n. 1). Despite Dupin's claims to be using this manuscript, he may never have even seen it; see *OC* 1:5–6. For a complete description of this manuscript, see Calvot and Ouy, *L'oeuvre de Gerson à Saint-Victor de Paris*, 102–17.

in preserving accurate copies of Gerson's authentic works, and had no doubts about his authorship.²⁹

1.2. Indirect Testimony.

Contemporary references to the work provide a second layer of evidence for authenticity.³⁰ The treatise circulated with astonishing speed. Within a few weeks it had reached Rome, where the Dominican Jean Dupuy was inserting it into his just-completed *Collectarium historiarum* as part of an additional chapter dedicated to Joan of Arc. Since the work omits any mention of the events following the victory at Orléans, Antoine Dondaine supposed that the chapter must have been added very close to 8 May, either by the end of May or the first weeks of June.³¹ Sometime in late 1429 or early 1430 a shorter version of the work also came to the attention of a canon lawyer at the University of Paris, who attacked Gerson's position in a short work generally known as the "Reply of a Parisian cleric."³² The anonymous lawyer does not name Ger-

²⁹ Our tract in this manuscript was copied by Guillaume Tuyssselet and Pierre Duduit. See the description of *R* below under 3.2.

³⁰ Like many other works of Gerson, *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* does not appear by title in the list of works compiled by Jean the Celestine. Jean the Celestine compiled the list in 1423 and then updated it sometime shortly after Gerson's death but before his own death in 1434. The lists are *OC* 1:23–26, 29–33. This omission has no bearing on the question of authenticity. Jean the Celestine made it quite clear that the lists were not comprehensive. At the end of the second version of the list, he states, "Item multa sunt alia brevia ejus opuscula super diversis materiis causa brevitatis hic ommissa. . . ." Cf. Combes, *Essai sur la critique de Ruysbroeck par Gerson* 1:828 note a.

³¹ Antoine Dondaine, "Le frère prêcheur Jean Dupuy évêque de Cahors et son témoignage sur Jeanne d'Arc," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 12 (1942): 118–84 (167 on dating), and "Le témoignage de Jean Dupuy O.P. sur Jeanne d'Arc, note additionnelle," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 38 (1968): 31–41. So on p. 33: "Orléans est delivré le 8 mai; Gerson écrit à Lyons le 14 mai son petit memoire sur Jeanne; Jean Dupuy l'ajoute à Rome en ce même printemps à son ouvrage historique déjà achevé." Cf. Peyronnet, "Gerson, Charles VII et Jeanne d'Arc," 352–58; and Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate*, 150–58. Dupuy also had access to other information about Joan not found in *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*. The exact priority of the manuscripts that include the final chapter (on which see Dondaine, 1968) has not been worked out.

³² This work was first discussed and edited in Noël Valois, "Un nouveau témoignage sur Jeanne d'Arc: Réponse d'un clerc parisien à l'apologie de la Pucelle par Gerson," in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 1906 (Paris, 1907), 161–79. Valois distinguished this work from a second anti-Joan tract entitled *De bono et maligno spiritu*, mentioned in the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (ed. H. Denifle [Paris, 1889–97], 4:515) and composed before 22 September 1429. Georges Peyronnet ("Gerson, Charles VII et Jeanne d'Arc," 358) and Dyan Elliott ("Seeing Double: John Gerson, the Discernment of Spirits, and Joan of Arc," *The American Historical Review* 107 [2002]: 47–50) have taken these as one and the same work, but I agree with Valois's dating of the reply treatise to late 1429 or early 1430 ("Un nou-

son as the author, in keeping with common medieval practice when the opponent was still believed to be alive. Yet the work follows Gerson's tract in all of its manuscripts, all of which attribute the tract to Gerson. The simplest and best explanation according to this evidence is that the canon lawyer believed he was rebutting Gerson.³³

Before the end of 1429 the treatise had also reached Bruges, under Burgundian control at this period, where it was cited in the famous correspondence of the Morosini family. The Morosini correspondence specifically names Gerson as the author, thus providing evidence unlike anything we possess for any other work of Gerson. Six months after Gerson wrote the treatise, it was being attributed to him and quoted from in the correspondence of this Venetian merchant family.³⁴ Writing from Bruges to his father in Venice on 20 November 1429, Pancrazio Giustiniani mentions Gerson's "belissima opera" in support of Joan of Arc, which he claimed to be sending with the letter. He further encouraged his father to show it to the doge and others who he suggested might be happy to see it.³⁵ There is no doubt that the tract being referred to is *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*. He quotes the vernacular proverb, somewhat modified, that Gerson had quoted: "Believing

veau témoignage sur Jeanne d'Arc," 164), and I consider the *De bono et maligno spiritu* to be lost since that title appears in none of the manuscripts of the reply treatise and has no discernible connection to it. Valois edited the reply treatise from manuscript *W* in the edition below, but it also appears in ten other manuscripts, always after Gerson's text. The work's incipit is "Ex precedentibus pauca" (ibid., 175). The manuscripts indicate that the anonymous lawyer was reading a version of the treatise that did not contain the "Triplex veritas": see further below under 3.3. The first sentence of the work—"Ex precedentibus pauca . . . cupio de jure canonico extrahere" (my italics)—also indicates that the work originally circulated together with Gerson's treatise and never appears to have had an independent circulation (that is, independent of Gerson's treatise). See also Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate*, 159–72.

³³ See further Valois, "Un nouveau témoignage sur Jeanne d'Arc," 163. Cf. Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate*, 162.

³⁴ See further Peyronnet, "Gerson, Charles VII et Jeanne d'Arc," 349–50.

³⁵ Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis and Léon Dorez, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1898–1902), 3:232–35. The text is Italian with French translation. Fraioli (*Joan of Arc: The Early Debate*, 143) challenges the reliability of this witness by claiming that Giustiniani's account of the composition of *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* is "one of many bits of misinformation in the Morosini chronicle": "Based on information gathered by talking to 'some prelates,' Justiniani states that [*Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*] is Gerson's intervention on behalf of the Maid, provoked by a decision at the University of Paris to register with the pope in Rome an accusation of heresy against Joan." Fraioli argues that there is no evidence of such an intervention, and that Gerson could not have been responding by 14 May to University accusations that Joan was a heretic. But Giustiniani's letter states only that Gerson wrote his treatise in defense of Joan, not that he wrote it directly in response to university accusations.

isn't a fault, and those who don't believe aren't sinning against the faith."³⁶ Further support appears in the following letter that Pancrazio wrote to his father on 4 January 1430. If all the reports about Joan are true, writes Pancrazio, then "this is the Lord's doing."³⁷ This quotation from Scripture (Psalm 117:23, Matthew 21:42, Mark 12:11) appears as well in Gerson's tract.³⁸ While it is possible that Pancrazio was quoting directly from Scripture, it is much more likely that he was actually quoting from Gerson's tract since he had just quoted from it in the previous letter.³⁹

The next attribution of the work to Gerson appears in a six-stanza addition to the *Champion des dames* (1440–42) of Martin Le Franc.⁴⁰ In the context of his own defense of Joan, Le Franc mentions Gerson by name and clearly describes the last part of his tract, in defense of Joan's male dress.

Gerson is again identified as the work's author in the lengthy "nullification proceedings" (*procès en nullité*) of Joan of Arc at Rouen in 1456. As part of these proceedings, the authorities gathered treatises and opinions about Joan from eminent theologians and prelates of the Church. The complete version appears in this section, attributed to Gerson, the first in a series of ten works.⁴¹

The first edition to include the work—the second complete edition of Gerson's works, published in 1488—identified Gerson as the author. Every edition of the work before Goldast in 1606 likewise attributed the work to Gerson.⁴²

³⁶ "Credere non è male, e chi non crede, non fa però contra la fede" (Lefèvre-Pontalis and Dorez, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini* 3:232). Cf. the text of Gerson's treatise below, line 25: "Qui ne le croit il n'est pas dampné."

³⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis and Dorez, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini* 3:250: "E plu dirò ancora quello se dixè, e credeteme quello ve par, dixè la poncela far tute queste cose e mile altre meraveie, che se le sono vere, a domino fanta [*facta*] est ista" (editor's italics).

³⁸ See below, line 109.

³⁹ If Pancrazio was as I suppose quoting from Gerson's text, then it is likely he possessed the complete version of *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*, including the defense of Joan's male dress, since the quotation is missing in all manuscripts but one (R) that have the short version.

⁴⁰ These were first published by Arthur Piaget in 1893 and are reprinted with English translation in Gertrude H. Merkle, "Martin Le Franc's Commentary on Jean Gerson's Treatise on Joan of Arc," in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York and London, 1996), 187–88. Merkle's claim that three of the stanzas "challenge theologian Jean Gerson's comments on Joan's wearing male garments" (178) is not supported by the clear meaning of the text. Cf. Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, 184–85.

⁴¹ The modern edition is Pierre Duparc, *Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1977–89). Gerson's treatise is 2:33–39.

⁴² Jean Bouchet also attributed the tract to Gerson in *Les Annales d'acquitaine* (1535), fol. 106v. In the same place Bouchet attributes the *De quadam puella* to Henry of Gorkum.

1.3. Internal Evidence.

A third layer of evidence appears in the numerous correspondences to phrases, themes, and ideas found in other works of Gerson. One particular reference alone is nearly sufficient by itself to establish Gerson's authorship. Discussing cases of relic veneration, the author cites as an example the recent quarrel "in the Parlement of Paris over devotion to the head of Saint Denis in the church of Paris and in the abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris."⁴³ Gerson played an important role in this contest, arbitrating between the cathedral chapter at Notre Dame and the monks of Saint-Denis. In a letter written on 8 October 1408 to the abbot of Saint-Denis, Gerson refers to this same consultation held at the Parlement of Paris and exhorts the abbot to take down an inflammatory placard that had been posted in the church.⁴⁴ The reference to this very local controversy in our tract is nearly as good as a signature.

Correspondences to works of Gerson are numerous; indeed, the tract applies to Joan some of the central themes of his writings. The fundamental distinction between different levels of truths, repeated throughout the work (including the "Triplex veritas"⁴⁵), was so basic for Gerson that he made it the subject of an entire treatise, his *Declaratio veritatum quae credendae sunt de necessitate salutis*.⁴⁶ This idea was foundational to his vision of Christian society: some truths are necessary to faith, while others, only probable, do not require devotion but allow it.⁴⁷ We shall see below that Gerson incorporated

⁴³ See below, lines 44–45.

⁴⁴ *OC* 2:103: "Ecce enim coram Deo non mentior, quia fuit anno praeterito consultatio diligens habita per multos nobiles usque ad numerum triginta, quantum conjicio, vel eo circa, tam de Parlamento quam de facultate theologiae et decretorum. . . ." On the controversy, see *OC* 1:121; 2:103–5; Max Lieberman, "Chronologie gersonienne," *Romania* 78 (1957): 446–55; H. François Delaborde, "Le Procès du chef de saint Denis en 1410," *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 11 (1884): 297–409; and (for documents unknown to Delaborde) *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. Denifle, 4:142.

⁴⁵ See below, lines 113–14: "secundum veritatem tenendam de necessitate salutis."

⁴⁶ *OC* 6:181–89. This is the title given by Glorieux. At least some manuscripts give this title or close variations of it.

⁴⁷ *Josephina*, ll. 747–50 (CD-Rom ed. G. M. Roccati, 2001, p. 102; *OC* 4:48): "Sed nec te Virgo beata | Septenni toto cum vicinis siluisse | Crediderim, sed eas de lege sacra docuisse | Quae ventura forent et quae credenda tenerent"; again, ll. 851–60 (ed. Roccati, 105; *OC* 4:51); and again, ll. 875–76 (ed. Roccati, p. 105; *OC* 4:51): "Ex his fas fuerit paucis deducere multa | Qualia non credi sed nec reprobare necesse"; *De vita spirituali animae* (*OC* 3:137): "Distinxerunt itaque in simili doctores ante nos quod veritas aliqua est pure de fide, aliqua solum pertinens ad fidem quae dici potest de pietate fidei, aliqua impertinens quae dici potest apocrypha"; *Jacob autem genuit Joseph* (*OC* 5:350): "Est igitur quaestio si de necessitate fidei tenenda est veritas nostrae considerationis secundae. Et hoc est investigare sub generali regula quae veritas est certa fide et de necessitate salutis, quae de sola probabilitate, quae de pietate fidei et quae sit impertinens"; *Declaratio veritatum quae credendae sunt de necessitate salutis*

the same quotation from Aristotle into a key passage on probable truths in the *Declaratio* and into the beginning of our tract. Gerson applies this idea to Joan as a way to find room for belief in a figure with many political enemies, to make the point that while belief in her is not required, it is certainly permissible. Elsewhere, he applies this principle especially to pious beliefs about Christ and the Virgin Mary. It nonetheless has a much broader application in his writings, ultimately reaching to the core of his attitudes about popular devotion — including beliefs about which Gerson had serious reservations, such as the power of invented rituals or the legends of the saints or indulgences. While Gerson believed that these things may have a certain tendency toward superstition, he insisted that they were permissible as long as they were not considered necessary for belief.⁴⁸

Further correspondences include the related notion of “probable conjecture” as the basis for truths that permit but do not require faith, a category he consistently opposed to “necessity of faith”;⁴⁹ the need to have recourse in doubtful cases to men who are upright and have been trained in theology;⁵⁰ the

(OC 6:181): “Declaratio compendiosa quae veritates sint de necessitate salutis credendae, quae de sola probabilitate tenendae, quae de pietate fidei reputandae et quae sint impertinentes iudicandae . . .”; *Collectorium super Magnificat* (OC 8:380): “Probabilia sunt insuper plurima de et super hac beata beatarum, quae sunt potius accipienda de pietate devotionis quam de fidei necessitate vel temeritate assertionis, ubi non suppetit auctoritas Scripturae cogens aut ratio convincens.” In *De examinatione doctrinarum*, Gerson explains that these levels of truth are understood by the Church itself, or its deputy the Church Council, when it approves new teachings (OC 9:459): “Nihilominus attendendum est multiplicem esse doctrinarum per Ecclesiam seu Concilium vice sua, approbationem. Quaedam enim approbantur, ut certitudinaliter, vere, necessarioque credendae; quaedam, ut utiles ad moralem religiosamque doctrinam, sine mixtione falsitatis noxiae; non tamen sunt sic ut credantur obligatorie; sed dicuntur sive nominantur de pietate fidei.”

⁴⁸ This is a frequent statement in Gerson; see, e.g., in *De directione cordis* (OC 8:112).

⁴⁹ See below, lines 29–30. Cf. the sermon *Jacob autem genuit Joseph* (OC 5:345), where Gerson identifies probable conjecture as a strategy of the holy fathers to move people to devotion: “Erit autem deductio nostra imitatrix sanctorum ac devotissimorum patrum qui ad commovendam piarum mentium devotionem dixerunt multa de sanctis et divinis quae et qualia, magis ex conjecturali quadam probabilitate quam ex fidei necessitate, tenenda sciebant.” In the *Collectorium super Magnificat*, the *Magister* recognizes the role of probable conjecture, as opposed to “certain authority” and “clear reason,” in supporting a class of things that excite devotion (OC 8:480): “Cetera vero tamquam pie opinabilia ad exercitium devotae speculationis recensebimus, non quod ita fuerit affirmantes, sed quod ita fieri potuerit secundum probabiles conjecturas aestimantes.” See also OC 2:138, 9:402.

⁵⁰ See below, lines 31–32. Cf. the letter *Talia de me scribis*, where Gerson describes the theologian in similar terms (OC 2:67): “Nam si Tullius cum virum eloquentem describeret, dixit esse eum virum bonum dicendi peritum, multo amplius cum theologum nomino, virum deo intelligere bonum, sacris litteris eruditum.” See also OC 9:237. On this topic of leaving doctrinal judgments to theologians, Gerson was fond of quoting the adage from Horace, “Cuilibet in sua arte perito credendum est.” See OC 2:62, 98; 7.2:600; 9:472–73; 10:86.

danger of condemning revelations that have been tolerated by the Church, including those that have been approved only locally;⁵¹ the importance of avoiding sedition, superstition, and party interests in establishing new cults;⁵² the need among those claiming new revelations to avoid profit-seeking;⁵³ the idea that the purely judicial legislation of the Old Law, in contrast to the divine law, does not carry over into the present dispensation unless political and clerical leaders renew it;⁵⁴ the maxim deriving from Aristotle (filtered through the most widely diffused florilegium of citations to his works) that virtue holds a middle ground between two extremes;⁵⁵ and a principle that one could argue is the unifying theme of his moral theology, the need to attend to circumstances of moral cases, "as the wise man will judge."⁵⁶ (It should be noted that in addition to the distinction between levels of truths, these last two themes appear in the "Triplex veritas," thus supporting the attribution of this

⁵¹ See below, lines 35–39. Cf. *OC* 9:179.

⁵² See below, lines 50–54 and 101–4. Cf. *Contra sectam Flagellantium* (*OC* 10:48): "Lex Christi nedum ordinat hominem ad Deum sed etiam ad proximum et ad principem seu praelatum suum; propterea non debet qualiscumque ritus introduci per populos qui possit causare seditionem vel partialitatem vel superstitionem, sed debent omnia regulate fieri et ordinate, de mandato et ordinatione superiorum, ut nullatenus ordo hierarchicus confundatur." Gerson promoted the cult of St. Joseph in part because he believed it did not promote superstition. See, e.g., *OC* 2:156, 8:62.

⁵³ See below, lines 52 and 102. Cf. *De examinatione doctrinarum* (*OC* 9:471): "Attendendum in examinatione doctrinarum de fine, si sit ad commodum temporale, vel quaestum."

⁵⁴ See below, lines 112–16. Cf. *De vita spirituali animae* (*OC* 3:137–38): "Et ex hoc statim patet quod in plus se habet veritas quam lex pure divina propter illud quod praedictum est de multis legibus pure judicialibus antiquae legis, et quia multae veritates sunt quae non sunt imperativae et ex hinc non obligativae. In signum autem quod leges judiciales antiquae legis non essent proprie de jure divino sicut nec ducebant de directo immediate in finem beatum, Christus legislator perfectissimus volens condere legem dignissimam et beatificativam omnes tales leges ordinantes hominem ad fidem humanum et politicum reliquit ad arbitrium praelatorum et principum, ita tamen ut semper meminissent potestatem eis datam pro veritate, non contra veritatem, et ad aedificationem non destructionem, prout loquitur Apostolus. Quod si contentiose quispiam obnitatur et dicat leges hujusmodi judiciales fuisse de jure divino proprie, respondeat ergo quomodo dispensabiles erant, et non solum mutabiles sed mutatae, et quod multis earum licebat absque damnationis periculo contraire."

⁵⁵ See references in the following note.

⁵⁶ See below, lines 117–20. Cf. *De non esu carnum* (*OC* 3:86): "Hoc dicit Philosophus, describens virtutem esse in medio, non quidem indivisibili sicut in certa latitudine prout est signum ad sagittam . . . medium illud est quoad nos et ut sapiens judicabit . . ."; *De vita spirituali animae* (*OC* 3:188): ". . . medium virtutis quale posuit Aristoteles esse divisibile tamquam signum ad sagittam . . ."; *Prosperum iter facita* (*OC* 5:480): ". . . unde et Philosophus tradere sagittans medium virtutis, non potuit efficacius illud invenire quam ut diceret: prout sapiens judicabit"; *De contractibus* (*OC* 9:420): "Propterea necessitatus est Philosophus dum medium virtutis inquireret, dicere: prout sapiens judicabit." Many other passages could be added: *OC* 3:166; 4:88; 5:452; 8:107; 9:99, 425. Cf. the letter of Jean the Celestine, *OC* 10:558.

section to Gerson.) In short, the tract shows us Gerson mustering many of the essential principles of his moral theology in support of Joan of Arc.⁵⁷

1.4. The Authorship of *De quadam puella conversante inter armigeris in habitu virili*.

The attribution of *De quadam puella* to Gerson has obscured his true position on Joan, perhaps even more than arguments against the authentic tract. The first edition of Gerson's works provides the basis of this attribution. Yet the early editions incorrectly attributed many works to Gerson—no less than ten spurious works in the first edition, not counting *De quadam puella*.⁵⁸ The attribution was immediately changed to Henry of Gorkum in the second edition of 1488, which explicitly acknowledged the earlier attribution to Gerson but rejected it from a stylistic point of view in favor of Henry of Gorkum. We shall see that one manuscript attributes the work to Henry of Gorkum. This is an important piece of evidence in this context. It means that, although the 1488 editor may well have had some knowledge of Gorkum's style, he probably changed the attribution because he had a manuscript before him that attributed the work to Gorkum. To my knowledge, no one again attributed the work to Gerson until 1894, in one of the old biographies.⁵⁹

Once more, the point of departure for resolving questions of authenticity is attributions in manuscripts. Of the three extant manuscripts of the work (not including one manuscript copied from the 1488 edition) one specifically attributes the treatise to Henry of Gorkum. This is Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt GB fol. 72, a manuscript of the first half of the fifteenth century.⁶⁰ Here, the text appears as one of a series of seventeen "treatises or cases" (*tractatus sive casus*) on a great variety of issues: processions, superstitions, casting out demons, simony, just war, predestination, the Hussites, and others. At the end of the seventeenth case, a colophon states that these cases were "determined" by Henry of Gorkum, vice-chancellor of the University of Cologne.⁶¹ Short titles of all seventeen cases follow. The attribution of these

⁵⁷ Besides these thematic correspondences, some of which include nearly identical language, the tract contains further similarities to other works of Gerson such as identical quotations. See the notes to the edition below.

⁵⁸ For a list of these works, see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* 9:444–45.

⁵⁹ Masson, *Jean Gerson sa vie, son temps, ses oeuvres*, 385–86.

⁶⁰ The text is on fols. 57v–59r; the manuscript is described in Joachim Vennebusch, *Die theologischen Handschriften des Stadtarchivs Köln*, vol. 1 (Cologne, 1976), 53–59. Lille, Bibliothèque municipale 539 was copied from the 1488 edition of Gerson's works, and hence has no value as an independent witness: see below for a brief description and reference under 3.2 (S').

⁶¹ "Expliciunt tractatus seu casus determinati per venerabilem magistrum de Gorinchem

works to Gorkum is not in doubt in this manuscript. This grouping of the treatise with other determined cases of Gorkum, all of unquestioned authenticity, is very strong evidence. This manuscript also provides a clue as to how the treatise on Joan could have lost the attribution to Gorkum in other manuscripts. Like many of the other works, the treatise on Joan (fols. 57v–59r) is attributed to Gorkum only in the explicit at the end of the seventeenth case (fol. 79v). Thus a scribe who copied this text alone from this manuscript could easily have overlooked the attribution, which was twenty folios removed from the text itself.

Something like this seems to have happened in the two other manuscripts of the text, both of which lack an attribution to Henry of Gorkum. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 943 includes all but four of the seventeen cases, yet the text almost certainly derived from a manuscript that included all seventeen.⁶² This is clear from the fact that the treatise on images, which follows the treatise on Joan in all three of these manuscripts, is actually labeled “tractatus sive casus XV” as in the Cologne manuscript. The third manuscript, Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek 2, likewise provides no attribution, and contains only two works of Henry of Gorkum next to each other, on Joan and on images.⁶³ Both the Mazarine manuscript and the Darmstadt manuscript are useful for our purposes because they suggest how the case on Joan might have become attributed to Gerson in another manuscript. Each manuscript contains works of Gerson, and since Gorkum’s treatise on Joan is unattributed, we need only imagine a scribe or editor who supplied the attribution to Gerson on the basis of proximity to other works of Gerson. This could easily have occurred in the Darmstadt manuscript, where numerous works of Gerson surround two lonely works of Gorkum, unattributed.

I must stress that establishing the authenticity of *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* is in itself a strong argument against the authenticity of the *De quadam puella conversante inter armigeris in habitu virili*. I can find no resemblances that might suggest a common author. *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* is an opinion piece strongly in support of Joan, while *De quadam puella* is a university determination (as stated in the Cologne manuscript), ultimately neutral on the question of Joan’s authen-

doctorem sacre theologie studii Coloniensis vicecancellarii, XVII in numero, quorum primus . . .” (Vennebusch, *Die theologischen Handschriften*, 57).

⁶² The text is on fol. 373r; the manuscript is described in Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine* (Paris, 1885), 1:451.

⁶³ This is based on a personal examination of manuscript. The catalogue description is in Kurt Hans Staub, *Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt*, vol. 5.1, *Jüngere theologische Texte* (Wiesbaden, 2001), 21.

ticity. Neither work refers to the other, though written at most within a few months of each other.

Dorothy Wayman's argument in the 1957 article in *Franciscan Studies* was largely stylistic. Wayman brought great energy to the task and focused attention on a text that was little read or understood; but she did not base her arguments on any solid evidence, and she made no inquiries into the manuscripts. She claimed that "the style of *De quadam puella* is perfectly in consonance with Gerson's sermons, in Latin or in medieval French,"⁶⁴ continuing:

Not only does *De quadam puella* begin in the style of a devout preacher, contrasted with the abrupt of [*sic*] *De mirabili victoria*, but the former ends, also, in the style of a sermon or homily: *semper ad gloriam dei qui regnat in secula benedictus. Amen.*⁶⁵

Such a phrase is too common to indicate individual style. Neither Wayman nor any other scholar has pointed to a single correspondence between the *De quadam puella* and any other text of Gerson. I can find no resemblances between the style and content of the work and any work of Gerson.

In sum, Wayman did not examine manuscript evidence and failed to demonstrate through any other means that Gerson wrote the treatise. The attribution of the *De quadam puella* to Gerson can be safely set aside.⁶⁶

2. CONTENT

Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda is a challenge to read and to understand. Doubts over the attribution to Gerson arose in part because of the work's rough, unpolished character. The assumption was that a theologian of Gerson's stature and abilities could not have written such an awkward piece. Yet though sometimes elusive, the meaning is still intact, and in fact the fundamental message of the work comes through quite clearly. Considering the conflicting claims to the work and the difficulty of the text itself, I have thought it best to offer here a straightforward reading of the text.⁶⁷ But

⁶⁴ Wayman, "Chancellor," 285.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 291.

⁶⁶ A. G. Weiler, author of the standard study of Gorkum, also attributes the treatise to Gorkum: *Heinrich von Gorkum (†1431): Seine Stellung in der Philosophie und der Theologie des Spätmittelalters* (Einsiedeln, 1962), 104.

⁶⁷ For other works in support of Joan, see Françoise Michaud-Fréjaville, "Les points de vue des traités en faveur de la Pucelle," in *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au Moyen Âge: Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine*, ed. Jacques Paviot and Jacques Verger (Paris, 2000), 523–31.

first, this problem needs addressing: why does the tract read like a rough draft? The notion that Gerson, who died on 9 July, was declining into senility, is unconvincing. He spent the last two months of his life after the composition of the tract on Joan writing *Super Cantica Canticorum*, a polished production bearing no signs of a weakened mind.⁶⁸ Rather, I take this awkwardness as a sign of Gerson writing in great haste, probably to distribute the work at once. Such a work had little bearing on his literary legacy. He probably thought of it as a simple opinion piece, meant to be circulated quickly and to lend support to Joan's cause. Her career was just beginning, and this work was not intended to define her once and for all or to predict her future success. He specifies that the ultimate goal, clearly the recovery of the kingdom, may not come to pass. But this, he thinks is the most desirable end. As I read this text, Gerson supported Joan without hesitation.

Further support for this reading comes from what the manuscripts show to be the correct title, where we can begin: *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* (see below, 3.6, "Common Title Element"). The word *factum* is an important indicator. The rest of the "title element" provides necessary context for this word, which is the victory at Orléans on 8 May. I would translate it as "accomplishment" or "feat." The key comes in the next phrase, "et credulitate sibi praestanda," which effectively reduces to a single phrase the message of the entire work. Gerson wrote to defend belief in Joan as completely permissible and authorized. But he went further, and stressed that this was faith that "should be placed in her"; members of her party owed it to her. This point deserves emphasis: the basic message of the work is embodied in the complete title. This is also why I have resisted the temptation to shorten it.

We turn to the text itself. The beginning is the most confusing, and the key is to understand that Gerson is providing categories for thinking about Joan, ultimately so that he can defend belief in her mission as permissible. Though he does not mention her until deep in the discussion, and never by name, she is nonetheless never far from the surface. He begins by making three positive statements. We can take the first two here (lines 2–12 in the edition below). First, many false things are probable. Indeed, according to the Philosopher nothing prevents some false things from being more probable than some true things, such that two contradictory statements can both be probable yet not true. Second, this probability, rightly understood, should not be considered an error unless the assertion is stubbornly maintained beyond the bounds of probability. The reason is that the one speaking in probability bases his posi-

⁶⁸ OC 8:565–639. See further McGuire, "Jean Gerson, the Shulammitte, and the Maid" (n. 4 above); and André Combes, *La théologie mystique de Gerson: Profil de son évolution*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1963–64), 2:650–68.

tion on reasons and appearances, and this basis is in fact true unless it is entirely improbable. But the same holds for the contradictory assertion, and therefore two probable but contradictory assertions, both grounded in solid reasons and evidence, can both lay claim to truth. So probability is governing truth here. Gerson has arrived at the notion of probable truth.

This discussion launched from a quotation of Aristotle is an abbreviation of a more expansive discussion incorporating this same quotation in the *Declaratio veritatum quae credendae sunt de necessitate salutis*, a short work on the six levels of truth necessary to salvation, written in 1416 at the Council of Constance.⁶⁹ There, under the sixth and last level (*gradus*) of truths, Gerson describes those truths that nourish piety. Such truths can become objectionable in two scenarios: (1) if they are rashly asserted before the very truth (*ipsa veritas*) were known somehow, either through the Church or through "certain reason"; or (2) if they lead to superstition. Here, he quotes the same Aristotelian formula as in *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*: "So just as Aristotle says 'it is of no consequence that certain false (assertions) are more probable than certain true (assertions),' so it does not matter that certain false (things) are believed piously."⁷⁰ He continues:

Not that, by reason of the fact that they are false, or if they are known to be false, belief is allowable (far be it from the piety of the faithful); but the opinion or pious belief does not fall under [the heading of] truth or falsehood, but under probability or appearance. And this is by no means dangerous or false, because the appearance or probability is evident when truth or falsehood is unknown. For this reason, Jerome wisely said that it is better to doubt piously about such matters than to classify them rashly. Just as each of two contradictions can stand as probable and one [contradiction] can stand with another, not in truth but in probability; so in a different respect each of two contradictions can be believed in piety of faith so long as the heart does not stubbornly insist upon it.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Gerson had also treated this same subject using a different organization in his earlier *De vita spirituali animae* (1402). See OC 3:137–40. On the earlier treatments of this theme by Marsilius von Inghen and by Henri Totting of Oyta, see Paul de Vooght, *Les sources de la doctrine chrétienne d'après les théologiens du XIV^e siècle et du début du XV^e* (Paris, 1954), 211–17.

⁷⁰ The translation of "nihil refert" is problematic. In *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*, Gerson has "non refert." The text from which this derives, the so-called *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, has instead "nihil prohibet," but Gerson is clearly using "nihil refert" or "non refert" to similar effect.

⁷¹ "Unde, sicut dicit Aristoteles, nihil refert quaedam falsa probabiliora esse quibusdam veris, ita nihil refert quaedam falsa pie credi; non quod ea ratione qua falsa sunt vel si sciuntur esse falsa, credi possunt (procul hoc a pietate fidelium), sed cadit existimatio vel pia credulitas non super veritate vel falsitate sed tantummodo super probabilitate vel apparentia; et hoc utique

He closes the discussion of this sixth level by applying this principle (just as in our tract) to "legends and miracles of the saints, lives of the fathers," and other marginal beliefs. The Church upholds and allows all of these, not because they are necessary to faith, but because they move the affections of faithful people.

This discussion in the *Declaratio*, though clearly in the back of Gerson's mind, is of course quite invisible to the reader of the tract on Joan, and Gerson establishes these categories with no reference at all to Joan herself. But with this passage in mind, Joan fits in quite nicely. Belief in Joan and her mission is a pious belief that falls under "probability or appearance." Just as explained in the *Declaratio*, belief in her would only become "erroneous" were it "stubbornly asserted beyond the bounds of probability."

Continuing to the third opening statement, we enter the moral sphere of Christian belief. Gerson's object here (12–45) is to class Joan among beliefs that are permissible though not necessary to faith. Matters of faith and good morals fall into two categories: some are necessary to faith and require absolute belief, but others are not necessary and do not demand belief. In this second category are matters of piety and devotion. Three conditions must be met for such things: they must excite devotion and love to God; they must have the support of "general testimony" (*communis relatio*) or reliable witnesses; and theologians and the upright must have determined that these testimonies contain nothing that could harm the faith. But in making these determinations, theologians should not pass definitive judgment in the form of a blanket condemnation or approval, especially when the Church or its local prelates have allowed such pious beliefs. Instead, the Church or its prelates and doctors should resolve the issue. After giving examples, Gerson concludes (46–65) that in the present case, considering all of the circumstances and the intended result, which is to return a king to his kingdom and to overthrow his enemies, the maid's success or perhaps mission (*factum*) can be upheld as a matter of pious belief and devotion. It is also in her favor that she does not use sorcery, superstition, or stratagem, and that she does not seek her own profit (*quæstus*) when she puts herself in grave danger. Others may criticize (he continues), and as Cato says, that's not our concern. But it is our concern—meaning the theologian's job, and the job of Gerson himself—to determine what may

non est periculosum vel falsum, quia constat de apparentia vel probabilitate dum falsitas vel veritas ignota est. Propterea sapientissime dixit Hieronymus quod de talibus eligibilis est pie dubitare quam temere definire. Sicut stat quodlibet contradictoriorum esse probabile et unum stat cum altero, non in veritate sed in probabilitate, sic diversis respectibus utrumque contradictoriorum credi potest cum fidei pietate dum tamen sit animus a pertinaci assertione alienus" (OC 6:184).

be believed without contention. As St. Paul says, we must not wrangle (*litigare*), but we should either tolerate questionable devotions or refer them to superiors. Here we are in the heart of Gerson's moderate position on novel devotions. He gives the example of the early canonizations, which are in this same category of pious beliefs. These should not be rejected or mocked; still less objectionable, then (all things being equal), are other beliefs that have been proclaimed without canonization.

Gerson then adduces further circumstances in the maid's favor (66–85). The first is her support from the king's council and the soldiers, who believed so strongly that they risked the shame and disgrace of being defeated under a woman's leadership; second, the people believe in her; and third, her enemies fear her. Gerson thinks it especially noteworthy that the maid and her followers do not abandon common sense and tempt God unnecessarily. It follows that she does not insist on leading (in battle), beyond her claims to have guidance (*monitiones seu instinctus*) from God. Gerson notes that the circumstances of her life are in her favor, but these are so widely known he passes them by. He then includes examples of other women in whom we see natural forces (86–95). Even should the maid fail to achieve her goal and ours (note the implied reference to members of his own party), this would not mean that God did not accomplish the first successes. It could be that our ingratitude or blasphemy is to blame, or some hidden judgment of God is at work.

Originally Gerson ended the work here.⁷² He then added four "civil and theological proofs" (*documenta*). Here (96–109) he very nearly shifts to a kind of shorthand. The first concerns the king and members of the royal household, the second the soldiers, the third clergy and people, and the fourth the maid herself. The "end result" (*finis*) of these proofs is the same in each case, the correct ordering of man to God (through piety), to neighbor (through justice), and to oneself (through virtue and temperance). In other words, Joan's claims and her mission are proven to be of God by their results, how they have produced piety and concord among her supporters. This is especially the case with the maid herself. The grace of God in her does not promote vanities, greed, party divisions, quarrels, vengeance, or boasting. Instead, God's grace is at work, and everyone is working for freedom from our enemies. "This is the Lord's doing," he concludes.

Gerson ended the tract a second time here, before adding a section on Joan's male clothing (110–42). The central problem he confronts in this last section is the prohibition in the Old Law on cross-dressing, in Deuteronomy 22:5. His strategy here is to insist that the judicial injunctions of the Old Law—by which he seems to mean the laws specific to that time and culture—

⁷² See below, 3.3.

do not belong to the category of truths necessary for salvation unless modern authorities (*superiores*) have reaffirmed them. Yet such a law does contain an enduring moral principle, in this case the prohibition against indecent clothing. But the prohibition is not a blanket condemnation. It must also allow for circumstances "as the wise man will judge"—another fundamental principle of Gerson's moral theology. In this understanding of the law, the maid's male clothing is permissible. God has chosen her as standard-bearer to destroy "the enemies of justice" and to uplift (its) friends. Her virginity is also in her favor. The same argument, he reasons, can be used to save Joan from the criticism of wearing short hair, "which the apostle seems to forbid in women." God disposes the means according to the required end. Other details and examples from sacred and secular history (Camilla and the Amazons) could be added.

The final paragraph reinforces the central point of the tract: that the party with justice on its side should believe and show thanks to God. Failure to do this would be like the failure of the Israelites to give thanks after receiving God's promises.

One last point deserves emphasis. The lack of structure to the work, sometimes used as an argument against Gerson's authorship, should instead be seen as evidence of the changing nature of scholarly discourse and production in this period, and of a broad shift within academic circles toward more flexible genres such as the tract.⁷³ In a sense, Gerson probably saw the work as in some sense ephemeral, similar to how we see modern journalism. This is why the date of the work (discussed further below) is so crucial, because it makes this point so plain: Gerson sat down and wrote the work as soon as he heard the news of Joan's victory.

3. COMPOSITION, DISTRIBUTION, AND CIRCULATION OF THE TEXT

Despite the great advances of twentieth-century scholarship, the process of how Gerson composed and distributed his works remains poorly understood, compared with our understanding of university masters who wrote under the regime of the *pecia* system,⁷⁴ and even certain vernacular authors. This section presents evidence to show how Gerson composed and distributed *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*, and how the text circulated in the manuscripts. I have already presented some of the evidence about the work's

⁷³ In general on this point, see Daniel Hobbins, "The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract," *The American Historical Review* 108 (2003): 1308–37.

⁷⁴ See, for example, the Leonine edition for Thomas Aquinas, or the new edition of the works of Henry of Ghent.

circulation, but it may be helpful here to restate these conclusions in the following summary of the text's composition and distribution.

To Gerson, the appearance of Joan of Arc must have come like the answer to his deepest prayers and wishes. Among theologians, he was probably the most recognizable supporter of the Armagnac cause in all France. He had supported the French crown throughout the civil war and the English invasions. Some of his closest friends were massacred at Paris in June 1418. In 1419, the future Charles VII granted him 200 pounds for "great services long-time made" and for losses suffered.⁷⁵ He spent his last years in Lyon because he could not return to Paris, under Anglo-Burgundian control. A letter of Jean the Celestine to a correspondent in 1423 describes Gerson as "another Jeremiah," weeping bitterly for France and "the royal city of Paris," hoping desperately for the return of peace.⁷⁶ In a letter written in 1424 to Jean Cadart, the tutor and physician of Charles VII, Gerson talks of the many troubles the king has faced and the hope of future deliverance. Just as in *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*, he urges the singing of a song "for our salvation."⁷⁷ This strong sense of personal identity with France and Paris, sometimes overlooked by authors who read only Gerson's tract on Joan, is crucial to understanding his personality.⁷⁸ It marks a clean break with how we understand the schoolmen of the thirteenth century, whose nationality is so muted in their writings as to be nearly invisible. So Joan's appearance in 1429 was not just another case of a woman claiming private revelations, as is sometimes assumed, nor a purely academic matter as it appears in Henry of Gorkum's *De quadam puella*, but a case very close to his heart. At stake was nothing less than the survival of the French monarchy. By May 1429, following the testing of Joan by theologians of her own party at Chinon and at Poitiers (not including Gerson), he had probably thought long about Joan's claims and her mission. But the immediate catalyst for the tract was a specific event, the defeat of the English on 8 May.

Gerson's composition and circulation of the work are explained in detail below. It is possible to get lost in the details, and therefore it may be helpful here to summarize how Gerson composed and circulated the work. He wrote the tract in at least three stages, as follows:⁷⁹

⁷⁵ OC 10:553.

⁷⁶ OC 10:560. For context, see Carla Bozzolo, "Familles éclatées, amis dispersés: échos des guerres civiles dans les écrits de Christine de Pizan et de ses contemporains," in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow, 21–27 July 2000)*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Glasgow, 2002), 1:115–28.

⁷⁷ OC 2:249–50.

⁷⁸ See further Lieberman, "Gersoniana II," 179–81.

⁷⁹ For the evidence supporting this summary, see below, 3.3.

(1) *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*, lines 1–95.

Before circulation, Gerson added

(2) “Quattuor civilia et theologica documenta” (lines 96–108).

The treatise circulates. Gerson then made a new draft and added

(3) “Triplex veritas” (lines 110–42).

The treatise circulates in final form.

He completed at least the first part of the tract on 14 May 1429 and began circulating it at once. Probably within days he added the “Triplex veritas” in defense of Joan’s male dress and began to circulate this version. Within weeks the work was circulating outside France and there were two versions in circulation, short and long, the longer version including the defense of Joan’s male attire. The work spread to Rome by early June, to Paris probably by the fall, and to Bruges and Venice by November. The canon lawyer at Paris, reading the short version, attacked the work for its support of Joan. By a process common enough in medieval manuscripts, his “reply treatise” attached itself to the short version of Gerson’s treatise and thus survives in every manuscript but one that has the short version, as a testimony to the anti-Joan atmosphere at Paris during this time (the failed attack on Paris by the French occurred in early September). At the so-called “nullification trial” of 1456, the officials had Gerson’s tract copied into the trial “process” as evidence for the approval of Joan by eminent theologians. The tract then received new life in a series of manuscripts copied from the notarized originals.

3.1. Three Transmissions of the Text.

Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda appears in three different contexts in the manuscript transmission. First, as we have seen, like other Gerson texts it was transmitted in collections of his works, and in company with other, mainly theological, texts (seventeen surviving copies). Second, it survives as part of the “nullification proceedings,” the record of the “nullification trial” of Joan in Paris and Rouen in 1455–56. As part of this process, the authorities collected treatises and opinions about Joan from eminent theologians and prelates of the Church, all of them living except for Gerson. The tract in its complete form appears in this section, the first in a series of ten works. At least thirteen manuscripts of the process survive, including seven from the late fifteenth century. Pierre Duparc, the modern editor of the nullification proceedings, has provided brief descriptions of these manuscripts and references to fuller descriptions.⁸⁰ For the purposes of this edition, I have set

⁸⁰ Duparc, *Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d’Arc* 1:xi–xx.

aside this family of manuscripts since all date from 1456 or later, and since my collation of the editions of the process (which are based upon the best manuscripts of this family) shows that this family does not provide a crucial witness. Further below, I suggest where this family fits in the textual tradition.

Third, the treatise was copied into two manuscripts of a short continuation of a universal chronicle, the *Collectarium historiarum* of the Dominican Jean Dupuy.⁸¹ Antoine Dondaine edited this continuation, including Gerson's tract, in 1968, using for his base text the 1930 edition of J. B. Monnoyeur, and supplying occasional variants from his two manuscripts.⁸² These variants show that the two manuscripts derive from a text that is inferior to our other manuscripts. Once again for this edition, I have set aside these manuscripts, though it is important to note that the text in them is the complete version, including the "Triplex veritas."

3.2. Sources for the Present Edition.

The present edition is based on fourteen manuscripts never before used for an edition and on one manuscript which has been previously used (*R*). I have included one printed edition in my collation: the *editio princeps* of Johann Prüss (1488), which can be assumed to represent a lost manuscript. Other important editions, set aside for the present edition, are Dupin (1706);⁸³ Quicherat (1845), based on a nullification proceedings manuscript;⁸⁴ Monnoyeur (1930), based on Dupin, *R*, and the same trial manuscript used by Quicherat;⁸⁵ Glorieux (1973), based on Dupin, *R*, and Quicherat;⁸⁶ and Duparc (1979), based on Glorieux, Quicherat, and one other nullification trial manuscript.⁸⁷

The sequence of manuscripts listed below follows the alphabetical sigla assigned to them. The works of Gerson in each manuscript (except *S*¹ and *S*², which were copied from the 1488 edition) are listed according to the numbers assigned by Glorieux, with the number for *Super facto puellae et credulitate*

⁸¹ Jean Dupuy completed his chronicle, the *Collectarium historiarum*, at Rome on 22 April 1429. He then added a final chapter on Joan of Arc, which Antoine Dondaine dated from late May to the first weeks of June 1429 ("Le frère prêcheur Jean Dupuy évêque de Cahors et son témoignage sur Jeanne d'Arc," 167).

⁸² Dondaine, "Le témoignage de Jean Dupuy O.P. sur Jeanne d'Arc, note additionnelle," 31–41.

⁸³ *OO* 4:864–68.

⁸⁴ Paris, BnF lat. 5970, briefly described in Duparc, *Procès en nullité* 1:xii. The edition is Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation* 3:298–306.

⁸⁵ Monnoyeur, *Traité de Jean Gerson sur la Pucelle*, 41–51.

⁸⁶ *OC* 9:661–65.

⁸⁷ London, British Library Stowe 84. For a brief description, see Duparc, *Procès en nullité* 1:xii–xiii; the edition is 2:33–39.

sibi praestanda (476) in bold.⁸⁸ I have also included the reply of the Parisian cleric (RPC) in this list. The following symbols are used:

- * = manuscripts including the text only to line 108
- ** = manuscripts/edition including lines 1–109 and “Triplex veritas” (110–42)
- † = manuscripts copied from the first edition (Strasbourg, 1488)
- x = (superscript above Glorieux numbers) excerpt

Editio princeps

S **Johann Prüss, *Opera omnia* (Strasbourg, 1488), 2.T–Z.

Extant manuscripts

A *Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek 2° Cod 69, fols. 106v–108r.⁸⁹ Melk (then Wiblingen, then St. Ulrich and Afra), s. XV (the catalogue’s dating to the second quarter of the fifteenth century is based upon a date that was copied from another manuscript; see further below, under 3.4). Paper. 30 × 22 cm. Single columns. 183 folios. Gerson collection.

Works: 449, 455, 399, [14, 97], 37, 38, **476**, RPC, 413, 434, 100, 402, 425. Also works by Pseudo-Dionysius and Henry of Langenstein.

B **Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek 2° Cod 192, fols. 114r–117r.⁹⁰ Augsburg, s. XV⁴ (1482, 1499). Paper. 22 × 16.5 cm. Single columns. 267 folios. The “Triplex veritas” is added in a different hand in the margin of the “reply treatise,” fols. 116v–117r. Primarily a Gerson collection.

Works: 411, 412, 455, 37, 38, 419, **476**, RPC, 31^x, 453^x, 456^x, 464^x, 50 [?], 450^x, 100, 402, 413, 448, 425, 501, 503, 506, 505. Also works by Jerome, Basilus Caesariensis, Chrysostom, and Augustine.

E *Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 541, fols. 410r–412r.⁹¹ Dominican convent in Nuremberg, s. XV³ (1458). Paper. 20.8 × 14.5 cm. Single columns. 413 folios. Gerson collection with anti-Hussite works.

Works: 449, 403, 24, 399, 100, 402, 452, 37, 38, **476**, RPC.

H **Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek 675, fols. 256r–258v.⁹² Butzbach, Germany, s. XV³. Paper. 21.5 × 14.5 cm. Single columns. 65 incunable folios + 194 folios. Theological collection.

⁸⁸ The other numbers can be found in the introductory sections to vols. 2–10 of *OC*.

⁸⁹ Herrad Spilling, *Die Handschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, 2° Cod 1–100 (Wiesbaden, 1978), 106–8.

⁹⁰ Herrad Spilling, *Die Handschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, 2° Cod 101–250 (Wiesbaden, 1984), 149–54.

⁹¹ Hans Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, vol. 2 (Erlangen, 1936), 166–71.

⁹² *Handschriftenkataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen*, vol. 4: Wolfgang Georg

Works: 215, 498, 423, 421, 272, 497, **476**. Also works by Gabriel Biel, Augustine, Hugh of St. Victor, Guigo de Castro, Humbert of Romans, and Bonaventure.

- I *Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek 97, fols. 50v–51v.⁹³ Kaufbeuren, Germany (owned by Johannes Ried, a chaplain there, then brought to the Cistercian convent of Stams in Austria), 1463. Paper. 40.5 × 29 cm. Single columns. 168 folios. Primarily a Gerson collection.

Works: 449, 455, 399, [14, 97], 37, 38, **476**, RPC, 413, 434, 100, 402, 425, 418. Also works by Pseudo-Dionysius and Henry of Langenstein.

- L **Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek 75, fols. 175v–177r.⁹⁴ Lower Austria (Benedictine house of Klein-Mariazell), s. XV med. (1448). Paper. Quarto. Single columns. 208 folios. Much of this manuscript (fols. 63r–148v) was copied from Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 2, but not our treatise. The date on fol. 166v, “Basilee tempore concilii generalis anno domini 1437,” was apparently copied from the same text in Melk 2. The works of Gerson occupy fols. 63–176. Before this are works of Bernard, and after this is the *Manuale confessorum* of Johannes Nider.

Works: 413, 409, 411, 412, 458, 134, 142, 169, 419, 414, 421, 416, 415, 54, 100, 402, 510, 37, 38, **476**.

- M*Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 751/2, fols. 253r–254v.⁹⁵ Germany or Austria, s. XV (second half). Paper. Quarto. Single columns. 175 folios. Works on the Carthusians, the advance of the Turks, comets, list of the kings of Israel, and various royal letters.

Works: [8, 93], **476**, RPC.

- N *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4365, fols. 103r–104v.⁹⁶ Monastery of St. Ulric of Augsburg, Bavaria, s. XV. Paper? Folio. Single columns. 218 folios. Primarily a Gerson collection.

Works: 449, 37, 38, 413, 100, 402, **476**, RPC, 399, 409, 411, 412, 422, 473, 474, 276, 427. Also works by Bernard, Augustine, and Hugh of St. Victor.

Bayerer, *Die Handschriften des ehem. Fraterherrenstifts St. Markus zu Butzbach* (Giessen and Wiesbaden, 1980–), pt. 1, *Handschriften aus der Nummernfolge Hs. 42 bis Hs. 760*, 58–60.

⁹³ Walter Neuhauser, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck*, pt. 1, *Cod. 1–100* (Vienna, 1987), 275–77.

⁹⁴ *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Cistercienser-Stifte*, Xenia Bernardina 2.1 (Vienna, 1891), 507–8; OC 8:xxv.

⁹⁵ Vinzenz Stauer, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Mellicensi O.S.B. servantur* (Vienna, 1889 [handwritten catalogue]), 1092–93.

⁹⁶ C. Halm, G. Laubmann, et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* 3.2 (Munich, 1871), 179.

*N*¹ *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6965, fols. 68r–69v.⁹⁷ Monastery of Fürstenfeld, Austria, s. XV. Folio. Double columns. 295 folios. The text of our treatise (and presumably the other Gerson treatises) was probably copied from *N*. Theological collection.

Works: 449, 37, 38, 413, 100, 476, RPC, 399. Also works by Bernard, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, William of Paris, Robertus de S. Remigio, and Burchardus Biberacensis.

O **Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 8859, fols. 20v–22r.⁹⁸ Franciscans of Munich, s. XV. Folio. Single columns. 214 folios. Immediately following our tract is an excerpt from the *Expositio in Pentateuchum* of Bruno Astensis (PL 164:522), which also appears in *L*. Gerson collection.

Works: 280, 476, 422, 418, 100.

R **Paris, BnF lat. 14904, fols. 201r–204r.⁹⁹ Abbey of St. Victor at Paris, probably 1436–56. Parchment (fols. 1–72, 246–269) and paper (fols. 73–245). 21 × 14 cm. Single columns. 269 folios. Text up to the “Triplex veritas” copied by Guillaume Tuysselet. “Triplex veritas” added by Pierre Duduit.¹⁰⁰ Gerson collection.

Works: 38, 409, 411, 412, 54, 414, 319, 239, 236, 208, 256, 255, 259, 208^x, [11, 90], 476.

*S*¹ †Lille, Bibliothèque municipale 539, fols. 85v–87v.¹⁰¹ France, after 1488. Paper. 27 × 20 cm. 116 folios.

*S*² †Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 707, fols. 131v–133v.¹⁰² Monastery of Blessed Pancratius, Hamersleben, Saxony, after 1488. Paper. 20.75 × 15 cm. 178 folios.

T *Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek 49, fols. 155r–156v.¹⁰³ Germany, s. XV. Paper. Folio. Double columns. 422 folios. Primarily a Gerson collection.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 3.3 (Munich, 1873), 131–32.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 4.1 (Munich, 1874), 59–60.

⁹⁹ Calvot and Ouy, *L'oeuvre de Gerson à Saint-Victor de Paris*, 88–94; OC 5:xxvii.

¹⁰⁰ Calvot and Ouy, *L'oeuvre de Gerson à Saint-Victor de Paris*, 92. Gilbert Ouy has notified me that the catalogue description here is slightly confused and should indicate a change of hand for the “Triplex veritas,” which was the sole text copied by Pierre Duduit.

¹⁰¹ P. S. Lewis, *Ecrits politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1978), 117–20. Lewis gives the shelfmark as Ms. 322.

¹⁰² *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Erste Abteilung: Otto von Heinemann, *Die Helmstedter Handschriften*, vol. 2 (Wolfenbüttel, 1886), 104–7. A notice at the front of the manuscript states that the manuscript contains works of Gerson not contained in the monastery's four printed volumes. Presumably, the monastery owned the four-volume Cologne edition of 1483–84.

¹⁰³ *Codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Seitenstettensis Tomus I* (Seitenstettin, n.d. [handwritten catalogue]), 85–104.

Works: [14, 97], [18, 312, 330, 332 (Latin version)], 276, 282, 401, 100, 406, 425, 403, 452, 37, 38, **476**, RPC, 413, 434, 498, 274, 280, 215, 209, 237, 241, 232, 235, 256, 269, 412, 403, 458. Also works by Henry of Langenstein, Matthew of Cracow, Charles VI of France (letter *Super libertate ecclesiarum regni*), Pierre d'Ailly, Johannes Torquemada, Nicolas of Lyra, Nikolaus of Dinkelsbühl, and Peter of Pulka.

*T'**Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 4576, fols. 110r–111r.¹⁰⁴ Germany? s. xv med./ex. (includes letters on fols. 198r–200v dated 1438–39). Paper. 30.5 × 21.5 cm. Double columns. 335 folios. Much of this manuscript, including our treatise, was probably copied directly from *T*. Includes letters and collations from the Councils of Constance and Basel.

Works: 235, 269, 452, [14, 97], 448, 459, [18, 312, 330, 332 (Latin version)], 280, 272, **476**, RPC, 274, 406, 256, 412, 209, 237, 241, 24, 276, 413, 402, 37, 38, 498, 282, 447, 403, 424, 100. Also works attributed to Thomas Aquinas, Bernard of Clairvaux or Bernardus Sylvestris, Johannes Hofmann de Swidnicz, Johannes Januensis, Pseudo-Dionysius, Pierre d'Ailly, Johannes Torquemada, Narcissus Herz de Perching, William of Paris, Matthew of Cracow, Augustine, Pope Eugenius IV, Jerome, Charles VI of France, Haymo Halberstadiensis, Peter Damian, Isidore of Seville, Henry of Hesse, and Martinus Polonus.

*V**Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3796, fols 30r–32r.¹⁰⁵ Germany? s. xv. Paper. Quarto. Single columns. 214 folios. Gerson collection.

Works: 134, 142, 37, 38, **476**, RPC, 413, 409, 411, 412, 458, [8, 93], 477.

*W**Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 4701, fols. 322r–323v.¹⁰⁶ Council of Basel, 1435 (fol. 323v: “Explicit 1435 in Concilio Basile”); other dates appear throughout the manuscript, from 1434 to 1450). Paper. 22 × 15 cm. Single columns. 421 folios. Large collection of works copied at and relating to the Council of Basel.

Works: **476**, RPC, 424, 276, 102, 269, 256.

Lost manuscripts

The following list does not pretend to be complete, but includes manuscripts found during my research. It is drawn from both medieval inventories and modern catalogues.

¹⁰⁴ *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vol. 3 (Vienna, 1869), 317–21; OC 6:xxx–xxxv.

¹⁰⁵ *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum* 3:88–89.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 3:356–57; Franz Unterkircher, *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich* 2.1 (Vienna, 1971), 110–11.

*Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds Lescalopier, Ms. 76, fols. 1–4,¹⁰⁷ s. XV. Paper. 21.5 × 15 cm. 4 folios. According to archivist Jean Vilbas, this manuscript was lost in World War I.¹⁰⁸

Super facto Puelle et credulitate sibi prestanda.

The explicit given in the catalogue indicates that the manuscript contained only *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* and not “Triplex veritas.” The omission of the word *in* before the phrase *omnibus diebus nostris* is a very small clue possibly indicating that the text does not belong in the subset family *ABIMNN¹TT¹V*.¹⁰⁹ See below under 3.4, “*Stemma codicum*.”

Böddecken, Chorherrenbibliothek,¹¹⁰ s. XV (one treatise dated 1467).

Tractatus Dialogum de Coelibatu ecclesiasticorum, 1467; de materia Contractuum. De Simonia. De Sollicitudine ecclesiastica. De indispensabili abstinencia Carthusiensium ab esu carnis. de parvulis ad Christum trahendis. de Nobilitate. de Laudibus Joseph et M.V. de duplici statu in ecclesia Dei Curatorum et scilicet privilegiatorum. de potestate ecclesiastica, de unitate ecclesiastica de auferibilitate sponsi ecclesiae ab ecclesiae. de Congregatione ecclesiae universalis sine auctoritate Consensu et Convocatione Papae. de Vitiis ministrorum ecclesiae. **de mirabili victoria cujusdam puellae de post foetantii acceptae et in ducem belli constitutae.**

Buxheim, Charterhouse G 14,¹¹¹ before 1450 (catalogue ca. 1450).

Liber vite. Tractatus de predestinacione. Tractatulus de modo vincendi se ipsum, H. Hassia. Tractatus de cogitacionibus. Tractatus de eukaristia, H. Hassia. Tractatus de eukaristia, Minsinger [*sic*]. De oracione dominica. Tractatus de sepulturis, H. Hassia. Speculum anime. De miseria condicionis humane. De temptacione. Gerson de oracione. Dyalogus de perfectione cordis. De sollicitudine ecclesiasticorum et religiosorum. **Tractatus super facto puelle armigere.** Regule de modo vivendi secundum statum omnium

¹⁰⁷ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* 19 (Paris, 1893), 486–87; Monnoyeur, *Traité de Jean Gerson sur la Pucelle*, 20 n. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Personal communication of 20 August 2002.

¹⁰⁹ I include the explicit and colophon here because the colophon appears in no extant manuscript: “. . . serviamus illi in sanctitate et justicia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris. Finitur tractatus magistri Johannis de Gersonno, cancellarii Parisiensis, de puella Francie vocata Johanna. Sciendum est quod hec puella induebatur habitu virili, bella exercebat, milites pro parte Regis adversus hostes animabat, dicens se missam a Deo pro recuperacione regni de manibus Anglicorum.”

¹¹⁰ Thomas Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna: Handschriftenproduktion, Literaturversorgung und Bibliotheksaufbau im Zeitalter des Medienwechsels* (Frankfurt, 1999), 259.

¹¹¹ *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* 3.1, *Bistum Augsburg*, ed. Paul Ruf (Munich, 1932), 97.

fideliū. De vita anime Gerson. De probacione spirituum. Remedia contra temptationes. Tractatus de consolacione theologie.

Melk, Stiftsbibliothek D 134,¹¹² before 1483.

Manuale magistri Iohannis Nider confessorum. Idem de lepra morali. Idem de consolacione timorate consciencie. Tractatus de penis inferni. Gerson de excellenciis virtutum Christi et Marie. **Quoddam compilatum Gerson de mirabili victoria puelle cuiusdam de post fetantes recepte in ducem belli regis Francorum contra regem Anglorum.**

Melk, Stiftsbibliothek F 163.¹¹³ Paper.

Vita sancti Iohannis scholastici. Tractatus domini Nicolai de Chusa de visione dei. Dyalogus ydiote et oratoris de sapientia eiusdem domini Ni(colai). De facilitate faciliū sapientie eiusdem domini Nicolai. Defensorium laudatorii docte ignorancie contra inpugnatorium eiusdem. Appologia contra invectivam elucidacionis mystice theologie. Quarta pars elucidacionum theologie mystice. **Cancellarius Parisiensis super facto puelle et credulitate sibi prestanda.** Pro reformatione aliqua monasteriorum. Soliloquium s. Augustini de visione dei. Liber meditacionum eiusdem. Manuale de ymagine. Plures questiones magistrales in alma universitate Wiennensi disputate.

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 937.¹¹⁴ College of Navarre, s. XV. Paper. 31.2 × 22.1 cm. 162 folios. This manuscript is extant but our tract, mentioned in a table on the verso flyleaf as being part of the manuscript, was missing when Molinier produced his catalogue in 1885.

Opusculum super facto Puelle et credulitate ei prestanda.

Ulm, Niethartschen Family Library 167,¹¹⁵ before 1465. Paper and parchment. 311 folios. First and last words for each quire, on fols. 10, 38, 66, 94, 119, 151, 177, 200, 231, 260, 288, and 311.

Tractatus Gerson de contractibus; idem de consolacione theologie cum glosellis suis; idem de oracione et eius valore; **idem de una puella Francie;**¹¹⁶ dyalogus eiusdem de perfeccione cordis; regule et conclusiones eius-

¹¹² *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs 1, Niederösterreich*, ed. Theodor Gottlieb (Vienna, 1915; rpt. 1974), 221.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 255.

¹¹⁴ Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine* 1:440; OC 6:xxxvii.

¹¹⁵ *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz 1, Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*, ed. Paul Lehmann (Munich, 1918), 346–47.

¹¹⁶ The title here could be taken to refer to *De quadam puella*. But more likely it refers to *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*, since the ordering of works here (according to Glorieux numbers: 37, 38, 476, 413, 434) is found in other manuscripts of *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*: A, I, and T have the exact same order; V leaves off only 434; and E and L leave off 413 and 434. See below (p. 129).

dem de diversis materiis moralibus; idem de preceptis et sacramentis; idem de sollicitudine ecclesiasticorum et quando et pro quibus liceat eis recipere pecunias et questum; Egidius de Roma de predestinacione et presciencia, de paradiso et inferno, de septem laudibus divine sapiencie et septem bonis; idem de peccato originali; speculum consideracionis et de contemplacione cardinalis Cameracensis; speculum contemplacionum eiusdem; tractatus docens preparacionem ad suscepcionem corporis Christi; Gerson de distincione mortalium a venialibus; idem de regulis vivendi omnium fidelium; idem de mistica theologia; Thomas de perfeccione justicie; Gerson de spiritali vita; idem de reprobacione spirituum; Bonaventure de remediis temptationum; Gerson de celebracione misse et quando temptationes obstare videantur; tripertitum Gerson seu de generalibus fidei Christiane principiis, de decem preceptis et confessione sacramentali peccatorum et qualiter sit procedendum cum constitutis in mortis articulo; sermo de conceptione beate virginis; de emendacione kalendarii cardinalis Cameracensis.

Several of Gerson's works tended to circulate with the tract and to be copied in the same order from manuscript to manuscript. The texts copied most often were the *De theologia mystica* and the *De oratione*, each appearing ten times in our manuscripts. (Originally two letters [nos. 37 and 38], the *De oratione* usually circulated as a single work.) Other common texts copied with *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* include the *Dialogus de perfeccione cordis* (nine manuscripts), *De directione cordis* (seven), *De simplificatione cordis* (five), and *De consolatione theologiae* (five). Several of the lost manuscripts follow a similar pattern of copying.

3.3. Composition of the Tract.

Through the collation of our fifteen manuscripts (omitting S^1 and S^2 , both copied from the 1488 edition) and one edition, S , two major families emerge with eighteen common accidents: $ABEIMNN^1RTT^1VW$ and $HLOS$, hereafter identified as α and β .

Gerson probably wrote the work by hand himself.¹¹⁷ This autograph then became the basis for all subsequent copies. The evidence from collation shows that Gerson composed *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* in three stages. Originally, he ended the work at lines 94–95, with the

¹¹⁷ Gilbert Ouy has explored the evidence for the existence of Gerson autographs, now mostly lost; see "Le Célestin Jean Gerson: copiste et éditeur de son frère," in *La collaboration dans la production de l'écrit médiéval. Actes du XIII^e Colloque du Comité international de paléographie latine, Weingarten, 22–25 septembre 2000*, ed. Herrad Spilling (Paris, 2003), 281–308 and plates 71–79, and "Enquête sur les manuscrits autographes du chancelier Gerson

phrase “quam avertat a nobis et bene omnia vertat Deus amen.” The crucial piece of evidence is the additional words *Deus amen*, found in all of the α manuscripts except *R*. A short section follows in all of the manuscripts, before the “Triplex veritas,” containing four additional “civil and theological proofs” (*documenta*). At this point all of the α manuscripts originally ended.¹¹⁸ The simplest way to reconstruct this evidence is that Gerson wrote the treatise up to line 95, ending it there with the word *amen*. Four further arguments in support of Joan’s authenticity then occurred to him—they are said to be “added over and above” (*superadduntur*)—and apparently before circulating the original version (no copies survive with only this shortest version of the work), he added this section and circulated the tract. The fact that he did not erase the word *amen* indicates that Gerson added this final paragraph as a sort of afterthought, and not as part of a new redaction (in which case he would have removed the word *amen*).

Then he made a second addition to the text: the “Triplex veritas” in defense of Joan’s male clothing. With the short version of the tract now in circulation, Gerson may or may not have made a new copy of the text. In either case, he appears not to have changed the original text, except in two instances. First, he removed the word *amen* before the four additional proofs (the word *amen* is absent in β).¹¹⁹ Second, he apparently added the biblical quotation at the end of this short section: “A Domino factum est istud” (missing in α except for *R*¹²⁰). He then added the “Triplex veritas” in defense of Joan’s male clothing and circulated the work.

et sur les copies faites par son frère le célestin Jean Gerson,” *Scriptorium* 16 (1962): 275–301, esp. 280–81 on the contemporary evidence that such autographs existed; and see Calvot and Ouy, *L’œuvre de Gerson à Saint-Victor de Paris*, 14–21. Other works that we know Gerson wrote by hand include nos. 43–44 and 523 (see *OC* 2:216–17, 10:253).

¹¹⁸ “Originally,” because at some later date the imperfection was discovered in *B* and *R*. The “Triplex veritas” was then supplied in each case by a different hand, in *B* in the margin of the reply treatise, and in *R* picking up where the previous scribe had left off.

¹¹⁹ He may also have removed the word *Deus*, which is absent in β , but this omission could also be a β variant.

¹²⁰ The evidence on the addition of the quotation is complicated and ultimately inconclusive. Had the corrections in *R* been made by Guillaume Tuyssset, the scribe of the first section, one might have concluded that Guillaume had added the quotation from a β exemplar. But the corrections appear to have been made in a different hand, hence it would appear that Guillaume did not have access to a second copy. It is also possible that Gerson included the line originally, and that the anonymous canon lawyer or a scribe removed the line and replaced it with the reply treatise; this shortened version of the tract with the attached reply treatise might then have become the model for all of the α manuscripts except *R*, which does not include the reply treatise. Thus the exemplar for *R* might have been a copy without the reply treatise and with the scriptural quotation. A problem with this interpretation is that the catalogue description of a lost

This style of editing and publishing conforms exactly to what we know of Gerson's editorial practices; he frequently revised and added to his treatises in just this way.¹²¹ External evidence suggests that he must have made the additions sooner rather than later (and in any case he died on 12 July). If we accept the dating of Dondaine, then Jean Dupuy apparently had access to the work *in its complete form* by early June at the latest. In this case the entire treatise, including the "Triplex veritas," must have been finished within days.

This evidence has two further implications. The first concerns the reply treatise of the anonymous canon lawyer, which appears in every surviving manuscript of the α family except for *R*, and which was clearly intended by its author to circulate with Gerson's text.¹²² Since the author of the reply treatise makes no reference to any specific argument in the "Triplex veritas," and since every manuscript of the reply treatise omits the "Triplex veritas,"¹²³ it

manuscript, Amiens 76, indicates that this line was also missing in this manuscript, which also omits the reply treatise. The fact that this manuscript does not include the reply treatise suggests that Gerson did not include the quotation in the short version. The problem then is this: why does *R* contain the quotation? Other scenarios could be devised to account for this apparent anomaly, but they would be nothing more than hypotheses.

¹²¹ See further Daniel Hobbins, "Editing and Circulating Letters in the Fifteenth Century: Jean Gerson, *Uberius quam necesse*, 10 November 1422," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 46 (2004): 169–90. The *De examinatione doctrinarum* sometimes circulates (e.g., Paris, BnF lat. 3125, 14905, and 17489) without a concluding section, which Gerson must have added later (*OC* 9:473–75). A largely overlooked text in Mazarine 940 (fol. 120r–v), probably written by Jean the Celestine, explains why Gerson did not finish "nor will finish" (*nec complevit nec complebit*) the three parts of the treatise; see Calvot and Ouy, *L'oeuvre de Gerson à Saint-Victor de Paris*, 165. The *Appellatio peccatoris ad divinam misericordiam*, the *De contractibus*, the *De nobilitate*, and the *Trilogium astrologiae theologizatae* all have a separate section which Gerson added after he had finished each treatise (*OC* 8:539; 9:409, 489; 10:106). Sometimes Gerson added a concluding section as an epilogue, as in the *De praeparatione ad missam*, and again in the *Trilogium astrologiae theologizatae* (*OC* 9:49, 10:104). In at least one case he added a prologue to a work years later, as with the *Traité de consolation sur la mort de ses amis* (*OC* 7:62, 316). The *Contra superstitiosam dierum observantiam praesertim Innocentium*, originally a letter, survives both as a letter, and in two versions as a treatise, short and long. The letter is *OC* 2:227–32, the treatise 10:116–21. See the study by Glorieux, "'Contre l'observation superstitieuse des jours': Le traité de Gerson et ses divers états," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 35 (1968): 177–82. Some manuscripts of *De necessaria communione laicorum sub utraque specie* (*OC* 10:55–68) do not contain the final section corresponding to pp. 64–68 in the edition.

¹²² See n. 32 above. The catalogue description of the lost manuscript Amiens 76, however, indicates that this manuscript contained the short version of the text, and hence belongs to α , but that it also lacked the reply treatise. This also seems to have been the case with the exemplar of *R*. See n. 120 above.

¹²³ There is one exception, *B*, but this point has no relevance here since the "Triplex veritas" was added to this manuscript later in a different hand.

seems safe to conclude that the lawyer was reading a copy of the text that lacked the "Triplex veritas."¹²⁴

A second implication concerns the date. In challenging the authenticity of the work, some scholars have cast doubt on 14 May as the date of composition because this would not have allowed sufficient time for the news of Joan's victory to reach Lyon and for Gerson to write the tract.¹²⁵ By modern reckoning the distance between Lyon and Orléans is 321 kilometers (200 miles), or using modern roads, 410 kilometers (254 miles). A thirteenth-century itinerary for travel from Lyon along the Loire River to Orléans, published by Ferinand Lot, gives a distance of 76 leagues, which converts to 228 miles or 367 kilometers (at the usual conversion of 1 league = 3 miles).¹²⁶ From what we know of the time it took news to travel at this period, there certainly was time for the news to reach Lyon, especially news of this importance that would have been spread with utmost haste. In the fourteenth century, royal messengers routinely traveled 90 kilometers a day, and in urgent cases (as when the king was debasing the coinage), messengers on horseback took oaths in which they promised to reach anywhere in the kingdom by the fifth day at noon. At this rate, they would have covered 150 to 170 kilometers a day. When Louis XI founded a post system in 1479, his couriers covered distances of 300 to 350 kilometers in 20 to 24 hours.¹²⁷ News of the victory at

¹²⁴ The anonymous canon lawyer does address the issue of Joan's male clothing, but nothing of what he says shows clearly that he was responding to any argument made by Gerson on this issue. This point has implications for the interpretation of that treatise. Cf. Elliott, "Seeing Double," 49; and Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate*, 164–66.

¹²⁵ Wayman, "Chancellor," 288; Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate*, 131–32; Cornford, "Christine de Pizan's *Dieu de Jehanne d'Arc*," 75.

¹²⁶ Ferdinand Lot, "Itinéraires du XIII^e siècle," *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques* (1920), 219–20. On the distance of a league, see the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

¹²⁷ Robert-Henri Bautier, "La route française et son évolution au cours du Moyen Age," *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, ser. 5, 73 (1987): 97–98; Yves Renouard, "Routes, étapes et vitesses de marche de France à Rome au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle d'après les itinéraires d'Eudes Rigaud (1254) et de Barthélemy Bonis (1350)," in *Etudes d'histoire médiévale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), 2:677–97; Marjorie Nice Boyer, "A Day's Journey in Mediaeval France," *Speculum* 26 (1951): 604; René Gandilhon, "Louis XI fondateur du service des postes en France," *Revue historique* 183 (1938): 37–41. While Charles VII did not have a post system (which would have involved changing horses at designated points along the way), he certainly had an organized messenger system that could have delivered the news with great speed. Unfortunately, the registers of the Consulat of Lyon for the period 7 March 1429 to 21 September 1433 were destroyed in the sixteenth century. Jean Déniau, *La Commune de Lyon et la Guerre Bourguignonne 1417–1435* (Lyon, 1934), 555–56. In 1394, the news of Clement VII's death at Avignon reached Paris (about 650 kilometers) in six days, though sometimes this journey was made in as little as three days. See Noël Valois, *La France et le*

Orléans reached Charles VII at Chinon, about 175 kilometers from Orléans, the next day.¹²⁸ Lyon had been the point of departure for five major thoroughfares in Roman times, and for the most part this road system survived into the Middle Ages; the fourteenth century has been called a "golden age" for the French road system.¹²⁹ The itinerary published by Lot, which lists fourteen towns between Lyon and Orléans, shows that the road remained a major and well-known route, and it is not surprising that the news of Joan's victory reached the important city of Lyon within a few days, possibly as soon as 10 or 11 May.¹³⁰ The date appears in ten of fifteen manuscripts (not counting *S'* and *S''*), including manuscripts of each family, and hence it must have appeared in the exemplars of both α and β . It must therefore have appeared either in the autograph or in the apograph, copied under Gerson's direct supervision. (See further below on this point under 3.6.) As for the writing of the tract, Gerson could easily have written the entire work in a very short time, even in a single sitting. He wrote a work four times as long, his dialogue on clerical celibacy, in a single day, and a letter twice as long in a single morning.¹³¹ The date also fits with the dating of the last work he wrote, the

Grand Schisme d'Occident, vol. 3 (Paris, 1901), 3. For examples of the time it took news to travel in fifteenth-century England, see C. A. J. Armstrong, "Some Examples of the Distribution and Speed of News in England at the Time of the Wars of the Roses," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin, and R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), 429–54.

¹²⁸ Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation* 5:100–104. For a modern account, see Kelly DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader* (Stroud, England, 1999), 93–94. On the estates of Grenoble learning of the lifting of the siege and of the march of the royal army on Reims, see A. Prudhomme, *Histoire de Grenoble* (Grenoble, 1888), 252–53; on the arrival of the news at Montpellier (though no date is given), see Jean Baumel, *La fin d'une seigneurie du Midi de la France: Montpellier, ville royale (1349–1505)*, vol. 3 (Montpellier, 73), 213–14.

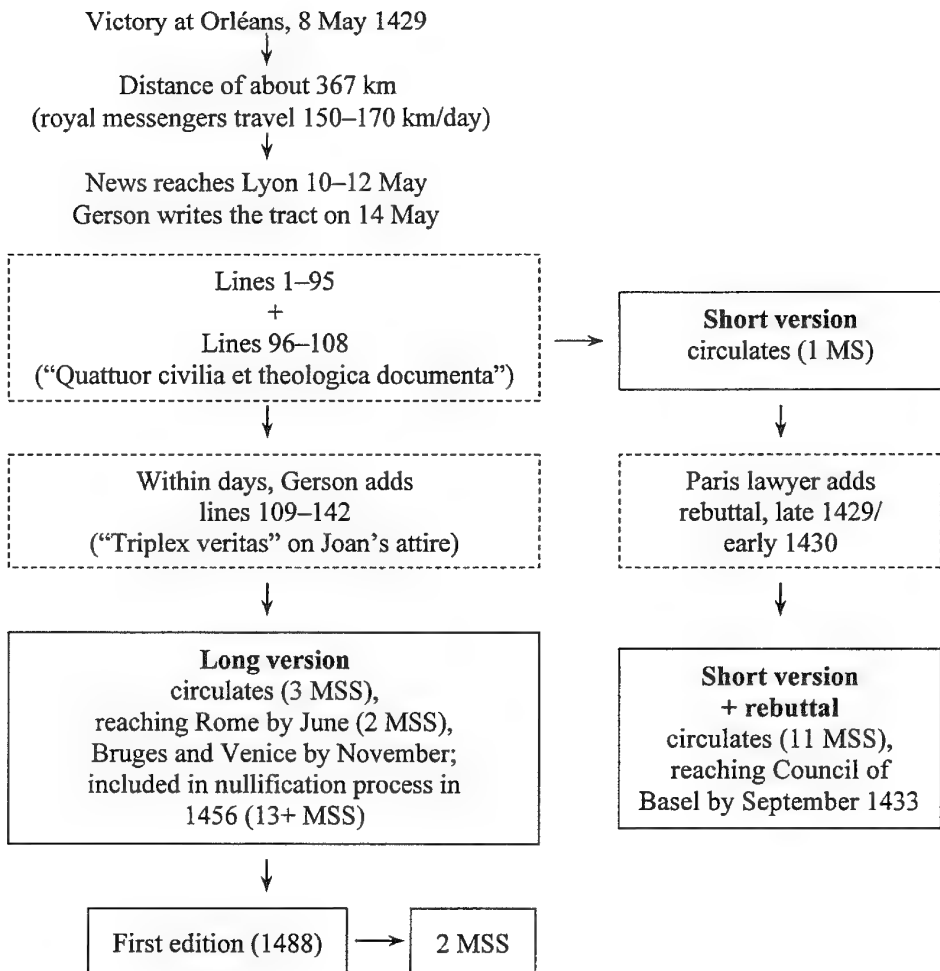
¹²⁹ Raymond Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (Paris, 1997), 209–12; Bautier, "La route française," 75, 96.

¹³⁰ The itinerary proceeds from Lyon to Orléans by way of the following towns: L'Arbresle, Saint-Clément-sur-Valsonne, Thizy, Charlieu, Marcigny, Pierrefitte-sur-Loire, Decize, Nevers, La Charité-sur-Loire, Pouilly-sur-Loire, Bonny-sur-Loire, Gien, Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, and Jargeau; see Lot, "Itinéraires du XIII^e siècle," 210–11. See also Jacques Soyer, *Les voies antiques de l'Orléanais Civitas Aurelianorum* (Orléans, 1971 [1937]). On the importance of the Paris-Lyon route, see Léon Blin, "Le grand chemin de Paris à Lyon par le vallon de la Loire au Bas-Moyen-Age," *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques* (1958): 237–66. Blin observes (264–65) that during the period of English control of Paris (1417–35), there was very active contact between the royal residence at Bourges and Lyon.

¹³¹ The first work referred to is *Dialogus apologeticus pro coelibatu ecclesiasticorum* (OC 10:145–63). The evidence appears in the colophon of Dupin from a manuscript; see the note on OC 10:163. The second work is his letter to Jean Bassand, OC 263–74. Gerson himself made this claim at the end of the letter. (My thanks to Brian Patrick McGuire for this reference.) Ger-

Tractatus super Cantica Canticorum. He began this work on 15 May, the day after he completed the tract on Joan, wrote in the greatest haste (as he told a correspondent), and left it unfinished on 9 July, three days before his death.¹³²

The composition and distribution of the text may be summarized as follows:



son also wrote the *Petit livre contre détraction* in an afternoon and a morning (*OC* 7:xvii–xviii), the *Centilogium de causa finali* in two days (*OC* 9:625), and the *De considerationibus quas debet habere princeps* in three days (*OC* 2:203). Combes suggests (*La théologie mystique de Gerson* 2:396 n. 107) that Gerson wrote the *De concordia theologiae mysticae cum scholastica* on 1 June 1424. On the time it took Gerson to compose the *Collectorium super Magnificat*, see Combes, *Essai sur la critique de Ruysbroeck par Gerson* 1:335–44.

¹³² The dating was established by Combes, *La théologie mystique de Gerson* 2:650–56. For the letter mentioning the speed of composition, see *OC* 2:313.

3.4. *Stemma codicum*.

Careful study of the eighteen common accidents between α and β shows that beyond the omission of the α reading *amen* in line 95, β does not represent a revision of α . These are not two recensions of the same text that need to be edited separately. The final version of the text is best represented by β ; α represents the same text at an earlier stage of circulation. Since β represents the final form of the tract, this family should be the basis of the edition. β not only contains the complete text but also has the best readings more often than α . The basis for the edition will be *O* with variants from other members of the β family (*HLS*) and from *R* (for the adage in French in line 25, which no other manuscript transmitted correctly), and, for the "Triplex veritas," from *BHLRS*. This choice is based on the relationship of the manuscripts to each other which can be established by a study of the common accidents.

We turn first to the subgroups within α and β , organized according to their common accidents.¹³³

Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda, lines 1–109

<i>ABEIMNN^lRTT^lVW</i> (α)	18 ¹³⁴	<i>HOLS</i> (β)
<i>ABEIMNN^lTT^lVW</i>	24 ¹³⁵	$\beta + R$
<i>ABEIMNN^lRTT^lV</i>	3	$\beta + W$
<i>ABEIMNN^lTT^lV</i>	3 ¹³⁶	$\beta + RW$
<i>ABIMNN^lTT^lV</i>	7	$\beta + ERW$
<i>ABIMNN^l</i>	13	$\beta + ETTlVW$
<i>ER</i>	2	$\beta + ABIMNNlTTlVW$
$\alpha + O$	10	<i>HLS</i>
$\alpha + LO$	7	<i>HS</i>
$\alpha + HO$	3	<i>LS</i>
$\alpha + S$	3 ¹³⁷	<i>HLO</i>

"Triplex veritas," lines 110–42

<i>BHLS</i>	2	<i>OR</i>
<i>BHS</i>	3	<i>LOR</i>
<i>BS</i>	5	<i>HLOR</i>

¹³³ In this table, I have included only those accidents where the division into family groups is absolutely clear. Thus I have omitted the variants at lines 17 (*communis*), 43 (*altero*), 44 (in *Parlamento*), 60 (*sicut*), 74 (*parturientis*), 75 (*tympanizanti*), 79 (*scilicet*), 91 (*oporteret*), 93 (*et*), and 96 (*theologica*). At least two common accidents are necessary to infer a family group.

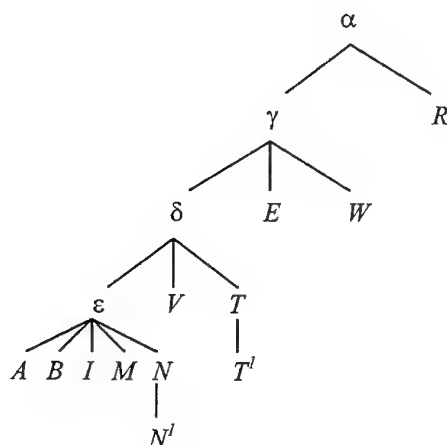
¹³⁴ This includes three instances when *R* was corrected to agree with β , one when the β variant was added in the margin of *R*, and one when *RTT^l* were corrected to agree with β (28).

¹³⁵ This includes one instance when *T* was corrected to agree with $\beta + R$ (18).

¹³⁶ This includes one instance when *T* was corrected to agree with $\beta + RW$ (56). The other two instances are at lines 82 and 99.

¹³⁷ This includes one instance when *R* was corrected to agree with *HLO* (75).

The major subgroups within α are clear. $ABIMNN^1$ has the strongest family resemblance, with thirteen common accidents. The closest manuscripts to this subgroup are TT^1V , followed by E , W , and then R . E and R also share a very slight connection—two common accidents (at lines 19 and 80) against all other manuscripts. We can visualize these relationships thus:



A few comments are necessary regarding specific manuscripts. At some point in the transmission, the texts of R and T were corrected from a β exemplar. From what we know about the copying of texts in the late Middle Ages, with this number of manuscripts, evidence of consultation of other manuscripts (traditionally termed “contamination” by text editors) is not surprising.¹³⁸ The text of T was corrected three times from a β exemplar.¹³⁹ The situation with R is more complicated. This manuscript was copied at the famous abbey of St. Victor in Paris. Gilbert Ouy, who recently catalogued the collection using the important 1514 listing of Claude de Grandrue, has stressed the importance of St. Victor as a center for the copying of Gerson’s works. From 1436, when English occupation ended, until the death of Guillaume Tuiysselet in 1456, a group of copyists under the leadership of Jean

¹³⁸ On scribes using two exemplars, see the introduction to *Ioannis Duns Scoti Quaestiones super secundum et tertium De anima*, ed. B. C. Bazán, K. Emery, Jr., R. Green, T. B. Noone, R. Plevano, and A. G. Trauer (forthcoming by the Franciscan Institute), and in particular the discussion of Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. lat. III.230 (= Ms. Y in the edition). An older article focusing on consultation in manuscripts of the Prose Lancelot is Elspeth Kennedy, “The Scribe as Editor,” in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance* (Geneva, 1970), 1:523–31; see esp. the comments on 531.

¹³⁹ See nn. 134–36 above.

Lamasse strove to copy as many of Gerson's works as possible.¹⁴⁰ At the same time they attempted to resolve questions of authenticity and to establish reliable texts of Gerson's works. Since *R* agrees with β twenty-four times against α , we can conclude that the scribe of *R*, Guillaume Tuysselet for lines 1–109, possessed an α exemplar that was much closer to the archetype than were the exemplars of other α manuscripts. This section was later corrected six times, in the margin or above the line, from a β exemplar, in a different hand from Guillaume's. The fact that the corrector never once corrected a β reading with an α reading rules out the possibility that he was correcting a β exemplar from an α exemplar. One marginal addition offers a valuable clue. In line 70, where both families have plausible readings—"iuvencula" and "muliercula"—the corrector supplied the reading from β in the margin, "muliercula," preceded by "al." for *alias* or *alibi*, that is, "elsewhere *muliercula*." It should also be noted that since the scribe of *T* (and probably the editor of *S*, as we shall see below) had access to both α and β exemplars, yet used both exemplars, the scribes evidently considered both exemplars authoritative.

W agrees with β three times against all other α manuscripts, including *R*. To account for this, since there is no evidence—such as marginal corrections—that the scribe of *W* consulted another manuscript, we can assume that *W*'s exemplar (or an ancestor of that exemplar) contained *aliae lectiones* from a β manuscript for those readings, and perhaps for others. Hence we can assume *aliae lectiones* in γ .¹⁴¹

A and *I* bear a close relationship—this much is clear just from the similarity of the contents. Critical edition shows that *A* was not copied from *I*, and that *I* may have been, but was not necessarily, copied from *A*. Of course, both may have been copied from a common exemplar. Further study of these manuscripts might reveal their exact relationship.

More than any other event or person (such as Jean the Celestine), the Council of Basel ensured the wide distribution of this text. Besides the fact that *W* was copied there, there is strong evidence that all manuscripts within the subgroup *ABIMNN¹TT¹V*—that is, nine of the fifteen surviving independent witnesses (excluding *S¹* and *S²*)—had to be copied after September 1433, and that

¹⁴⁰ Calvot and Ouy, *L'oeuvre de Gerson à Saint-Victor de Paris*, 27–28. This effort at St. Victor should be distinguished from the labors of Jacques de Cerisy, Thomas de Gerson, and Gérard Machet, on which see pp. 26–27. This volume is a catalogue only of Gerson's works at St. Victor. Ouy catalogued the entire collection of St. Victor in *Les manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor: Catalogue établi sur la base du répertoire de Claude de Grandrue (1514)*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1999).

¹⁴¹ A problem here, however, is the omission of "Mariae" at line 41. This is not the kind of correction likely through consulting another manuscript.

all descended from a manuscript copied at the Council of Basel in 1433. All but one of these manuscripts (*M*) include *De oratione*. Four times when this treatise immediately precedes our text, it is dated in a colophon, in nearly identical language:

A (106v): Explicit tractatus de oratione Basilee anno 1433 mensis Septembris.

I (50v): Explicit tractatus de oratione Basilee anno 1433 mensis Septembris.

T (155r): Explicit tractatus de oratione Basillie anno 1433 mensis Septembris.

V (30r): Explicit tractatus de oratione Basilee anno 1433 in vigilia Penthecostis.

Colophons were often copied from one manuscript to the next, especially in the later Middle Ages, and hence must be used with caution as evidence for the actual date of copying.¹⁴² Such is the case here. In fact, not one of these manuscripts was copied in 1433. Instead, all of these colophons descend from a now lost exemplar copied in September 1433 at the Council of Basel. The group *ABIMNN^ITT^IV* could have been copied anytime after this date. The scribes of *AITV* may have thought that 1433 referred to the composition of the work rather than the copying. The variant “in vigilia Penthecostis” in *V* is a scribal error. This phrase actually appears as part of the description accompanying the title of the tract in most of the manuscripts (see below, 3.5), referring to the date of that work’s composition on the vigil of Pentecost in 1429, or 14 May. The scribe of *V* (or the scribe of *V*’s exemplar) mistakenly transferred that date to the colophon of *De oratione*.

As noted earlier, Gerson’s texts tended to cluster in transmission. As a result, we can partially reconstruct the contents of the lost exemplar of *ABIMNN^ITT^IV*. It almost certainly contained, besides the tract on Joan and the reply treatise, *De oratione* with its dated colophon (in all but *M*), *De perfectione cordis* (in all but *M*), and *De theologia mystica* (in all but *M* and *V*). The exemplar for the subgroup *ABIMNN^I* may have contained, besides these texts, *De consolatione theologiae* and *De modo vivendi fidelium*, both of which appear in *AINN^I*.

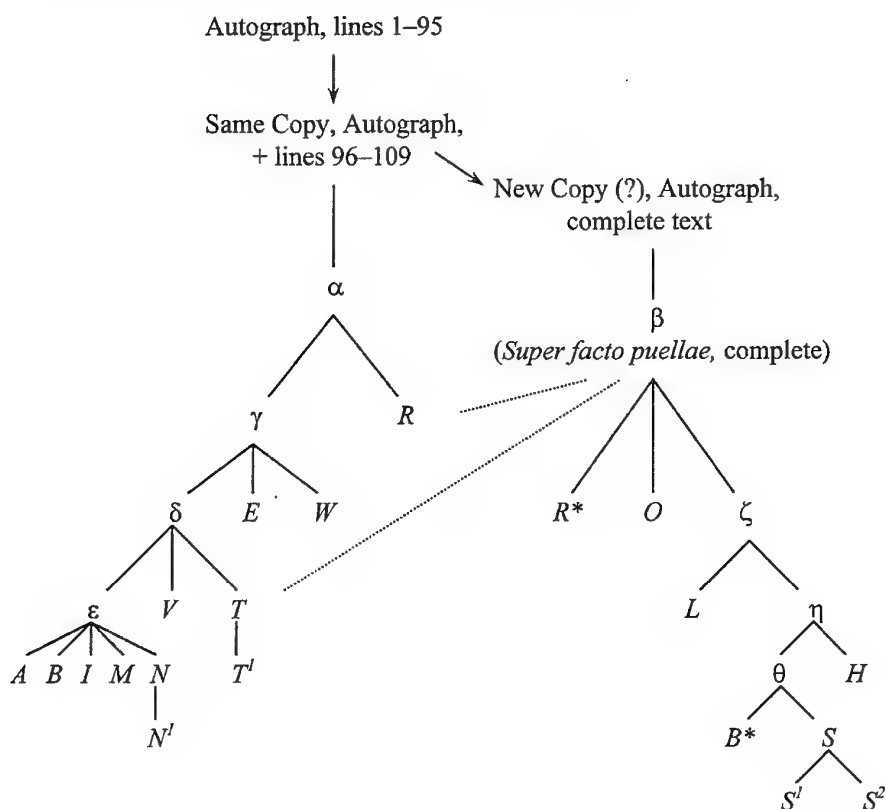
Among β ’s three manuscripts and one edition, *H* and *S* have the strongest resemblance, agreeing seven times against all other manuscripts; *HLS* agree ten times against all other manuscripts. The edition, *S*, agrees with α three times against *HLO* (see lines 17–18, 31, and 75 in the edition below), and once (43) against $\alpha + R$. This would suggest that the editor of *S* (or possibly the scribe of the exemplar of *S*) consulted an α exemplar that descended from

¹⁴² On this issue, see Louis Jordan, “Problems in Interpreting Dated Manuscripts Based on Examples from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana,” in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all’avvento della stampa. Atti del seminario di Erice, X colloquio del Comité International de Paléographie Latine (23–28 ottobre 1993)*, ed. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto, 1995), 367–84. My thanks to Kent Emery, Jr. for this reference.

γ (rather than directly from α , to account for the reading at line 43). This is entirely consistent with what we know about how the early editors produced their editions, though this topic needs further research.

We know that the first section of *R*, up to the "Triplex veritas," was corrected from a β exemplar. But since the "Triplex veritas" was copied in a different hand (that of Pierre Duduit), and since the corrections seem to have been added in a third hand, the exemplar for the "Triplex veritas" may have been different from the exemplar used to correct lines 1–109. In any case, throughout the "Triplex veritas," *O* and *R* agree twice against *BHLS*. Since either *O* or *R* could have been chosen as the base text for the "Triplex veritas," I have chosen to remain with *O* as the base text.

These conclusions with those above concerning the composition of the text can be reduced to a stemma (where *R** represents the "Triplex veritas" added in *R* in the hand of Pierre Duduit, and *B** represents the "Triplex veritas" added in a different hand in the margin of *B* on fols. 116v–117r; dotted lines represent the corrections to *R* and *T* from a β exemplar):



3.5. "Nullification Trial" Manuscripts and Their Place in the Stemma.

We saw earlier that *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda* circulated in two manuscripts of Jean Dupuy's *Collectarium historiarum* and in manuscripts of the nullification trial of 1456. The few variants which Don-daine recorded in his edition do not provide sufficient evidence to identify where the two manuscripts of the *Collectarium* fit in the transmission. But this is possible for manuscripts of the nullification trial.

Quicherat's edition of 1845 was based on the copy of the process found in Paris, BnF lat. 5970, which was signed by the two notaries who prepared the verbal record of the trial for publication.¹⁴³ My collation of this edition shows that it belongs to β , agreeing with this family against α in all eighteen common accidents. Within this family, it shows strongest resemblance to *S* (four common accidents), followed by subgroup *HS* and then *HLS*. While the text thus seems to fit under the hypothetical descendant θ , it has not been possible to locate it more precisely than this. The same may be said for the text of the so-called "episcopal redaction" found in Paris, BnF lat. 8838 (fols. 95v–96v). Doncoeur considered this the earliest version of the text of the trial, prepared for the three bishops named judges by the pope. His argument that this was also the "official form" of the trial record has been challenged.¹⁴⁴ In any case, collation of this manuscript (which to my knowledge has never been used for an edition) indicates that it represents an independent witness to Gerson's tract, neither being a copy of the text found in BnF lat. 5970 nor deriving from the same immediate exemplar used for that manuscript. It is nonetheless closer to the text of that manuscript than to any of those included in the stemma.¹⁴⁵ These manuscripts were probably witnesses to a large number of copies of the treatise circulating in France around the time of the nullification trial, some of them no doubt copied in anticipation of the trial.

3.6. The "Common Title Element."

Twentieth-century scholars, especially Lieberman, were quite sensitive to the problems of determining the correct titles of Gerson's works, and they

¹⁴³ See Duparc, *Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc* 1:xii for a brief description. Two other manuscripts were also signed by the notaries. See Duparc, 1:xii–xiii.

¹⁴⁴ The argument has been challenged by Duparc. See the discussion in his *Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, xiii–xvi, with references to P. Doncoeur and Y. Lanhers, *Documents et recherches relatifs à Jeanne la Pucelle*, vol. 5, *La réhabilitation de Jeanne la Pucelle: La rédaction épiscopale du procès de 1455–1456* (Paris, 1961), 25–32.

¹⁴⁵ The same also seems to be true of London, British Library Stowe 84 as may be seen from the edition of Duparc, *Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc* 2:33–39. For Duparc's description of the manuscript, see 1:xii–xiii.

made advances by gathering Gerson's references to his own works and examining manuscripts. Glorieux was rather careless, and of course many new manuscripts have been catalogued since his edition. The first edition and every edition of the tract before the twentieth century labeled our tract *De mirabili victoria cuiusdam puellae*, the title by which it is best known.¹⁴⁶ For the standard edition of Gerson's works, Glorieux incorporated the title "Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda" into the first line of the text, and then supplied a title that he took from the running page header in the 1706 edition of Dupin: *De puella Aurelianensi*.¹⁴⁷ The manuscripts, however, indicate that if Gerson supplied a title, it was *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*. The triumphalist tone of *De mirabili victoria cuiusdam puellae*, in direct opposition to the spirit of the text itself which warns against foolish boasting and praises meekness,¹⁴⁸ was enough to cast it into doubt. The manuscripts provide the necessary evidence to set it aside in favor of the latter.

The title in α .

The manuscripts in α give these texts in the title position, except for *R*, which provides the same text in its colophon before the "Triplex veritas" (the italics are to facilitate comparison):

ABEIMRT

Lugduni 1429 die 14 Maii in vigilia Penthecostis post signum habitum Aurelianis in depulsione obsidionis Anglicane. Actum autem est a famosissimo et solemnissimo sacre theologie professore magistro Johanne Gerson cancellario Parisiensis *super facto puelle et credulitate sibi prestanda*.¹⁴⁹

NN^l

Actum est autem a famosissimo et solemnissimo sacre theologie professori magistro Johanne Cantis (!) *super facto puelle et credulitate sibi prestanda*, etc.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ The full title element as found in the first edition is "Compilatum a magistro Joh. de gerson de mirabili victoria cuiusdam puelle, de postfetantes recepte in ducem belli exercitus Regis francorum contra anglicos."

¹⁴⁷ OC 9:661. Cf. the running header in OO 4:864-66.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. lines 100-105: "Et in speciali pro quarto documento, quod haec gratia Dei ostensa in hac puella non accipiatur et traducatur per se aut alios non ad vanitates curiosas . . . non ad gloriationes ineptas; sed in mansuetudine et orationibus cum gratiarum actione. . ."

¹⁴⁹ Variants: vigilia] vigiliis *I* Penthecostis] Pentecostes *E* Johanne] Gerson *add.*
ERT prestanda] etc. *add. B*

¹⁵⁰ Variants: Cantis] Cantuis *N^l* etc. *om. N*

T'

Tractatus eximii doctoris sacre theologie magistri Johannis Gerson Cancellaris Parisiensis super facto cuiusdam puelle et credulitate sibi prestanda.

V

Tractatus M. Johannis Gerson super facto puelle et credulitate sibi prestanda ut sequitur in depulsione obsidionis Anglicane, etc.

W

Lugduni 1429 14 Maii in vigilia Penthecostis post signum habitum Aurelianis in depulsione obsidionis Anglicane. *Tractatus domini Johannis de Gerson cancellarii Parisiensis de puella et credulitate sibi adhibenda.*

All of these titles clearly derive from a single title element in α . Of all our manuscripts, the title as it appears in *ABEIMRT* is closest to the full text of α . The titles in *NN'T'V* are recognizable scribal abbreviations of the title in *ABEIMRT*, while the title of *W* is best seen as a scribal replacement of a cumbersome phrase.

In *R*, the St. Victor scribe, Guillaume Tuyssellet, appears to have recognized that this title contained information that would normally appear in a colophon, where he placed it, before the "Triplex veritas." In place of this text in the title position Guillaume gave the title "Super facto puelle et credulitate sibi prestanda," thus distinguishing the true title of the work from the additional information.¹⁵¹

The title in β .

The following texts appear in the title position in the β family of manuscripts and in *S*, the first edition:

H

Compilatum de mirabili victoria cuiusdam puelle de postfetantes recepte in ducem belli exercitus regis Francorum contra Anglicos cancellarii Parisiensis.

L

Quoddam compilatum de mirabili victoria puelle cuiusdam de postfetantes recepte in ducem belli exercitus regis Francorum contra Anglorum regem, editum Lugdun- per

¹⁵¹ Some text was erased from the blank space around this title on fol. 201r. I examined the manuscript under an ultraviolet lamp, but the results were inconclusive. Besides possibly erased text, heavy shadows from the ink on the verso of the previous page have made it nearly impossible to read what was erased. The word "Anglicane" does appear to have been erased from the margin. One solution is that the erased text was the full title element, which the scribe copied but then decided was better suited as a colophon and therefore erased.

M. Joh. Gerson anno Domini 1429 die quartadecima May in vig. Penth. post signum habitum Aurelianis in depulsione obsidionis Anglicane.

O

Quoddam compilatum *super facto puelle de credulitate sibi prestanda* a Johanne cancellario Parisiensi Lugdun- anno Domini m^o cccc^o xxix die quartadecima Maii in vigilia Penthecostes post signum habitum Aurelianis in depulsione obsidionis Anglicane.

S

Compilatum a magistro Johanne de Gerson *de mirabili victoria cuiusdam puelle de postfetantes recepte in ducem belli exercitus regis Francorum contra Anglicos*.

Of these title elements the text of *O* appears closest to the β exemplar. The phrase "quoddam compilatum," which must have appeared in β , seems to be an implied reference to the fact that the "Triplex veritas" is a separate section, compiled together with the original section of the text. (By comparison, some of the α manuscripts classified the work as a "tractatus.") The agreement of *O* with α is crucial evidence proving that the phrase "de mirabili victoria" is a late scribal invention without any external authority, to replace the words *Super facto* and so to strengthen the reference to the victory at Orléans.¹⁵² The phrase in *HLS*, "de postfetantes recepte in ducem belli exercitus regis Francorum contra Anglicos" (*L*: "Anglorum regem") is an expansion of the text that appears in *HLORS* (and *B* in corrupt form) at the beginning of the "Triplex veritas." It can thus be set aside as a further scribal expansion. On the other hand, the full title of the "Triplex veritas" (see the edition below) appears in every manuscript that contains this additional portion (*BHLOR*) and in the first edition (*S*), and thus should be considered part of the authentic text.

The omission in β of the phrase "famosissimo et solemnisissimo" suggests that this too was a scribal amplification, and did not appear in the original title element. The form of Gerson's name in *O* and in *ABIM*, "John, chancellor of Paris," is one more clue suggesting that Gerson may have provided this title element himself. A survey of Gerson's works reveals that this form appears to

¹⁵² Further support comes from the nullification trial manuscripts and from the *Collectarium historiarum* of Jean Dupuy, which like the β manuscripts include the entire work, and which like *O* include a form of the title "Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda." Paris, BnF lat. 8838 includes the complete title element as a colophon (fol. 96v): "Finit opusculum magistri Iohannis de Gersonio cancellarii Parisiensis super facto puelle et credulitate ei prestanda editum Lugdun- anno 1429 die 14 maii quae fuit vigilia Penthecostes post signum habitum Aurelianis in depulsione obsidionis Anglicane." For Paris, BnF lat. 5970, see Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation* 3:298–99. Jean Dupuy merged the title into the beginning of his text: "Delectat tamen inserere quid avisatum est super credulitate ei prestanda" (Dondaine, "Le témoignage de Jean Dupuy O.P. sur Jeanne d'Arc, note additionnelle," 34).

be his most common, if not his only, signature. It appears in no fewer than twenty-one letters and in fourteen other works.¹⁵³

The title in the present edition.

The “common title element” in all of the manuscripts of α and in the β manuscript *O* is “Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda,” which is the title I adopt. We might have expected to see such information as the date and place of composition in a colophon rather than in a title. Yet Gerson did occasionally use titles in this way.¹⁵⁴ He may have done so here for good reason: because the title element provided information that was important to an understanding of the text itself, specifically Joan’s victory at Orléans, the *factum* described in the title. It cannot be proven that Gerson supplied the complete title element, though the evidence is strongly in his favor. If he did not, we must imagine someone very close to Gerson who did provide it, someone who knew the date and place of composition, as well as the immediate historical context for the work. Some scholars have observed that while the title refers to the victory at Orléans, the text does not. Yet the text does mention troops following Joan in battle (67–69), the trembling of her enemies (73–74), and even a “primum miraculum” (89), which I take as a direct reference to the victory at Orléans. In my judgment, the complete title element provides a perfectly reliable account of the composition of the text.

Because this “colophon” form appears in the title, most of the manuscripts have a simple explicit in place of a colophon. Again, the exception is *R*, whose scribe thought that the complete title was better suited for a colophon, and hence placed all of the text at the end except for the “common title element.”

4. PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT

I have modified the text to conform to standard classical spelling. In the apparatus, the sequence of manuscripts and the first edition will be according to family: *ABEIMNN¹RTT¹VW HLOS*. For lines 110–42, which all of the α

¹⁵³ In the letters, the form of the name sometimes appears in the first few lines. See letters 8, 14, 16, 20, 21, 22 (with Pierre d’Ailly), 27, 28, 32, 34, 36, 40, 41, 43, 50, 51, 54, 56, 57, 59, and 85. The other texts are 299, 326, 413 (see Combes, *Essai sur la critique de Ruysbroeck par Gerson* 1:314), 415, 416, 418, 421, 448, 453, 456, 465, 468, 475, 510. See also Max Lieberman, “Chronologie gersonienne,” *Romania* 76 (1955): 332; and (on the fact that Jean de Montreuil customarily addressed Gerson as “dominus cancellarius”) Ezio Ornato, *Jean Muret et ses amis Nicolas Clamanges et Jean de Montreuil* (Geneva, 1969), 157.

¹⁵⁴ See *OC* 6:181, 8:47.

manuscripts omit except for *B* and *R*, the sequence will be strictly alphabetical: *BHLORS*.

BASE TEXT: *O*, with variants from other β manuscripts and the first edition (*HLS*, plus *BR* for lines 110–42) and *R* for the French adage in line 25.

SIGLA

Manuscripts including lines 1–108

- A* = Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek 2° Cod 69
E = Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 541
I = Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek 97
M = Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 751/2
N = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4365
N' = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 6965
T = Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek 49
T' = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 4576
V = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3796
W = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 4701

Manuscripts including the entire text

- B* = Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek 2° Cod 192
H = Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 675
L = Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek 75
O = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 8859
R = Paris, BnF lat. 14904

First edition (including the entire text)

- S* = Johann Prüss, *Opera omnia* (Strasbourg, 1488), 2.T-Z

- α = *ABEIMNN'RTT'VW*

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

<i>add.</i>	addidit	<i>inv.</i>	invertit
<i>al. man.</i>	alia manu(s)	<i>lac.</i>	lacuna
<i>cf.</i>	confer(atu)r	<i>lin.</i>	linea(m)
<i>corr.</i>	correx(it)	<i>mut.</i>	mutavit
<i>del.</i>	delevit	<i>om.</i>	omisit
<i>eras.</i>	erasit	<i>rescr.</i>	rescripts(it)
<i>exp.</i>	expunxit	<i>scr.</i>	scripsit
<i>hom.</i>	homoio(teleu)ton	<i>iter.</i>	iteravit
<i>in marg.</i>	in margine	<i>sup.</i>	supra
<i>inser.</i>	inseruit		

SUPER FACTO PUELLAE ET CREDULITATE SIBI PRAESTANDA

Praesupponendum est in primis quod multa falsa sunt probabilia. Immo
 secundum Philosophum non refert quaedam falsa probabiliora esse quibus-
 5 dam veris, usque adeo quod duo contradictoria simul stant in probabilitate li-
 cet non in veritate. Advertendum est ulterius quod ista probabilitas, si recte
 fundata sit et rite intellecta, non est dicenda error vel erronea nisi pertinaciter
 extendatur assertio ultra terminos probabilitatis. Ratio huius est quia loquens
 probabiliter se fundat in hoc quod rationes et apparentias habet pro parte sua,
 et hoc utique verum est nisi sit penitus improbabile. Verum est similiter de
 10 parte opposita, quod ad eam sunt rationes et apparentiae seu verisimiles con-
 iecturae, et hoc similiter potest esse et est saepe verum, nec ista contradicunt
 sic exposita. Attendendum est tertio quod aliqua concernentia fidem et bonos
 mores considerantur in duplici differentia quantum spectat ad praesens. Ali-
 qua enim dicuntur de necessitate fidei, et in istis non licet dubitare vel proba-

4 stant] stat? *V*: fiant *L* in probabilitate] improbabilitate *sed in in probabilitate corr. B*
 5 probabilitas in marg. *R* 6 vel] et *ABIMNN*¹ erronea] erronea *T* 7 huius om. *WL*
 est sup. lin. *I* 7–9 quia . . . habet om. *B* 7–8 loquens probabiliter] loquens probabilir
N: inv. *HLS* 8 se fundat inv. *HS* pro parte] propter *M* 9 et hoc] et-? *B* verum
 est¹ inv. *L* improbabile] improbalis *A*: improbabilis *BEIMNN*¹*RTT*¹*VW* Verum est om.
*ABEIMNN*¹*TT*¹*VW*: om. *sed* Verum (in marg.) *add. et est inser. R*: Verum etiam *H* 10 par-
 te] porte *M* quod] quid *M* ad eam] eadem *ABIMNN*¹ verisimiles] verisimilitudines
 et *ABEIMNN*¹*TT*¹*VW* 11 esse sup. lin. *N* saepe verum inv. *ABIMNN*¹*TT*¹*V* 12 est
 om. *M* 14 enim] tantum *ABEIMNN*¹*TT*¹*VW* dicuntur] esse *add. α* 14–15 probabi-
 liter] probabilitatem *ABEIMRTT*¹*VW*: probabilitem *NN*¹

3 non refert: i.e., “nihil prohibet” (see next note).

3–4 non . . . veris: Aristotle, *Topica* VII; *Auctoritates Aristotelis* 36.121 (ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, *Les “Auctoritates Aristotelis”: Un florilège médiéval* [Louvain, 1974], 331): “Nihil prohibet quaedam falsa esse probabiliora quibusdam veris.” Cf. Gerson’s *Declaratio veritatum quae credendae sunt de necessitate salutis* (OC 6:184): “Unde, sicut dicit Aristoteles, nihil refert quaedam falsa probabiliora esse quibusdam veris, ita nihil refert quaedam falsa pie credi.” Like most medieval authors, Gerson derived at least some of his Aristotle through intermediary sources, especially through the most widely diffused *florilegium* of his works, as here.

4–5 duo . . . veritate: Aristotle, *Metaphysica* IV; *Auctoritates Aristotelis* 1.115 (ed. Hamesse, 124): “Qui negat primum principium secundum quod duo contradictoria non stant simul, impossibile est ipsum philosophari.” Cf. Gerson’s letter *Ignem veni mittere . . . In dextera nempe Dei* (OC 2:277–78: “Numquid non insania est concedere quod duo contradictoria sunt simul vera pro eodem instanti temporis licet non naturae”) and his *Declaratio veritatum quae credendae sunt de necessitate salutis* (OC 6:184: “Sicut stat quodlibet contradictorium esse probabile et unum stat cum altero, non in veritate sed in probabilitate, sic diversis respectibus utrumque contradictorium credi potest cum fidei pietate dum tamen sit animus a pertinaci assertione alienus”) and *Collectorium super Magnificat* (OC 8:480: “Didicisti quod duo contradictoria in veritate simul non stant, sed in probabilitate”).

- 15 biliter opinari, iuxta illud vulgatum: "Dubius in fide infidelis est." Et de talibus iusta esset conquestio, neque lex illa civilis barbarius habet locum, neque in talibus communis error faceret ius, immo tanto deterior quanto contrarius. Esset denique ferro et igne exterminandus iuxta ecclesiasticas et civiles censuras contra haereticos latas. Locum etiam habet illud metricum salubre: "Non patitur ludum fama fides oculus." Immo et pro tali ludo in his quae sunt fidei posset evocari sic iocans ad iudicium fidei, tamquam de errore suspectus in fide.

- 25 Considerandum est pro altera differentia eorum quae sunt in fide vel de fide quod illa vocantur de pietate vel devotione fidei et nullomodo de necessitate, de quibus solet dici vulgariter: "Qui ne le croit il n'est pas dampné." Spectant autem ad pietatem fidei tres condiciones in speciali. Prima, quod illa faciant ad excitationem devotionis et piaae affectionis circa Deum et divina, quia sci-

15 in fide *iter*. *TT*^l infidelis] infedelis *T*^l 16 iusta esset] posset fieri iusta α illa] ista *V* barbarius] barborius *M*: barbaria *V*: barbarus *H* 17 communis] quae contra ius *ABEIMN*: quae contrarius *N*^l *V*: quae communis *TT*^l: contrarius *W* 17-18 contrarius] communior α *S* 18 ferro] ferri *I* exterminandus] examinandus *ABEIMNN*^l *VW*: examinandus *sed in* exterminandus *corr.* *T* 19 etiam habet *inv.* *ER* metricum] meretricum *B* 20 oculus] oculusque *I* et *om.* α 21 posset] possit *ABIMNN*^l sic] sicut *W* errore] erorore *T*^l 23 altera] parte *add. sed exp.* *L* 24 vel] de *add. TT*^l 25 vulgariter] vulgariter *M*: in *marg.* *R* Qui *om.* *S* Qui ne . . . dampne] lac. *ABEINN*^l *VW*: *om.* *MTT*^l ne le] nele *LS* croit] avit *H*: a rit *L*: wit *O*: arit *S* il nest] il vest? *H*: ilvest *S* pas] piis *HS* 26 autem] autem? *W* fidei *om.* *HL* Prima] Primo *L* illa *om.* *S* faciant] faciat *M* 27 excitationem] exercitationem *ABINN*^l divina] divina? *A* quia] quod *sed in* quae *mut.* *T*: quae *T*^l

15 Dubius . . . est: a widely current phrase, as Gerson's usage suggests, probably due in part to its position as the first statement in the title *De haereticis* in the *Liber Extra*; see *Decretales Gregorii IX* 5.7.1 (*Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. A. Friedberg [Leipzig, 1879-81], 2:778). It is also quoted in the sermon *Ecce Rex* (*OC* 5:251).

16 lex . . . barbarius: Justinian, *Digesta* 1.14.3 (*Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, ed. T. Mommsen [Berlin, 1962-63], 1:30).

17-18 contrarius: the variant "communior," which reinforces "communis" earlier in the sentence, is worth considering. Cf. Gerson's *De respectu coelestium siderum* (1419; *OC* 10:115): "Immo, quanto aliqua huiusmodi artium deterior est et execrabilior, tanto crebriorem in dictis suis habere visa est veritatem." The editor of *S* also seems to have preferred this reading from an *alpha* exemplar.

18 Esset . . . exterminandus: cf. *OC* 2:162 ("ad exterminationem magis igne et gladio quam curiosa ratiocinatione") and 5:575 ("et haec igne et ferro exterminanda esset").

20 Non . . . oculus: Hans Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaequae Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 9 vols. (Göttingen, 1963-86), nos. 14093, 18201, 18203a, 38962m1.

25 Qui . . . dampné: James Woodrow Hassell, Jr., *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases*, *Subsidia Mediaevalia* 12 (Toronto, 1982), 89 (D9). On the distinction between different levels of truth, see above under 1.3, n. 47.

licet resonant in laudem divinae potentiae vel clementiae, in miraculis et
 30 veneratione sanctorum. Altera condicio est quod habeatur circa talia proba-
 bilis aliqua coniectura vel ex communi relatione vel ex fidelium attestazione
 qui dicunt se vidisse vel audisse. Superadditur tertia condicio cum discretione
 pensanda per viros in theologia et bonis moribus eruditos, quod in huiusmodi
 35 relationibus eorum quae dicuntur de pietate fidei non includatur vel im-
 misceatur aliquid falsum vel erroneum quod manifeste sit in detrimentum
 fidei vel bonorum morum, directe vel indirecte, palam vel occulte. Super qua
 re cognoscenda vel determinanda non est fas cuilibet palam et passim ferre
 sententias vel reprobationes, immo nec approbationes contentiosas, maxime
 quando tolerantur ab ecclesia seu praelatis ecclesiae in una provincia vel in
 multis. Sed iudicium et determinatio debent referri ad eandem ecclesiam seu
 40 praelatos eius et doctores. Possent hic notari multa in particularibus, ut de
 materia conceptionis beatae Virginis, et de opinionibus probabilibus inter doc-
 tores, sicut de indulgentiis, quoad circumstantias multas, sicut de veneratione

28 in² om. ABEIMNN¹VW : in marg. T : sup. lin. RT¹ et] et sed del. L 29 venera-
 tionem] venerationem S Altera] Alia ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW est om. ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW
 29-30 probabilis aliqua inv. ABEIMNN¹RTT¹V : aliqua probabilitas W 30 ex om. S
 relatione] revelatione TT¹ 31 vidisse vel audisse inv. sed in vidisse vel audisse corr. O
 vel] et HS audisse] audivisse α S discretione] distictione O 32 theologia]
 telologia M quod] quia ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW : quia sed in quod corr. R huiusmodi]
 habendis O 33 relationibus] revelationibus TT¹ quae] qui S fidei] fedei M 33-
 34 immisceatur] vel add. sed eras. I 34 aliquid] aliquid TT¹VW HS in detrimentum
 om. M 35 vel indirecte om. ABIMNN¹ vel³] et ABIMNN¹ 36 re in marg. T¹ : om.
 HLS re cognoscenda] recognoscenda sed in re cognoscenda corr. R est iter. TT¹
 fas] veras? sed del. et fas add. T palam] pala-? NN¹ 37 vel] et HLS maxime]
 maxime scr. sed del. et maxime rescr. T¹ 38 seu] se N¹ vel in] seu L 39 multis]
 multas TT¹ referri] reservari sed del. et in referri corr. E : deferri HLS 40 doctores]
 etc. add. INN¹ multa] plura ABIMNN¹TV : plura et T¹ particularibus] partibus R
 41 beatae] Mariae add. ABEIMNN¹RTT¹V et] ut S 42 sicut¹] ut HLS sicut²] sic S

29-30 probabilis . . . coniectura: see above under 1.3, n. 49.

32 viros . . . eruditos: see above under 1.3, n. 50.

41 materia . . . Virginis: Gerson took part in the controversy over the Immaculate Conception early in his career, taking issue with the Dominicans, who resisted the doctrine on the authority of Thomas Aquinas. Works devoted entirely to this issue include *Contre Jean de Monzon* (OC 10:7-24) and the French sermon for the feast of the Immaculate Conception, *Tota pulchra es . . . Se nous voulons dignement* (OC 7:1057-80). Gerson raises the doctrine in numerous other works. See the references in J. B. Monnoyeur, *Traité de Jean Gerson sur la Pucelle* (Paris, 1930), 23-25 n. 1 (the reference to the letter to the provincial of the Celestines on p. 25 should refer to vol. 1 of Dupin—now see OC 2:266); other references include OC 2:325-26, 5:394.

reliquiarum in uno loco vel altero, immo in diversis simul, quemadmodum
 45 fuit nuper contentio in Parlamento Parisiensi super veneratione capitis sancti
 Dionysii in ecclesia Parisiensi et in abbazia sancti Dionysii prope Parisius.

Concludendum est tandem ex praemissis quod pie et salubriter potest de
 pietate fidei et devotionis sustineri factum illius puellae, circumstantiis atten-
 tis, cum effectu patenti, praesertim ex causa finali quae iustissima est, scilicet
 50 restitutio regis ad regnum suum et pertinacissimorum inimicorum iustissima
 repulsio seu debellatio. Addito praeterea, quod in observationibus suis haec
 puella non reperitur uti sortilegiis ab ecclesia prohibitis, nec superstitionibus
 palam reprobis, neque cautelis hominum fraudulentis, neque ad quaestum
 proprium vel aliquid tale subdolum, cum in attestationem suae fidei exponat
 55 extremo periculo corpus suum. Postremo, si multi multa loquantur et referant
 pro levitate sua et garrulitate aut dolositate aut alio sinistro favore vel odio,
 subvenit illud Catonis: "Arbitrii nostri non est, quid quisque loquatur." Est
 tamen arbitrii nostri quid credatur seu teneatur, servata modestia, et conten-

43 vel] in *add.* α : et *HLS* altero] alio *ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW S* diversis] adversis
ABIMNN¹V 44 fuit *iter. V* contentio] immo in diversis simul *add. (hom.) sed* in
 diversis simul *del. W* in Parlamento] in p(er)ala¹⁰ *ABM* : inp(er)ala¹⁰ *I* : in palatico *NN¹*
 Parisiensi] Parisius *RW* 45 prope] proprie *NN¹* 46 quod] et *H* quod pie *in marg. R*
 47 illius] istius *ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW* puellae] cum *add. ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW* 48 cum] in
ABIMNN¹TT¹V effectu] atten- *add. sed exp. B* : effectum *NN¹* 49 pertinacissimorum]
 procacissimorum *ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW* inimicorum] suorum *add. HLS* 50 repulsio]
 pulsio *O* praeterea] propterea *I* 51 puella] puellae *S* sortilegiis] sacrilegiis
ABIMNN¹TT¹V nec] neque *LS* 52 reprobis] reprobatis *HS* neque¹] nec *V*
 53 aliquo] aliquo *ABMNN¹* : aliquo *IW S* attestationem] attestatione *ABMNN¹* : aste- *sed*
del. et in attestatione corr. T¹ fidei] se *add. W* exponat] expo- *M* 54 periculo] et
add. W corpus suum *inv. HS* multi multa *inv. T¹* referant] referantur *M* : reverant *V*
 55 levitate] garrulitate *HLS* sua *om. ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW* garrulitate] levitate *HLS*
 aut] seu *ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW* alio] aliquo *ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW* 56 quid] quod
ABEINN¹RVW S : quid? *M* quisque] quisquam *ABEIMNN¹V* : quisquam *sed in* quisque
corr. T 57 nostri *iter. E* et] conditione *add. L* 57–58 contentione] contentio *M*

44–45 contentio . . . Parisius: see n. 44 above; and cf. Gerson's letter *Reverendo in Christo patri* . . . *Stimulaverunt fateor* (OC 2:104): "Denique male iret ritus venerationis reliquiarum apud multas ecclesias, etiam apud vestram, si quaelibet varietas in huiusmodi cultu error vocaretur intolerabilis atque mendositas, velamen insuper cordium cum divina interpretatione auferendum, dum id reliquiarum quod habere se dicit una ecclesia vel religio, praetendit altera similiter obtinere, quemadmodum de capitibus beatorum Joannis Baptistae, Benedicti, Magdalенаe, Lazari et talium huiusmodi reliquiarum sine numero conspiciamus."

56 Arbitrii . . . loquatur: *Disticha Catonis*, lib. 3, dist. 2 (ed. Marcus Boas [Amsterdam, 1952], 154): "Cum recte vivas, ne cures verba malorum, | Arbitrii non est nostri, quid quisque loquatur."

60 tione vel seditione procul pulsa; quia, sicut dicit Apostolus, “non oportet ser-
vum Dei litigare.” “Nos,” inquit, “talem consuetudinem non habemus,” ut
scilicet litigemus, sed vel tolerare oportet vel ad superiores, sicut praemis-
65 est, determinanda referre. Ita enim fuit in canonizationibus sanctorum pri-
mariis, quales canonizationes ut in pluribus quae leguntur non sunt de neces-
sitate fidei stricte loquendo sed de pia devotione, quae non est passim per
quoslibet reprobanda, irridenda, vel repudianda, et minus ceteris paribus quam
70 alia sine canonizatione vulgata.

Iungantur ad casum nostrum istae circumstantiae. Una, quod concilium re-
gis et gentes armorum potuerunt induci ad vocem illius puellae taliter credere
et obsequi, quod sub ea vel cum ea exposuerunt se conspirato animo ad bel-
lica pericula, dedecore omni procul pulso—quod evenire poterat, si sub una
70 muliercula militantes victi fuissent per hostes procacissimos, et irrisi apud
omnes qui audissent. Altera, quod exultatio popularis cum pia credulitate
tanta subsequi cernitur ad laudem Dei et hostium confusionem. Altera, quod
latentes inimici etiam magni referuntur in timores varios, immo et languores
quasi parturientis cecidisse, iuxta interpretationem cantici illius a Maria, so-

59 inquit] in quid *N*^l consuetudinem] conditionem *ABEIMNN*^l*RTT*^l*W* 59–60 ut
scilicet *inv. W* 60 vel^l] talia *add. ABEIMNN*^l*VW* : ut talia *TT*^l : *om. S* superiores]
superiore *M* : superioris *H* sicut] sicuti *ERT HLS* praemisum] commissum
ABEINN^l*VW* : promissum *O* 61 est in *marg. R* canonizationibus sanctorum *inv. W*
61–62 primariis] primordiis et primariis *W* : primaria *O* 62 quales] quae *α* canoni-
zationibus] canonizationibus *sed in* canonizationes *corr. V* quae] quae *sed del. A* : *om.*
BIMNN^l : quae factae sint *W* leguntur non] non leguntur nec *W* 63 stricte] recte
ABEIMNN^l*RTT*^l*V* per] *iter. R* 64 reprobanda irridenda] reprobanda irridanda *M* : *inv.*
O vel in *marg. M* : aut *L* 65 sine] sunt *ABEIMNN*^l*TVW* : quae (*in marg.*) sunt *T*^l
66 Iungantur] Iniungantur *ABMNN*^l*TT*^l*V* : Iniungantur *I* nostrum] nostrum? *T*^l
concilium] consilium *O* 67 et] est *add. TT*^l gentes] gentis *ABEIMNN*^l*TT*^l*V* : gens *W*
armorum] armoris *B* potuerunt] poterunt *ABMNN*^l*TT*^l*V* : potuerunt *sed in* poterunt *mut. I*
illius] istius *O* 68 et *sup. lin. R* quod] vel *ABIMNN*^l conspirato] conspirato? *I*
ad] arma *add. sed del. E* 68–69 ad bellica] debellica *N*^l 69 dedecore] de decore *ABIN*^l
procul pulso] propulso *R* quod] quam *S* poterat] poterant *L* 70 muliercula]
iuvencula *α sed al. (ibi)* muliercula in *marg. add. R* victi] devicti *W* victi fuissent *iter.*
sed del. et exp. L apud *om. W* 71 audissent] audivissent *ABEIMN*^l*RTT*^l*V* : audivissent
N : audissent etc. *O* popularis] populorum *ABEIMNN*^l*TT*^l*VW* : popularium *H* 72 cer-
nitur] creditur *sed del. et cernitur add. E* confusionem] confusiōi *S* 73 latentes]
latente *O* in] ad *W* timores] timores *B* varios] varias *ABIMNN*^l et] in *add. HS*
languores] varios *add. sed del. E* 74 quasi *sup. lin. I* parturientis] parturientes
ABIMRTT^l*VH* : pertinentes *NN*^l interpretationem] imprecationem *S*

58–59 non . . . litigare: 2 Tim 2:24 (“Servum autem Domini non oportet litigare”).

59 Nos . . . habemus: 1 Cor 11:16.

75 rore Moysi, tympanizanti in choro ludentium et respondentium: "Canemus
Domino gloriose," etc. Sequitur: "Irruat super eos formido et pavor," etc.
Videatur, et cum devotione facto nostro consona recolatur et cantetur. Pon-
derandum est ad extremum quod haec puella et adhaerentes sibi militares non
80 dimittunt vias humanae prudentiae, faciendo scilicet quod in se est, quod ap-
pareat temptari Deus ultra quam necesse est. Unde constat hanc puellam non
esse pertinacem in adhaesione proprii capitis ultra quam reputet a Deo se
habere monitiones seu instinctus.

Possent insuper addi multae circumstantiae de vita eius a puero quae inter-
rogatae sunt et cognitae diu et multum, et per multos, de quibus hic nihil in-
85 seritur.

Exempla possent induci de Debbora et de sancta Katherina in conversione
non minus miraculosa quinquaginta rhetorum, et aliis multis, ut de Iudith et de
Iuda Machabeo, in quibus, ut communiter, miscetur semper aliquid naturale.

75 Moysi] Moysē R : Domini H tympanizanti] tympanisanti AINW : tympanisanti BET¹ :
tympanisanti M : tympanizat *sed corr.* tympanizanti R : tympanizanti TV : tympaniztri H : tym-
panizati O : tympanisati S in] cum α et om. ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW S : *sup. lin.* R
respondentium om. S 76 etc.¹ om. MT¹W S 77 et¹] vel W facto] sancto B
consona] et add. L et² om. ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW cantetur] candetur N¹ 78 sibi] ei W
79 humanae om. ABIMNN¹TT¹V prudentiae] providentiae H scilicet] videlicet
ABEIMNN¹RVW : fideliter TT¹ quod²] ne ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW 79–80 appareat] aperiat
M : in marg. L 80 est] sit ER : om. H unde] verum W 81 reputet] se add. *sed*
del. O 81–82 a Deo se habere] se habere a Deo ABEIMNN¹TT¹ : se habere ad eo V : se
a Deo habere RW 82 monitiones] monitionem ABEIMNN¹TT¹VW seu] vel
ABEIMNN¹RTVW : vel in marg. T¹ 83 insuper om. ABEIMNN¹TT¹W : in marg. R : multi
sed exp. V addi] superaddi LS 84 sunt om. L 84–86 diu . . . possent in marg. N
84 et¹ iter. T¹ hic nihil inv. EW : hic add. *sed del. R* : hic nil S 84–85 inseritur] insere-
tur W : etc. add. O 86 induci] dici ABIMNN¹ Debbora] Barbara HS de² om. I
conversione] principio suae conversionis et de conversione W 87 quinquaginta] ratione
TT¹ : om. S rethorum] oratorum W et aliis multis iter. E de² *sup. lin. B* : om. R
88 Machabeo om. HLS semper om. VW

75–76 Canemus . . . pavor: Ex 15:1, 16, 20–21.

86 Debbora . . . Katherina: Deborah, a Hebrew judge, accompanied Barak into battle and victory over the Canaanites (see Jud 4). St. Catherine of Alexandria (fourth century?) was one of the most popular saints in the Middle Ages. The most widely disseminated account of her life appears in the *Legenda aurea* (ed. T. Graesse [1890; Osnabrück, 1965], 789–97), which describes the conversion of fifty orators mentioned here. For references to other lives and accounts, see *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* (Brussels, 1898–99), 1:251–55.

87–88 Iudith . . . Machabeo: Judith, a wealthy and beautiful Jewish widow, delivered the Israelites by enticing the enemy general, Holofernes, into a state of drunkenness and then decapitating him (see Judith, esp. chaps. 8–13). Judas Machabeus († 161 B.C.) led the Jews in a series of victories over the Syrians (see 1 Mach 2–10).

Neque sequitur semper post primum miraculum quidquid ab hominibus expectatur vel expectabatur. Praeterea, si frustraretur ab omni expectatione sua et nostra—quod absit—praedicta puella, non oporteret concludere ea quae facta sunt, a maligno spiritu vel non a Deo facta esse. Sed vel propter nostram ingratitudinem et blasphemias, vel aliunde iusto Dei iudicio licet occulto, posset contingere frustratio expectationis nostrae in ira Dei, quam avertat a nobis et bene omnia vertat.

Superadduntur quattuor civilia et theologica documenta: unum concernit regem et consanguineos regiae domus, secundum militiam regis et regni, tertium ecclesiasticos cum populo, quartum puellam ipsam. Quorum documentorum iste unicus est finis: bene vivere, pie ad Deum, iuste ad proximum, et sobrie (hoc est, virtuose et temperanter) ad seipsum. Et in speciali pro quarto documento, quod haec gratia Dei ostensa in hac puella non accipiat et traducatur per se aut alios ad vanitates curiosas, non ad mundanos quaestus, non ad odia partialia, non ad seditiones contentiosas, non ad vindictas de praeteritis, non ad gloriations ineptas, sed in mansuetudine et orationibus cum gratiarum actione, cum liberali praeterea temporalium subventionem, quilibet laboret

89 sequitur semper *inv. W* 90 vel expectabatur *om. V*: vel expectabitur *HS*
 Praeterea] Pretera *T*^l: Propterea *O* ab omni] a boni *N*^l 91 praedicta puella] prae-
 dictam puellam *H* oporteret] oportet α *H*: oportebat *L*: oportebit *S* 92 maligno
 spiritu *inv. W* a Deo] adeo *N* facta esse *inv. W* 93 et] vel *TT*^l *HS* blasphemias]
 blasphemia *O* vel] aut *HS* Dei] de *V* occulto] occulte *T*: occulte *T*^l
 94 contingere frustratio *inv. ABEIMNN*^l*TT*^l*VW* avertat] convertat *TT*^l 95 vertat]
 Deus amen *add. ABEIMNN*^l*TVW*: vertat? *scr. sed exp. et vertat rescr. R*: Deus etc. *add. T*^l
 96 Superadduntur ... documenta] Adduntur ... documenta (*al. man.*) *V* et *sup. lin. R*
 theologica] theologia *AIMNN*^l*RTT*^l documenta] etc. *add. I* concernit] et est *add. ABEIMNN*^l*TT*^l*V*:
 et *add. W* 97 consanguineos] consagneos *V* 98 puellam ipsam
inv. α 99 unicus *om. α* finis] filius *H* pie ad Deum] ad Deum pie *sed in* pie ad
 Deum *corr. TT*^l ad² *sup. lin. R* et *om. ABEIMNN*^l*TT*^l*VW* 100 virtuose et
 temperanter] virtuose ut temperate *ABIM*: virtuose et temperate *NN*^l*TT*^l*VW*: temperate et
 virtuose *sed in* virtuose et temperate *mut. E* 101 haec] haec *sed del. R* accipiat]
 reducatur *W*: accipitur *O* et] vel *W* 101–2 traducatur] reducatur *ABEIMNN*^l*TT*^l*V*:
 accipiat *W* 102 aut] vel *ABEIMNN*^l*TT*^l*VW* *HS* et per *add. α* vanitates] novitates
BNN^l curiosas] studiosas *ABEIMNN*^l*TT*^l*VW* 102–3 non ad mundanos ... contentiosas
om. (hom.) B 102 quaestus *om. AIMNN*^l 103 seditiones contentiosas] seditiosas
 contentiones *W* 104 ad *om. B* 105 praeterea *om. ABEIMNN*^l*TT*^l*VW* quilibet]
 quibus *ABIMNN*^l

94–95 quam ... nobis: cf. 2 Par 29:10 ("Nunc igitur placet mihi ut ineamus foedus cum Domino Deo Israel et avertat a nobis furorem irae suae").

104–5 orationibus ... actione: cf. Phil 4:6 ("Nihil solliciti sitis sed in omni oratione et obsecratione cum gratiarum actione petitiones vestrae innotescant apud Deum").

in id ipsum, quatenus veniat pax in cubili suo, ut "de manu inimicorum nostrorum liberati," Deo propitio, "serviamus illi in sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris," etc.

"A Domino factum est istud, etc."

110 Sequitur triplex veritas ad iustificationem electae puellae, de post fetantes acceptae, utentis veste virili.

Lex vetus prohibens mulierem uti veste virili, et virum veste muliebri, pro quanto est pure iudicialis, non obligat in nova lege, quia secundum veritatem tenendam de necessitate salutis, iudicialia antiquae legis ablata sunt, nec obligant in nova ut talia sunt, nisi noviter per superiores ea instituere seu confirmare contingat. Lex huiusmodi continebat aliquid morale quod stabile est in omni lege. Et illud possumus exprimere prohibitionem indecentis habitus tam in viro quam in muliere contra medium virtutis, quod observare debet circumstantias omnes debitas, ut quando oportet, ubi oportet, cur oportet, qualiter

106 quatenus] quod *ABIMNN*¹: quare *TT*¹ ut] et *TT*¹*V* 106-7 nostrorum *om. M*
 107 Deo] de *M* 108 ipso] in *add. AIMNN*¹*TT*¹: ipsa *B*: ipso? (*sup. lin.*) in *V* etc. *om. ABEIMN*¹*RTV*: amen *W* 109-42 A Domino . . . meritorum *om. AEIMNN*¹*TT*¹*VW* 109
 etc. *om. BHL*: Lugduni millesimo cccc^o vicesimo nono die xiiii Maii in vigilia Penthecostis post signum habitum Aureliani in depulsione Anglicanae. Actum autem est a famosissimo et solemnissimo sacrae theologiae professore magistro Johanne Jarson cancellario Parisiensi *R*
 110 ad] pro *B* electae] huius *B*: *om. H* puellae] post vero reverenter? *add. B*
 111 utentis] utentes *H* utentis veste virili *om. B*: ab eodem Iohanne Gersono *add. LO*
 112 Lex] Prima lex *B*: Prima veritas Lex *S* Lex vetus prohibens] Lex vetus prohibens de vutro *sed del. et in* Lex vetus prohibens Deutro. *corr. et 5^o 22^o add. R* virum] vinum? *sed del. et virum in marg. add. R* veste *om. B* muliebri *om. O* 113 pure] puere *sed in pure corr. O* 114 salutis *om. B* 115 noviter] de novo *B* ea *om. B*: eas *R*
 institutere] institui *BHS* seu *om. B* 115-16 confirmare] confirmari *BHS*
 116 contingat *om. B* Lex] Secunda veritas Lex *B*: Secunda veritas est Lex *S* aliquid] aliquod *BHS* 117 exprimere] per *add. L* 118 in² *om. R* 119 debitas *om. BS*
 oportet ubi *om. (hom.) BLS* oportet ubi oportet cur *om. (hom.) H* cur] cui *R*

106 veniat . . . suo: cf. Is 57:2 ("Veniat pax requiescat in cubili suo qui ambulavit in directione sua").

106-8 de . . . nostris: Lc 1:74-75.

109 A . . . istud: Ps 117:23, Mt 21:42, Mc 12:11.

111 de . . . acceptae: cf. Ps(G) 77:70 ("Et elegit David servum suum et sustulit eum de gregibus ovium de post fetantes accepit eum").

112 Lex . . . muliebri: cf. Deut 22:5 ("Non induetur mulier veste virili nec vir utetur veste feminea abominabilis enim apud Deum est qui facit haec").

118 contra . . . virtutis: Aristotle, *Ethica* II; *Auctoritates Aristotelis* 12.38 (ed. Hamesse, 235): "Omnis virtus consistit in medio, scilicet inter defectum et excessum."

119-20 ut . . . oportet²: cf. Gerson's *De probatione spirituum* (OC 9:180): "Sed quoniam infinita est quidem huiusmodi signorum confusio, coarctemus ad pauciora et dicamus sub hoc

- 120 oportet, et ita de reliquis ut sapiens iudicabit, de quibus non est hic declarandum per singula. Lex huiusmodi nec ut iudicialis est nec ut moralis damnat
 125 usum vestis virilis et militaris in puella nostra virili et militari, quam ex certis signis elegit Rex caelestis omnium tamquam vexilliferam ad conterendos hostes iustitiae et amicos sublevandos, ut in manu feminae puellaris et virginis confundat fortia iniquitatis arma, auxiliantibus angelis quibus virginitas amica
 130 est et cognata, secundum Hieronymum, et ex sacris historiis frequenter apparuit, sicut in Caecilia visibiliter cum coronis ex rosis et liliis. Rursus per hoc salvatur attonso crinium quam apostolus prohibere videtur in femina. Obstruatur igitur et cesset os loquentium iniqua, quia ubi divina virtus operatur, media secundum finis exigentiam disponuntur, ita ut iam non sit securum detrudere vel culpae ausu temerario ea quae a Deo sunt secundum apostolum ordinata.

Denique possent particularitates addi multae, et exempla de historiis sacris et gentilium, sicut de Camilla et Amazonibus, sicut praeterea in casibus vel

120 ut] prout <i>B</i>	non est hic] hic non <i>B</i>	121 Lex] Tertia veritas Lex <i>BS</i>	est <i>om.</i>
<i>H</i> 122 militaris] virilitatis damnatae? <i>L</i>	123 tamquam] ? <i>B</i>	vexilliferam]	
vexilliferum <i>O</i>	125 fortia] fortio <i>H</i>	iniquitatis <i>om.</i> <i>O</i>	amica] animata <i>H</i>
126 est <i>om.</i> <i>B</i>	ex] in <i>BS</i>	127 sicut] ut <i>B</i>	ex] et <i>H</i> rosis et liliis <i>inv.</i> <i>R</i> hoc]
haec <i>R</i>	128 salvatur] servatur <i>H</i>	crinium] criminum <i>R</i>	prohibere videtur] prohibet
<i>B</i> 129 ubi] ? <i>B</i>	130 finis exigentiam <i>inv.</i> <i>B</i>	iam non <i>inv.</i> <i>HLS</i>	131 a Deo] Dei
<i>sed del. et in a Deo sup. lin. corr.</i> <i>O</i>	132 ordinata] sunt <i>add.</i> <i>BHLS</i>	133 et] ut <i>H</i>	
134 sicut ¹] ut <i>B</i>	Camilla] quam re memorem <i>Vgo add.</i> <i>B</i>	vel <i>om.</i> <i>L</i>	

metro. Tu quis, quid, quare, cui, qualiter, unde require. Quis est cui fit revelatio. Quid ipsa continet et loquitur. Quare fieri dicitur. Cui pro consilio detegitur. Qualiter venire et unde venire reperitur." See also *OC* 2:166, 8:75.

120 ut sapiens iudicabit: *Ethica* II; *Auctoritates Aristotelis* 12.42 (ed. Hamesse, 235): "Virtus est habitus electus in mente consistens quo ad nos declarata ratione ut utique sapiens determinabit." The phrases "medium virtutis" and "ut sapiens iudicabit" are common in Gerson; see, e.g., *OC* 3:86, 102, 188, 194; 5:452, 480; 6:239; 9:420, 661.

125–26 angelis . . . cognata: Jerome, *Ep. IX ad Paulam et Eustochium* (PL 30:126D): "Et bene angelus ad Virginem Mariam mittitur: quia semper angelis cognata virginitas."

127 Caecilia . . . liliis: according to her fifth century "Acta," St. Cecilia dedicated herself to virginity and with her newly wed husband Valerianus was crowned with roses and lilies by an angel. The story of her martyrdom is told in the *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse, 771–77). For other sources, see *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* 1:224–25.

128 attonso . . . femina: cf. 1 Cor 11:5–6.

131–32 ea . . . ordinata: cf. Rom 13:1: "quae autem sunt a Deo ordinatae sunt."

134 Camilla et Amazonibus: on Camilla, cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.803; 11.432 and passim. For classical texts on the Amazons, see Pierre Samuel, *Amazones, guerrières et gaillardes* (Grenoble, 1975). For medieval sources, see Michel Salvat, "Amazonia: le royaume de Femmenie," in *La représentation de l'antiquité au moyen âge* (Vienna, 1982), 229–41.

135 necessitatis, vel evidentis utilitatis, vel approbatae consuetudinis, vel ex auctoritate seu dispensatione superioris. Sed ista pro brevitate sufficiant et veritate.

140 Tantummodo caveat pars habens iustam causam ne per incredulitatem et ingratitudinem vel alias iniustitias faciat irritum divinum tam patenter et mirabiliter auxilium inchoatum, prout in Moyse et filiis Israel post collata divinitus tot promissa legimus contigisse. Deus enim etsi non consilium, sententiam tamen mutat pro mutatione meritorum, etc.

135 approbatae] comprobatae R	consuetudinis] consu- R	136 seu] vel B
superioris] superiorum BHLs	138 Tantummodo] Tantum secundo? R	ne per] exp.? R :
ne pro O	139 faciat] faciat? L	tam om. B
	140 auxilium om. R	142 etc. om.

BHLRS

141–42 Deus . . . meritorum: Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 16.10 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 143A [Turnhout, 1979], 806): "Omnipotens enim Deus etsi plerumque mutat sententiam, consilium numquam." Gerson also quotes this passage in the *Dialogus de potestate ligandi et solvendi* (OC 6:257).

University of Texas at Arlington.

A MIDDLE ENGLISH PENITENTIAL TREATISE
ON JOB 10:20–22, *DIMITTE ME, DOMINE* . . . *

Mayumi Taguchi

MANY Middle English texts concerning religious instruction still remain in manuscript form. Several such texts are found in Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 2125, including the third item in the manuscript (fols. 39r–50v), a treatise on Job 10:20–22, *Dimitte me, Domine, vt plangam paululum dolorem meum* . . . , edited here for the first time. No other copy of this text (hereafter *Dimitte*) appears to have survived, and the *Catalogue of the Pepys Library* mentions that it had been previously unrecorded.¹

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¹ *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, vol. 5.1, *Medieval Manuscripts* (hereafter, *Catalogue*), compiled by Rosamond McKitterick and Richard Beadle (Cambridge, 1992). This text is not included among the works listed in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*, ed. J. Burke Severs and Albert E. Hartung, vol. 2 (Hamden, Conn., 1970), 381–412, 534–52 (Lawrence Muir, “Translations and Paraphrases of the Bible and Commentaries”) and vol. 7 (Hamden, Conn., 1986), 2255–2378, 2467–2582 (Robert R. Raymo, “Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction”), nor is it included in P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*, Subsidia Mediaevalia 2 (Toronto, 1974). I have discussed *Dimitte* in relation to the Middle English homily *Cleanness* in “*Cleanness* and a Hitherto Unedited Religious Text in MS Pepys 2125,” *Reading Medieval Studies* 24 (1998): 95–112.

THE MANUSCRIPT

Pepys's collection of medieval manuscripts is known for its "eccentric[ity]," being "both miscellaneous and personal."² One of its characteristics is the prominence given to vernacular texts, which may partly explain why quite a few manuscripts in the Pepys Library contain unusual texts.³ Pepys 2125 (hereafter *P*) is one of these manuscripts; it is a devotional compilation dating from the end of the fourteenth century to the fifteenth century.

The full technical description of *P* is to be found in the *Catalogue*,⁴ but a brief summary of the description found there will be sufficient for the present discussion. *P* is a medium-sized manuscript (265×200 mm.) of ii+146 folios; fols. i–ii, 1–38 (quires I–III), and 146 are parchment, and fols. 39–145 (quires IV–XII) are paper. In the paper section catchwords are found at the end of each quire (except for V and XI, which have been repaired) and the nine quires have alphabetical signatures (a–i) probably in the hand of the main scribe, which indicates that the paper section maintains the original plan of its compilation. Five different hands have been recognized: Scribe A (fols. 1–38, the parchment section), from the first quarter of the fifteenth century; Scribe B (fol. 39—the first leaf of *Dimitte*), from the mid-fifteenth century; Scribe C (fols. 40r–143r—the main body of the manuscript), from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century; Scribe D (fols. 143v–145v) and Scribe E (fols. ii verso and 146), small hands from the end of the fifteenth century. *Dimitte* occupies fols. 39r–50v—the entire first quire (fols. 40r–49v, wanting the fifth leaf after fol. 43) and the first leaf of the second quire (fol. 50) in the paper section (Scribe C), and fol. 39 (Scribe B) which is a later insertion made presumably when the parchment section and the paper section were put together.

The language of *P* suggests that the manuscript is of West Midland origin. More precisely, it seems possible that *P*'s origin can be narrowed down to Gloucestershire, for the writing "Payneswyk in Com. Gloucestre" can be read between fols. 144v and 145r on the strip used at the spine for strengthening.⁵ *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* does not record *P*, but it has identified the language of London, British Library Harley 2398 as that of Gloucestershire,⁶ and two of the texts in *P* were directly copied from that manuscript.⁷

² *Catalogue*, xiii.

³ Of Pepys's thirty-eight medieval manuscripts, twenty-three contain Middle English texts.

⁴ *Catalogue*, 60–61.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁶ *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, ed. Angus McIntosh et al., 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1986), 1:112.

⁷ These are items 46 (fols. 125v–126r, a short tract on virtues and vices) and 50 (fols.

In the mid-seventeenth century, *P* was owned by the collector Richard Smith,⁸ and then it came into the hands of Pepys in the later seventeenth century. The history of the manuscript's ownership before Smith is unknown. The original owner may have been a single person, religious or recluse,⁹ but at least at some point in the early stage *P* most certainly belonged to an institution; the manuscript appears to have been read, corrected, and handled by a number of people.¹⁰ It is obvious that it was written and compiled for a practical purpose. The script, for instance, is not difficult to read but it is irregular in shape and size.¹¹ The irregularities often seem to be due to the main Scribe C's habit of experimenting with several new hands, apparently imitating the hands of his exemplars.¹² The decoration is mainly confined to limited rubrication—red initials, *capitulum* marks, underlines to quotations, biblical references, and some proper nouns or key words, and brackets to rhymes in the verse—and these are roughly executed and often omitted.

P contains fifty-one different items—fourteenth-century religious verse and prose, mostly in English. In the nature and variety of the texts included, *P* is comparable to such representative late medieval compilations of devotional writings as the famous Vernon and Simeon sister manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian Library poet. a. 1 and London, British Library Additional 22283). Though not directly related, *P* shares four texts with the Vernon manuscript and seven with the Simeon manuscript; and Oxford, University College 97, a similar compilation closely connected with the Simeon manuscript, shares five texts with *P*.¹³ Perhaps the most prominent author in compilations of this

139r–143r, an Easter sermon) in *P*, corresponding to Harley 2398, items 11 (fols. 174r–175v, the only other copy) and 12 (fols. 175v–185r) respectively. At the beginning of item 46, the main scribe of *P* (Scribe C) imitates the idiosyncratic hand of the Harley scribe. The two copies of the respective works are almost identical, with some interpolations and omissions. Their affinity was first noted by A. I. Doyle, "A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th, and Early 16th Centuries with Special Consideration to the Part of the Clergy Therein," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1953), 2:129.

⁸ For Richard Smith (1590–1675), see E. Gordon Duff, "The Library of Richard Smith," *The Library*, 2d ser., 8 (1907): 113–33; and *Catalogue*, xxv and 61.

⁹ For various opinions as to *P*'s primary owner, see *Catalogue*, xxv, and Doyle, "Survey," 1:167–68.

¹⁰ For various types of correction in *Dimitte*, see the section on editorial method below. The edges of the manuscript have been severely cropped, probably because of frequent use, and, accordingly, some of the text in the marginal annotations and headings has been lost.

¹¹ The *Catalogue* describes the changes and features in the hand of Scribe C. See pp. 60–61, under *Script*.

¹² See, for example, n. 7 above. The exemplars of other texts remain to be identified.

¹³ Texts shared with the Simeon manuscript are *Commandment*, *Form of Living*, *Ego Dormio*, *Charter of the Abbey*, *Mirror of Sinners*, and "A good meditation for one to say alone" (*Index of Printed Middle English Prose [IPMEP]*, ed. R. E. Lewis, N. F. Blake, and A. S. G.

sort was Richard Rolle. *P* shows a persistent interest in his vernacular writings, incorporating—aside from a copy of *Ego Dormio*—multiple copies of *The Form of Living* and *The Commandment* from more than one exemplar.¹⁴ It also includes items that carry ascriptions to Rolle in other manuscripts (English translations of *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and the *Speculum ecclesie* of St. Edmund of Abingdon) or in early editions (“Of three arrows on doomsday”) and therefore must have had a similar appeal.¹⁵ Also included in *P* are *The Chastising of God’s Children*, “probably by an English Carthusian,”¹⁶ a form of confession from *The Cleansing of Man’s Soul*,¹⁷ Thomas Wimbeldon’s sermon at St. Paul’s Cross,¹⁸ and partial translations of the Revelations of St. Bridget and the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.¹⁹ Common as these texts are in similar compilations, the ver-

Edwards [New York and London, 1985], no. 336), and “Of three arrows on doomsday”; texts shared with the Vernon manuscript are *Commandment*, *Form of Living*, *Charter of the Abbey*, and a Middle English translation of the *Speculum ecclesie* (interpolated excerpts in *P*); texts shared with Oxford, University College 97 are Wimbeldon’s sermon at St. Paul’s Cross, *Form of Living*, *Mirror of Sinners*, “A good meditation,” and “Of three arrows”). For a discussion of the relationship of the texts shared by these and similar manuscripts, see Jill C. Havens, “Instruction, Devotion, Meditation, Sermon: A Critical Edition of Selected English Religious Texts in Oxford, University College 97 with a Codicological Examination of Some Related Manuscripts,” 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1995; forthcoming as *A Devotional Anthology: An Edition of the Middle English Texts of Booklet 3 of Oxford, University College MS 97*, Middle English Texts [Heidelberg]), 1:80–98, esp. at 89–90, and, for the unique relationship with the Simeon manuscript, 1:123–28.

¹⁴ *Ego Dormio*, item 28 (fols. 99r–102r, incomplete); *Form of Living*, item 18 (fols. 84r–85v, part), item 31 (fols. 101v–104r, same section as item 18, from a different exemplar), continuing as item 37 (fols. 108r–116v); *Commandment*, item 17 (fol. 84r, part), item 19 (fols. 85v–88v, complete).

¹⁵ Item 23 (fols. 89r–96v); item 32 (fols. 104r–105v) and item 33 (fols. 105v–107v, excerpts in translation); and items 48 (fols. 128v–130v), respectively. For discussion of their attribution to Rolle see Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (New York, 1927), 335–43, 362–63, and 286, respectively. For the *Charter of the Abbey* and “Of three arrows,” see also John A. Alford, “Richard Rolle and Related Works,” in *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick, N.J., 1984), 46–47. The popularity of Richard Rolle’s works was at its height in the fifteenth century. See Susanna Greer Fein, ed., “Pety Job” (hereafter, Fein), in *Moral Love Songs and Laments*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, 1998), 292.

¹⁶ Item 1 (fols. 1r–28r); see Michael G. Sargent, “The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976): 227.

¹⁷ Item 6 (fols. 56v–60v).

¹⁸ Item 9 (fols. 65v–73v).

¹⁹ Item 4 (fols. 50v–55v, “On the contemplative life”) and item 5 (fols. 55v–56v, “On the active life”) are from book 6, chap. 65 of the Revelations of St. Bridget. Translations of the *Meditationes* are item 2 (fols. 28v–38v, Passion section), item 14 (fols. 82v–83v, based on *Meditationes*, chap. 3) and probably also item 52 (fols. 144r–145r, “On the sorrows of the Vir-

sions found in *P* are mostly distinct from the others and do not indicate dependancy on any particular manuscript group.²⁰ There are, however, a few exceptional cases in which there is a close relationship between the *P* version of a text and the version found in another manuscript. One item, “Teaching of St. Barnabas,”²¹ is incorporated into other texts in the so-called “Hopton Hall” manuscript, now at Tokyo, Keio University (s. XV^{1/2})²² and London, British Library Add. 37049 (s. XV^{1/2}), a Carthusian manuscript.²³ Another Carthusian manuscript, Cambridge, University Library Ff.vi.33 (ca. 1500), by William Darker of the Sheen, contains a copy of “On the sorrows of the Virgin” similar to the one in *P*.²⁴ Instances of *P*’s dependency on a known manuscript may be found in the two items for which Harley 2398 served as the exemplar.²⁵

DIMITTE

Theme and Structure.

Dimitte has a structure similar to that of the “modern” sermon.²⁶ The biblical theme is pronounced at the beginning of the treatise and reiterated as it is

gin”), which is found in a close copy in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Ff.vi.33 (by the Sheen Carthusian William Darker, for the nuns of Syon), fols. 33v–37r.

²⁰ See Havens, “Instruction, Devotion, Meditation, Sermon,” 1:89–90. On “A good meditation,” in particular, see n. 28 below.

²¹ Item 12 (fols. 77r–80v).

²² “On divine mercy and against despair” (fols. 14r–19r). The similarity of this text and item 12 in *P* was first noticed by Doyle (*Catalogue*, 55). In this text, the part corresponding to the beginning of the *P* text starts with a reference to Bernard instead of Barnabas. As to the “Hopton Hall” manuscript, see Takami Matsuda, “Religious Miscellany in Middle English (‘Hopton Hall’ MS),” in *Mostly British: Manuscripts and Early Printed Materials from Classical Rome to Renaissance England in the Collection of Keio University Library*, ed. T. Matsuda (Tokyo, 2001), 56–65; and A. S. G. Edwards, “The Hopton Hall Manuscript at Keio University,” in *Codices Keionenses: Essays on Western Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Keio University Library*, ed. T. Matsuda (Tokyo, 2005), 69–86.

²³ “A3ayne despayre” (fols. 89r–94r). The affinity of this text and the “Hopton Hall” text has been pointed out by Takami Matsuda (“Religious Miscellany,” 59–60). The parts of “Teaching of St. Barnabas” that appear in these two texts are not in the same order. The manuscripts containing these texts are written in Norfolk and northern dialects respectively, which appears to indicate that the “Teaching of St. Barnabas” in *P* (West Midland) originates from a text which was fairly popular in the later Middle Ages.

²⁴ Item 52 (fols. 144r–145r), probably a translation from the *Meditationes*.

²⁵ See n. 7 above. Darker made this volume for the nuns of Syon. For the legendary affiliations between Sheen and Syon, see especially Ann M. Hutchison, “Devotional Reading in the Monastery and in the Late Medieval Household,” in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge, 1989), 215–27.

²⁶ This is also called the “university” or “scholastic” (or “school”) sermon. For the defini-

developed in divisions and subdivisions. The theme of *Dimitte* is Job 10:20–22:

*Dimitte me, Domine, vt plangam paululum dolorem meum; antequam vadam, et non reuertar, ad terram tenebrosam, et opertam mortis caligine: terram miserie et tenebrarum etc.*²⁷

These Latin verses are presented as the words of the holy man Job, “be-waylyng his synfull lyffe” in anticipation of his approaching death. After a resume of the main argument, the theme is translated into English and paraphrased or expounded (in what may be called the “prelocution,” or “protheme”).

The most prominent characteristic of *P*’s interpretation of the theme verses is its emphasis upon penitence, which is necessary even for the holy man Job:

Herkne, lef brother, euery word that the foresayd holi man sayd that so was enspirid with þe Holi Gost. “Suffre me,” he [Job] sayd, “my Lord God,” as thowȝ he sayd thus: “Sire God, graunt me space of penaunce or Y dey that Y go not to euerlastyng deth. For yf Y do no penaunce, Y go to that deth . . .” (fol. 39r).

In other words, Job 10:20–22 is employed as a penitential theme and this theme is developed in order to lead the readers to the knowledge of their sins and to teach them the importance of doing penance and of living in fear of God.

tion and ramification of sermon construction, see especially H. Leith Spencer, “Sermon Form,” in *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993), 225–68. Modern form was considered appropriate to clerical audiences but was also used in preaching to the laity and actually written out in vernacular (pp. 242–43). See also G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c.1350–1450* (Cambridge, 1926).

²⁷ Job 10:20–22, as cited in the text (fol. 39r); the first half of verse 20 is not included. Cf. the Vulgate version: “[Numquid non paucitas dierum meorum finitur brevi?] Dimitte ergo me, ut plangam paululum dolorem meum; Antequam vadam, et non revertar, Ad terram tenebrosam, et opertam mortis caligine: Terram miserie et tenebrarum, Ubi umbra mortis et nullus ordo. Sed sempiternus horror inhabitat” (*Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, ed. A. Colunga and L. Turrado [Madrid, 1994]). See also the Wycliffite Later Version (Job 10:20–22): “Therfor suffre thou me, that Y biweile a litil my sorewe, bifor that Y go, and turne not aȝen, to the derk lond, and hilid with the derknesse of deth, to the lond of wrecchidnesse and of derknessis; where is schadewe of deeth, and noon ordre, but euerlastyng hidousnesse dwellith.” (*The Holy Bible . . . Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers*, ed. J. Forshall and F. Madden [Oxford, 1850]); and the Authorized Version: “Are not my days few? Cease then, and let me alone, that I may take comfort a little, before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death; a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness.”

The Latin theme is later reiterated three times by citations of varied length, according to which the substance of the treatise, after the introduction of the theme, is divided into sections of unequal length. The principal divisions are not proclaimed, but we may see the structure of the body of *Dimitte* as consisting of four divisions. The first expounds the nature of sin and divine grace as well as the conditions for receiving grace (fols. 39r–46r). The second focuses on the merit of weeping (fols. 46r–49r); weeping is strongly encouraged as superior to verbal confessions, prayers, and such deeds of penance as going on pilgrimage, fasting, waking, and other bodily afflictions. The third is plainly addressed to a religious audience, as it evokes the duties of their calling (fol. 49r–v)—this short division may be regarded as adjunctive since the idea of clerical duties is not a component idea of the theme. The fourth division concludes the treatise by reminding the readers of the pains of hell and purgatory, and by urging them to do penance before it becomes too late (fols. 49v–50v).

The long first division may possibly be further divided into subdivisions, though not set out as distinctly as the main divisions: after briefly discussing sin as debt (fols. 39r–40r), the author illustrates those virtues especially necessary to receive the grace of God—chastity and humility (fols. 40r–43⁺)²⁸—and

²⁸ “+” indicates the missing leaf between fols. 43 and 44 (the fifth leaf in the quire IV). The transition from the discussion of humility to the discussion of charity seems to have occurred on the missing leaf. This removal of the leaf may be suggestive of some sentiment or remark on the missing folio susceptible to Lollard persecution. Folios are also missing after fol. 117 (one leaf) and fol. 118 (three leaves); in the latter case, the entire text of what appears to be a stanzaic penitential poem has been lost, and in the former, more interestingly, an apparently unique text which is incorporated into the well-known meditation (“A good meditation for one to say alone,” item 39 [IPMEP 336; see also n. 13 above]), starting “I thanke þe hertily my lord Iesu Crist for þou hast nat clepid me to þe rewle of Seynt Benet ne of Seynt Austyn ne of Seynt Fraunceys ne to no oþer rwle ordenyd by mannes chesying but to þat souereyn and to þat holyest rewle þe . . .” (see *Catalogue*, xxv and 59; C. A. Martin, “Edinburgh University Library Manuscript 93, an Annotated Edition of Selected Devotional Treatises with a Survey of Parallel Versions” [Ph.D. diss., Edinburgh University, 1978], 324–28, at 328). It has been well established that the persecution was severe, extending even to *The Canterbury Tales* (see, for example, Nicholas Watson, “Censorship and Cultural Change in Late Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel’s Constitutions of 1409,” *Speculum* 70 [1995]: 822–64, esp. at 829–35; Anne Hudson, “Lollard Book Production,” in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall [Cambridge, 1989], 125–42, at 125, “Lollardy: The English Heresy?” in *Lollards and Their Books* [London, 1985], 148, and *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, [Oxford, 1988], 417–20, 485; and Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* [Cambridge, 1920], esp. 326–28). There is no professed Lollardy in *Dimitte*, except perhaps for one cursory remark on *false dyuynes* and *false clerkes* who lead people to heresy by their *ydel ryot* not based on the Bible (fol. 48v) and another rather lengthy attack on negligent or corrupt clergy as an example not to follow (fol. 49r–v), which do not

then he singles out charity as the supreme virtue (fols. 43⁺–46r). The grouping by three is favoured throughout the treatise as a whole; the author employs triads, for example, in showing the ways to love—sweetly, truly, and perfectly (fol. 44v); how the virtue of weeping works marvels—as baptism, cleansing of sins, and recovery of lost goodness (fol. 46v); kinds of good tears—of contrition, compassion, and devotion (fol. 47v); sources of tears—this wretched life, long wait for the next life, and Christ's Passion (fol. 49r); kinds of pains—of this life, purgatory, and hell (fol. 49v); and places of afterlife—heaven, purgatory, and hell (fols. 49v–50r).

Sources and Analogues, and Date.

One text which almost certainly influenced the author of *Dimitte* is Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, which was highly popular and important throughout the Middle Ages.²⁹ For Job 10:20 (*Dimitte ergo me, ut plangam paululum dolorem meum*), the *Moralia* presents a dual interpretation: (a) Job is unable to bewail his sorrow because excessive sorrow deprives him of the sense of grief; and (b) knowing that he is sinful but weighed down by the still increasing desires of the flesh, he is unable to bewail his sorrow. Therefore, Gregory explains, we should ask God to show us our sins, then to help us to bewail those sins by setting the soul free from the worldly desires.³⁰ The *Moralia* and *Dimitte* have slightly different interpretations of the verse. In order to bewail his sins, Job in the *Moralia* asks for divine grace to release him from the earthly ties; in *Dimitte*, he begs for time, or respite.

While the *Moralia* was the authoritative text for the Church, people in the later Middle Ages in general knew the story of Job mainly through its abbreviated version, the "Lamentations of Job." This consists of the nine lessons from the Book of Job—most interestingly, the last lesson is Job 10:18–22³¹—

seem to provide justifications strong enough for calling our text unorthodox, especially in the light of the context as a whole.

²⁹ For St. Gregory's popularity in the Middle Ages, see, e.g., Karis Ann Crawford, "The Middle English *Pety Job*: A Critical Edition with a Study of Its Place in Late Medieval Religious Literature" (hereafter, Crawford) (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1977), 133, citing F. Homes Dudden, *Gregory the Great: His Place in History and Thought* (London, 1905), 1:195; Georg Dufner, *Die "Moralia" Gregors des Grossen in ihren italienischen Volgarisierungen* (Padua, 1958), 6–7; and N. R. Ker, "The English Manuscripts of the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great," in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen. Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Artur Rosenauer and Gerold Weber (Salzburg, 1972), 77–89; Crawford also lists many commentators who based Job commentaries on Gregory's.

³⁰ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 10.62.93–106 (ed. M. Adriaen, 3 vols., CCL 143–143B [Turnhout, 1979–85], 1:522–33).

³¹ Job 7:16–21, 10:1–12, 13:23–28, 14:1–6, 14:13–16, 17:1–2, 17:11–15, 19:20–27, and 10:18–22. The last lesson is out of biblical order.

and was recited for the Matins of the Office of the Dead, commonly referred to as *Dirige* from the first word of its opening antiphon.³² Sanctioned by the Sarum Use, it came to be sung and heard on a daily basis. With an increasing interest in the “good death” in the High Middle Ages, lay people were more and more engrossed with the “craft” (or art) of dying. In this circumstance late medieval wills served the “good death” in two ways: the material and the spiritual future. They frequently stipulate the recitation of *Placebo* and *Dirige*.³³ It was a solemn duty for those left to fulfill; late medieval English guilds, for example, required their members to attend *Placebo* and *Dirige* for fellow members.³⁴ The Office of the Dead was said at funerals in the same way at secular churches and religious houses.³⁵ The *Dirige*, furthermore, “travelled” in the manual containing the occasional offices and was also singled out as the *Dirige*-book.³⁶ Private votive masses were celebrated at private residences and at a corner set aside in a church for chantry masses;³⁷ regular observance of such masses is attested to by the Dreamer in *Piers Plowman*: “The lomes þat Y laboure with and lyflode deserue / Is *Pater-noster* and my prymer, *Placebo* and *Dirige*, / And my Sauter som tyme and my seuene psalmes” (C 5.45–47).³⁸ This seems to have been the Office of the Dead for lay folks, delivered “Now with hym, now with here” (C 5.51). That is, virtually everybody would have been well acquainted with the *Dirige* and would have known the story of Job as told in these lessons. Karis A. Crawford demonstrates that even the words of the *Dirige* were remembered, quoting a parody poem, “On the death of the Duke of Suffolk”: “. . . For Iac Napes

³² “*Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam meam*” (Ps 5:9). The Office of the Dead consists of only Vespers (*Placebo*), the Vigil or Matins (*Dirige*), and Lauds (which immediately followed Matins). The *Dirige* includes three nocturns and each nocturn three psalms (5, 6, 7; 22, 24, 26; 39, 40, 41) with antiphons, versicle and response, *Pater Noster*, and three lessons from the Book of Job (as listed in the preceding note), each followed by a responsory; see John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, (Oxford, 1991), 105–7. For the role of Job in the liturgy of the Catholic Church, see Lawrence L. Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1979), 56–65.

³³ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1966), 33 and 53–55.

³⁴ Crawford, 96, citing Toulmin Smith, Lucy Toulmin Smith, and Lujo Brentano, eds., *English Gilds*, EETS, OS 40(1870), 4, 6, 60, 64, 123 and 190; and H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England* (London, 1919), chap. 8.

³⁵ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 105–6.

³⁶ Crawford, 94, which refers to Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales, *The Old Service Books of the English Church* (London, 1904), 74, 213 and 218.

³⁷ Binski, *Medieval Death*, 115–18.

³⁸ William Langland, *Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z Versions*, ed. A. V. C. Schmidt (London and New York, 1995), 171 (not in the A, B, or Z versions). These lines are quoted in Crawford, 100, in Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 57, and partly in Binski, 116.

soule, Placebo and Dirige . . . / Rise vp, Say, rede, 'parce mihi domine./ Nihil enim sunt dies mei,' þou shalt synge."³⁹

The Office of the Dead was also recited at home as private devotions, disseminated in the prayer book mainly for laity called the English Primer—which the Dreamer mentions in the quotation above⁴⁰—and in private books of hours.⁴¹ Notably, the Primer was “one of the most widely-owned books of the fifteenth century” and was used to teach children to read;⁴² its popularity also contributed to the propagation of devotions and influenced fifteenth-century religious poems.⁴³ The “Lamentations of Job” seems to provide an early instance of such an influence, having produced at least two metrical renditions or elaborations in the early or mid-fifteenth century. One of those metrical elaborations of the “Lamentations of Job” found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 102 (1425–75) renders Job 10:20 specifically as a penitential plea: “A, þerfore, lord, graunte me þes / To wepe and wayle, repente my synne.”⁴⁴ The *Dirige* in the Primer promulgated the story of Job very rapidly in association with a penitential doctrine.

The other verse paraphrase of the *Dirige* lessons is “Pety Job,” once attributed to Richard Rolle—a sophisticated poem in a difficult *Pearl*-like stanza form, employing *Parce michi, Domine*—the first words of the first lesson of the “Lamentations of Job” (Job 7:16)—as a refrain.⁴⁵ This survives in five

³⁹ Crawford, 96–97, quoting from *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. Rossell Hope Robbins (New York, 1959), 187–89, lines 49–50.

⁴⁰ These are translations of the Latin *Horae* or *Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, made for lay readers. In Latin or English or in combination, these books invariably included a liturgical calendar, the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the seven Penitential Psalms, the fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany of the Saints, the Office of the Dead, and the Commendations. See Crawford, 94–95, which refers to Edmund Bishop, “On the Origin of the Prymer,” in *The Prymer or Lay Folks’ Prayer Book*, ed. Henry Littlehales, EETS, OS 105, 109 (London, 1895–97; rpt. as one vol., New York, 1973), part II, pp. xi–xxii, at xii. In this edition of the Primer, the Matins of the Office of the Dead is at part I, pp. 56–70. See also *Manual* 7:2367 and 2569–70; Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d’Heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), 1:vi ff.; and Herbert Thurston, ed., *The Prymer* (London, 1923).

⁴¹ Bishop, “On the Origin of the Prymer,” in *Prymer*, ed. Littlehales, Part II, xi–xxii; Frances McSparran and P. R. Robinson, *Cambridge University Library MS Ff.2.38* (London, 1979), viii–ix; Fein, 289.

⁴² Alexandra Barratt, “The Prymer and Its Influence on Fifteenth-Century English Passion Lyrics,” *Medium Ævum* 44 (1975): 264. Also see Crawford, 97–107, at 98–99; Crawford notes that the boy in *The Prioress’s Tale* was reading the Primer at school (CT. VII.502 ff., esp. 516–19).

⁴³ Barratt, “The Prymer and Its Influence,” 264–79.

⁴⁴ J. Kail, ed., *Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems*, ed., EETS, OS 124 (London, 1904), 107–20, at 117. Also see *Manual* 2:384, under “Lessons of the *Dirige* II.”

⁴⁵ Editions: Fein, 289–359 (quotations from “Pety Job” refer to this edition); Crawford, 178–295; Kail, *Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems*, 120–43; C. Horstman, ed., *Yorkshire*

manuscripts, three of which are accompanied by a preface which concludes the introduction to the poetry as “full profitable to stere synners to compunc-cioun.”⁴⁶ The similarities between *Dimitte* and “Pety Job” can be first observed in their interpretations of the biblical verse discussed above. In stanza 56 (the second section in the last lesson, based on Job 10:20–21), “Pety Job” explains that Job wishes for time to repent his sins:

Therfore, Lord, suffer Thow me
A lytell whyle that wepe I may
The tyme that ever I greved The
In ded or thought, by nyght or day,
And graunt me, yef Thy wyl be,
That here in erthe wepe I may.⁴⁷

This as well as the reference to the horror and darkness of hell that follows (Job 10:21–22) echoes a passage in stanza 19 (corresponding to the beginning of the second nocturn), where the poet elaborates Job 13:23 (*Quantas habeo iniquitates et peccata? Scelera mea atque delicta ostende michi*):

What wykednes—all that I have!—
With my synnes—all on an hepe!—
Shewe me hem or I go to grave,
That I for hem may sore wepe,
My soule, Lord, that I may save
From the pyt of hell so depe,
Where synful soules tumble and rave
In endeles woo—atath good kepe!—⁴⁸

Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole . . . and his Followers, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1895–96; rpt. Cambridge, 1976; new edition in one volume with a new preface by Anne C. Bartlett, Cambridge, 1999), 2:380–89. Facsimile: McSparran and Robinson, *Cambridge University Library MS Ff.2.38*. For the stanza form, see Fein, 295–96, and Crawford, 69–71. Also see *Manual* 2:383–84 and 536; Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, 369–70; and Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 79–84.

⁴⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 322; London, British Library Harley 1706 (copied from Douce 322, or from the same exemplar); Cambridge, Trinity College R.3.21; Cambridge, University Library Ff.2.38; and Cambridge, Magdalene College 1584. In the first three manuscripts the poem is accompanied by the preface. This preface shows the gossipy characteristics found in the rubrics of John Shirley (ca. 1366–1456), which suggests influences of contemporary French fashion (Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, 370). The Trinity manuscript, particularly, is known to have been copied by a scribe who was familiar with John Shirley’s books. Crawford, 25–29; Fein, 290–91. The quotation is from Fein, 308.

⁴⁷ Fein, 332, lines 661–66.

⁴⁸ Fein, 316, lines 217–24, and the Latin heading, footnoted (slightly different from the Vulgate).

In the preceding stanza 18, the merit of weeping has been brought up: "ofte tyme I have sore wept / The more grace of The to wyn; / And thus with wepyng have I wypt / My soule, Lord, from dedly synne."⁴⁹ These pleas presuppose the mercifulness of the Lord; Job in this metrical version regrets having refused the grace which God is always ready to grant (stanza 17):

Lyfe and mercy Thow yave me, ay!
 When I wold Thy mercy crave,
 Thow seydest to me nat ones nay,
 But glad was when I wold hit have.
 Thow were redy, nyght and day,
 With mercy, Lord, me to save!
 But I denyed hit alwey,
 So woodly syn made me to rave;⁵⁰

In *Dimitte* this point is made at an early stage, on fol. 39v: God is so "debonere" that however often we may sin, if we ask his forgiveness with true repentance, he will immediately grant it, "for he is redyer to forzeue þan we beþ forto aske forzefnesse." This leads to the first Gregorian *narracio*, describing how Chrysaorius—assailed by devils on his death bed—cries too late for divine mercy, and then to a parable of a poor man who turns down his king's offer of money many times and so, when he needs it extremely badly, never gets it. The author of *Dimitte* concludes: "Trewliche riȝt so hit is of oure Lord God of heuene and of eueriche of vs. Alle we beþ wonder nedy of his grace. And he profreth hit to vs euery day, and we wul nat receyue hit" (fol. 40r).

Interestingly, the passage from the last *Dirige* lesson which is used as theme of *Dimitte* (Job 10:20–22) is also employed in *The Parson's Tale*, where it exemplifies the third of the six causes that stir the sinner to contrition, namely, "drede of the day of doom and of the horrible peynes of helle" (ParT. X.158).⁵¹ It has been pointed out that *The Parson's Tale* draws greatly upon Raymond of Peñafoort, *Summa de paenitentia*,⁵² but Chaucer has also incorporated other illustrative texts; in this part on contrition and the six causes,

⁴⁹ Fein, 315, lines 209–12.

⁵⁰ Ibid., lines 193–200, under the heading *Vitam et misericordiam tribuisti michi* (Job 10:12).

⁵¹ This point has been made by Fein, 358, note to lines 661–84. The quotations from *The Parson's Tale* refer to *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3d ed. (Boston, 1987).

⁵² Raymond of Peñafoort, *Summa de paenitentia* 3.34 (ed. X. Ochoa and A. Diez [Rome, 1976], cols. 793–882). See Kate Oelzner Petersen, *The Sources of the Parson's Tale*, Radcliffe College Monographs 12 (Boston, 1901; rpt. New York, 1973); and Richard Newhauser, "The Parson's Tale," in *Sources and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales*, vol. 1, ed. Robert M. Correale and Mary Hamel (Cambridge, 2002), 529–613, esp. 531–67.

The Parson's Tale includes a full exposition of Job 10:20–22 (ParT. X.176–224).⁵³ Correspondence between *Dimitte* and the Job section of *The Parson's Tale* is found first of all in the rendition of Job 10:20. “Suffer, Lord, that I may a while biwaille and wepe . . .” in *The Parson's Tale* (X.176) indicates that this is based on the same variant form of the Latin verse that appears as the theme of *Dimitte*.⁵⁴ The two texts also coincide in the omission of the first half of the verse (as does stanza 56 of “Pety Job”). Regarding this verse, the Parson explains that Job asked God for respite to repent his trespass: “Loo, heere may ye seen that Job preyde *respit* a while to biwepe and waille his trespas, for soothly oo day of *respit* is better than al the tresor of this world” (ParT. X.178, italics mine).⁵⁵ The choice of word “(one day of) respite” is worth noting; Job in *Dimitte* asks for “space of penaunce”⁵⁶ and in the following parable of a man who owes his king money, the man pleads his king “respit and day of his dette” (fol. 39r) and this debt is explained as sins. In the same section in *The Parson's Tale* drawing on Job 10:20–22 and later as a source for the sixth of the six causes leading to contrition, furthermore, we find the same biblical quotations that occur in *Dimitte*, Isaiah 14:11 and Revelations 3:20; in addition, after the long exposition of kinds of sins, in the second part on penitence, St. Peter and Mary Magdalene are introduced in the same sequence and context as references to penitential tears—the third and fourth of the five signs of bitterness of heart, the first of the four conditions of true and profitable confession.⁵⁷

We may now pause to consider the probable date of the composition of *Dimitte* from the given dates for the analogous texts mentioned above. The dates for the manuscripts of the English Primers (1380–1450)⁵⁸ offer a time span for its popularity, which embraces the date for *Piers Plowman* C version

⁵³ ParT. X.128–291. Job 10:20–22 are at ParT. X.176–77. Cf. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 3.34.8–9 (ed. Ochoa and Diez, cols. 803–5; Newhauser, “Parson's Tale,” 547–51). Fear of the day of judgment is the fourth cause in Peñafort, but Chaucer treats the first and the second causes together as one and adds thought of the passion of Christ as the fifth cause.

⁵⁴ Cf. the Vulgate: *Dimitte ergo me. . .* The Wycliffite Later Version has “Therfor suffre thou me. . .”

⁵⁵ In *Dimitte* (fol. 50r–v) in the last *narracio*, a good and holy man becomes taken ill and it seems to him much preferable than all the gold in the world to die at once and go to purgatory; in purgatory, however, he regrets this, realizing that it would have been much better to do penance in this world “þan an hundred þousand wordles.”

⁵⁶ See the quotation above, p. 000 [6].

⁵⁷ ParT. X.198, 289–90, and 994–96; *Dimitte*, fols. 41r, 45v, and 46r. Of these, however, the second citation (Revelations 3:20) also appears in the relevant sections in Peñafort.

⁵⁸ *Manual* 2:384.

(terminus 1387)⁵⁹ and that for *The Parson's Tale* (1396–1400),⁶⁰ which we may say is roughly contemporaneous with the date for the hand of Scribe C (s. XIV ex./XV¹) who copied *Dimitte* (except for the first leaf, which was supplied or replaced afterwards). “Pety Job,” on the other hand, dates from the mid-fifteenth century,⁶¹ and it is therefore difficult to consider it as a source for *Dimitte*, despite a number of similarities; and while there does not seem to be enough compelling evidence to establish a direct relationship between *Dimitte* and “Pety Job,” the possibility remains that the author of “Pety Job” was acquainted with *Dimitte*.⁶² It would be safe to say, at least, that “Pety Job” (as well as the *Dirige* poem in Digby 102) attests to the long-standing appeal of the “Lamentations of Job” to a wide variety of audience. Similarities between *The Parson's Tale* and *Dimitte* probably reflect contemporary interpretations of the “Lamentations of Job” to be used for penitential guidance, which points to a date of composition for *Dimitte* around the close of the fourteenth century.

Having formed an idea about the date of the composition of *Dimitte*, we may return to the question of its sources and analogues. Like many other medieval compilations for devotional instruction as well as *The Parson's Tale*, *Dimitte* is interlaced with numerous references to non-scriptural *auctoritates*—the Church Fathers, saints' lives and other exempla and stories including an apparently local episode.⁶³ The citations are miscellaneous, but most frequently they are taken from Gregory's *Homiliae in Evangelia* and from his *Dialogi*. There are also many references to Augustine and John Chrysostom; and Bernard, Isidore, and Ambrose are quoted more than once.

Many of those quotations and exempla used in *Dimitte* are often found in other late medieval sermons and devotional writings on similar subjects. One

⁵⁹ *Manual* 7:2220.

⁶⁰ Larry D. Benson, “The Canon and Chronology of Chaucer's Works,” in *Riverside Chaucer*, xxix.

⁶¹ Crawford, viii; Fein, 289. Cf. the date given in *Manual* 2:383 (the beginning of the fifteenth century).

⁶² It has been suggested on the basis of the evidence of various manuscripts that the early audience of “Pety Job” was in orders or noble families (Crawford, 108, and Fein, 296–97, with reference to A. I. Doyle, “Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey,” *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s., 25 [1958]: 222–43). Such connections with religious houses and noble patronage points to the possibility that the author of “Pety Job” was also in an order, and had some knowledge of *Dimitte*.

⁶³ One brief episode tells of an incident at the Friars Minor in Oxford “nat longe ago” (fol. 48r). It is merely one sentence long, which may imply that this was not in the original text or that for some reason the scribe stopped copying his exemplar halfway through the episode. In either case, it can be understood as an attempt to relate the anecdote from the past and some remote place with to the readers' world.

of the most common examples is the Parable of the Wedding Feast (Matthew 22:1-14).⁶⁴ Unsurprisingly, as it is often understood an allegory of the Last Judgment, this parable occurs frequently in medieval penitential texts. This parable was also seen as the marriage of Christ and the Church. In *Dimitte*, this is explained with reference to Gregory.⁶⁵

Another aspect of this parable also plays a prominent role in many medieval religious writings: the wedding clothes. The fiftieth item of *P*, an Easter Sermon, for instance, begins by clearly stating that, on Easter Day, "ye beþ at þe feste and graunt mawnger of þe Kyng of heuene, lord of alle lordis" and that the clothes to wear on that occasion is "gode vertues loue of God and of þi neyhebores and clene lyuyng" (fols. 139r-143r).⁶⁶ Even when the text does not specify the parable, expressions such as "the bride's garment" or "the clothes that bring one to bliss" are references to Matthew 22:11, and these are often accompanied by phrases like "the Last Judgment" and "the Last Supper."⁶⁷ "The wedding dress," in such instances, generally indicates "charity," and "to put on Christ" often signifies the same.⁶⁸ In *Dimitte*, too, the section discussing charity illustrates the principal virtue as "þe robe þat eche man nedip to be cloþed with when he shal be clepit to entre to þe sposailles of þe kyng," with details from the Parable of the Wedding Feast (fol. 45r-v).

Just as in the Middle English homily *Cleanness*, the metaphor of clothing in *Dimitte* is coupled with that of the sacred vessel. The grace of God is the precious liquid and the heart is the vessel to receive it. Thus, the vessel must be kept clean (by "chastity") and deep (by "humility" and "meekness"). Divine grace is also compared to the sunlight in *Dimitte*, which penetrates the interior of a house through an opening (which is the heart of man) and fills it with light, warmth and love (fols. 43v-46r). The wedding parable and these metaphors all lead to more images of Christ and the door: Revelations 3:20 and Song of Songs 5:2 (fols. 45v-46r). Those images and exemplary stories of

⁶⁴ The same parable occurs in Luke (14:15-24), where the point of the lesson is to accept the invitation. In Matthew, it is dressing properly that is most important.

⁶⁵ Fol. 45r-v; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia* 38.3 (ed. Raymond Étaix, CCL 141 [Turnhout, 1999], 381-82).

⁶⁶ Cf. "In Die Pasche," Sunday Gospel Sermon 46.66-67, *English Wycliffite Sermons* [EWS], vol. 1, ed. Anne Hudson (Oxford, 1983), 431; "De Festo Pasche," 20 ff., *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies*, part 1, ed. Theodor Erbe, EETS ES 96 (London, 1905), 130, lines 20 ff.

⁶⁷ E.g., Sunday Gospel Sermon 20.72 and Sunday Epistle Sermons 1.138 and 48.30, EWS 1:303, 480, and 677.

⁶⁸ EWS, vol. 4, ed. Pamela Gradon and Anne Hudson (Oxford, 1996), 236; e.g., "... charite, whiche is þe bride cloþ þat eueri man muste haue þat schal come to þat feeste . . .," *Lollard Sermons*, ed. Gloria Cigman, EETS 294 (Oxford, 1989), 84, sermon 8.156-57.

rejection and acceptance of divine grace often appear chained together in various penitential writings.

The preference for concrete and homely images and illustrations and reasoning by examples and amusing stories is one of the characteristics of medieval sermons and writings of religious instruction, especially of those intended for the laity.⁶⁹ In the case of *Dimitte*, for example, the relationship between God and man is illustrated as those between a king and his subjects; and detailed realistic descriptions of dying, of corpses, of tortures of hell and purgatory, and of a sudden death build up "fear"; and this "fear" is intended to give a strong impetus to the story. This is a feature frequently found in late medieval devotional and pastoral writings.⁷⁰

The theme of *Dimitte* from the Book of Job, and its late medieval interpretation as represented in "Pety Job," constitute the bones or the framework of this discourse. As noted above, *Dimitte* is fashioned like a sermon with divisions using threefold exemplification. Following this plan, a number of references to or quotations from accepted sources and popular images and episodes are arranged to flesh it out. Even though *Dimitte* is extant in only one manuscript, it may be considered as a typical late medieval text on penance.

Style.

The most prominent stylistic feature of *Dimitte* is its directness and fervor, which appear to be effective when delivered orally. This seems to be the reason why *Dimitte* has been described as a "sermon or discourse."⁷¹ It is also true, however, that *Dimitte* is apparently far too long to be delivered orally, extending to twelve folios with over 14,000 words (excluding the missing leaf between fols. 43 and 44).⁷² In addition, the persistent and frequent uses of sin-

⁶⁹ Spencer, *English Preaching*, 243.

⁷⁰ *Fasciculus Morum*, one of the most influential pastoral manuals of the time, for example, presents the *memento mori* theme and the fearful revelation of the Judgment as powerful tools to lead people to humility (*Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, ed. and trans. Siegfried Wenzel [University Park, Pa., and London, 1989], esp. 105).

⁷¹ *Catalogue*, 54.

⁷² Lollard sermons in Cigman's collection, for instance, are mostly about 1500 words long. *Dimitte* is approximately the same length as the "uniquely long" Sermon 2 and about half as long as the Dead Man's sermon-treatise in the same collection (*Lollard Sermons*, xlix). Thomas Wimbledon's sermon, (item 9 in *P*, fols. 65v-73v), has more than 10,000 words; and it was actually delivered at St. Paul's Cross in 1388. It should also deserve to be noted that the definition of a "sermon" is a difficult one. The terms such as "sermon" and "treatise" are often used in medieval religious writings without any distinction between them (Spencer, *English Preaching*, 3-5 and 33 ff.). It must not be forgotten that there were also what Spencer calls "closet sermons," that is, "sermons which were to be read and not heard" (ibid., 4). In this article, how-

gular addresses such as “þu” and “broþer” suggest that *Dimitte* was not preached to a congregation. Thus, it is difficult to suppose that *Dimitte* was actually delivered from the pulpit; yet, its style appropriate for and suggestive of vocal transmission is one of the important characteristics of *Dimitte*.

The impression that *Dimitte* may have been orally communicated is partly due to the frequent use of expressions such as “Herkne, lef broþer,” “fair broþer þat herest þis,” or “y shal tele þe.” Such locutions, however, are not exclusive to sermons but are also used in treatises, and in other narrative texts, as is most manifest in *The Canterbury Tales*. Do these expressions, then, reflect the actual way a text was delivered? In many cases the phrases indicate only an attempt to imitate an oral tradition.⁷³ The same is true of *Dimitte*; words like “listen” or “tell” do not necessarily determine the way this work was read but are certainly expected to produce the feeling of actually hearing it. The author intended that people would read his work as if they had been listening to it. *Dimitte* is certainly a vividly animated treatise. Reading it aloud—as most people would have done—would make *Dimitte* a very effective and powerful text.

Audience and Author.

The fact that *Dimitte* is written in the vernacular rather than in Latin determines to some extent the nature of its intended audience.⁷⁴ It is well known that vernacular writings in the Middle Ages were often produced for a female audience, but they also helped male readers who were not trained in Latin. As *Dimitte* is extant in no other manuscript, we cannot be certain about the original, but it is clear that the *P* version was copied for a male audience, as it is addressed to a “brother.”⁷⁵

ever, the terms “sermon” and “treatise” are used according to the usual, modern classification of the words.

⁷³ See Nancy Mason Bradbury, *Writing Aloud: Storytelling in Late Medieval England* (Urbana, Ill., 1998), 3.

⁷⁴ This applies to the whole *P* manuscript which is mainly in English and includes such texts as item 24, “On conduct when hearing mass” (fols. 97r–98v). Doyle remarks regarding a similar text in the Vernon manuscript that such texts would suggest lay listeners or readers (*The Vernon Manuscript: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. Poet. a.1*, with an introduction by A. I. Doyle [Cambridge, 1987], 14).

⁷⁵ Evidence shows that *P* on the whole was made for a male audience. In the text of item 1, *The Chastising of God’s Children*, the usual “sister” in the incipit to the prologue was altered twice over an erasure to “friend” either by the scribe himself (*The Chastising of God’s Children and The Perfection of the Sons of God*, ed. Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge [Oxford, 1957], 40) or by a corrector (*Catalogue*, 54), and in several places the scribe omitted “and women” from the phrase “men and women.” This kind of change was not unusual (see Doyle, *Vernon Manu-*

It is also almost certain that this “brother” belongs to a religious organization, since the author mentions “folk of religion” and “we” who “forsooke þe wordle and þe delices of þe flessch and al wordly wursheþ from the firste day þat we toke the habit of religion,” recalling their “profession” and their duties (fol. 49r). Since it is written in English, lay brothers, just like the one featured in the longest exemplum in *Dimitte*, may have been the target of this discourse.⁷⁶ This idea becomes more plausible when we recall that *Dimitte* praises weeping as a means of satisfaction for sins over going on pilgrimage, fasting, waking, and exercising bodily afflictions or spending long hours in prayers. If the intended readers were assigned to the labour in the field like the lay brother in the story mentioned above, they needed to eat and sleep in order to sustain their physical strength, and they actually spent more hours in farming and tending the management of the house than in praying.⁷⁷ This is in fact the argument that the lay brother in question makes when asked how he observes his religious duties. It would be at least reasonable to imagine an audience in a milieu where such lay brothers were actively involved.

Inasmuch as the audience is encouraged to “vnder obedience in quyet and silence, and praye and wepe” for their sins (fol. 47r), rather than making a pilgrimage, this order could be contemplative, and the audience could be under the vow of stability of place (or permanent residence in the house of profession). Another justification for such a view could be found in the stories about sins forgiven through tears of contrition. In those stories—there are as many as seven of them—tears are contrasted to verbal confession or prayer:

Wepynge . . . openeþ þe synne þat mouth shameþ to speke. Wepynge . . . is a stille prayer. Þei seyeþ no þyng, ne prayeþ no pardoun, but þey haueþ pardon anon. And whi is þat? For þei auaille more þan prayer of mouth; for prayer of mouth faileþ oþerwhile, but prayer of wepyng faileþ neuere (fol. 46r).⁷⁸

To borrow the words of Chaucer’s Parson, the true and perfect penance needs “Contricioun of Herte, Confessioun of Mouth, and Satisfaccioun” (ParT.

script, 15). The omissions in item 1 could have been made in a previous version, but the changes “over erasure” were certainly made in this manuscript. These alterations may indicate that when the parchment section (items 1 and 2) was added to *P* some adjustment was necessary to make it conform to the rest of the manuscript, which was designed for male reader(s).

⁷⁶ This is a story about the miracle at a Cistercian abbey done by the virtue of charity through a young “lewed frere” who works in a grange. Excelling in love, this lay brother is assigned by God to save the lives of the other members of the convent who have been stricken by pestilence. This story is told in the middle of *Dimitte* and occupies nearly two pages, relating in full the manner in which the abbot finds out the secret of the lay-brother’s virtue (fol. 44r–v).

⁷⁷ For actual life of the Carthusian converses or lay brothers, see E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London, 1930), 41 f.

⁷⁸ The quoted passage refers to Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* 10.90.

X.108).⁷⁹ Confession needs to be detailed and precise (ParT. X.318–21); and satisfaction “stant moost generally in almesse and in bodily peyne” (ParT. X.1029). Three manners of alms are described as (a) “contricion of herte,” (b) “to han pitee of defaute of his neighebores,” and (c) “yevynge of good conseil and comfort” to those who need it (ParT. X.1030).⁸⁰ The last type of alms is not treated in *Dimitte*, while the second way is perhaps understood as charity, or love, towards one’s brothers—and this is the main lesson of the lay-brother’s exemplum mentioned above. If this was the only possible way the intended audience of *Dimitte* could carry out deeds of alms towards other people—and since confession of mouth is excused as unsatisfactory compared to weeping—the brotherhood may well have been one severely restricting communication both inside and outside their institution.⁸¹ In that case, when the audience of *Dimitte* read books, they most likely did so in seclusion.

For the question of audience, the use of “þu” needs to be examined in more detail. As mentioned earlier, *Dimitte* almost exclusively uses singular forms of address—“brother,” “friend,” and “þu.” The word “þu” may seem to indicate that the author wrote for one specific person, but recent studies have shown that the question of “þu” and “3e” is more complicated than it appears. Commenting on the use of “þu” in sermons (where “3e” would be generally anticipated), Gloria Cigman, for instance, points out that the “þu” form appears six times as often as the plural form in her edition of Lollard sermons.⁸² Cigman refers elsewhere to the preacher’s relationship to the audience as a “shifting one”; “He can be an ‘I’-figure, addressing his audience as a composite group (‘you’), or as individuals within that group (‘thou’); or . . . he can become ‘we’ with the audience.”⁸³ The *Ancrene Wisse*, which is supposed to have been written for three anchoresses, presents another example of the mixed use of singular and plural addresses. E. J. Dobson concludes that the “þu” form is actually more impersonal and general, being used for an unknown reader, and for more general instructions, while plural forms are intended for particular readers or situations.⁸⁴ The *Dimitte* author is consistent in

⁷⁹ Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 3.34.7 (ed. Ochoa and Diez, col. 802; Newhauser, “Parson’s Tale,” 547, lines 44–46).

⁸⁰ Ibid. 3.34.36 (ed. Ochoa and Diez, col. 835; Newhauser, “Parson’s Tale,” 557, lines 11–22).

⁸¹ For the subject of almsgiving and hospitality in the Carthusian Order, see Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 25–27.

⁸² *Lollard Sermons*, xlv, esp. n. 1, and xlix.

⁸³ Gloria Cigman, “The Preacher as Performer: Lollard Sermons as Imaginative Discourse,” *Literature and Theology* 2 (1988): 73.

⁸⁴ E. J. Dobson, *The Origins of Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford, 1976), 252. Bella Millet observes the same impersonal character of the þu-address in another AB text, *Hali Meioðhad*, although

the use of the singular addresses until he reaches the very last sentence, where he uses “3ow” once, and “3e” twice (fol. 50v). It may be supposed, therefore, that *Dimitte* was originally written, or copied, by a religious for his confrères—a group of unspecified individuals—in order to give them general instructions, and that by shifting to “3e” and “we” at the very end, the author attempted to conclude his talk in unison with the audience as fellow brothers of the close community.

To sum up what we have seen concerning the audience or the readers of the text, they are primarily male, in an order, and they were possibly lay brothers with limited knowledge of Latin, and were perhaps in charge of farming and other hard work in their community. Emphasis upon silence and discouragement of pilgrimage point to a contemplative order. And the author’s persistent use of singular addresses seems to imply that the treatise was written for general edification of his fellow brothers and that the recipients were expected to read it in private, or to hear it, if read aloud to a group, as though they had been listening to it privately.

Such a readership for *Dimitte* appears to agree with the overall nature of our manuscript. A. I. Doyle considers from its contents that *P* was “probably made for a religious house, or a male recluse of some importance” and “[i]ts owner or owners would seem to be male, religious or reclused.”⁸⁵ And the *Dimitte* author, too, presumably belonged to an order which was enthusiastic about the dissemination of God’s teaching as well as strictly contemplative, such as the Carthusians. The Carthusians’ contribution to medieval book production is well known. Although book-making was not a Carthusian monopoly and “complications and uncertainties” about medieval book-making present a constant problem for the scribal attribution of manuscripts,⁸⁶ it still should be worth noting that *P* contains quite a few texts that had a Carthusian origin or were popular with the Carthusians, for example, *The Chastising of God’s Children*, “Of three arrows on doomsday,”⁸⁷ the works of Richard Rolle,⁸⁸ and *Meditationes Vitae Christi* in three part-translations.

there is no particular indication of its specific recipient (*Hali Meidhed*, ed. Bella Millet, EETS OS 284 [Oxford, 1982], xxii–xxiii).

⁸⁵ Doyle, “Survey,” 1:167–66 and 2:129, respectively.

⁸⁶ A. I. Doyle, “Carthusian Participation in the Movement of Works of Richard Rolle Between England and Other Parts of Europe in the 14th and 15th Centuries,” in *Kartäusermystik und -Mystiker: Dritter internationaler Kongress über die Kartäusergeschichte und -Spiritualität*, Analecta Cartusiana 55.2 (Salzburg, 1981), 109.

⁸⁷ Alford, “Richard Rolle,” 47.

⁸⁸ For the Carthusians’ interest in Rolle, see Sargent, “Transmission by the English Carthusians,” 231.

The *Chastising* is the first item in *P*, and apparently a later incorporation into our manuscript (Scribe A). The texts of Rolle constitute six of the fifty-one items in *P*; as to *Meditationes*, the great success of the *Mirror of the Blessed Lyfe of Jesus Christ*, an adaptation of the *Meditationes* by Nicholas Love (prior of Mount Grace), indicates the Carthusians' preference for such texts and the role they had in their circulation. One of *P*'s translations of *Meditationes*, "On the Sorrows of the Virgin" (item 52) and the last item "Teaching of St Barnabas," as we have seen, link our manuscript with Carthusian manuscripts, Cambridge, University Library Ff.vi.33 and London, British Library Additional 37049. The two copies of "On the sorrows of the Virgin" are not completely identical, but exhibit a close verbal affinity. Darker's copy is believed to have been made around 1500, and Scribe D who is responsible for the *P* copy dates from the same period. Even if it is not a direct copy of Darker's, the scriptorium or the monastic establishment where the *P* version was produced may have had some relationship with Sheen; and the manuscript *P* might have possibly been put together into the present form in a similar situation, through the addition of the parchment section that includes the *Chastising*. And then, *Dimittite*, if not of Carthusian origin, is a text the Carthusians approved for circulation among their less learned brothers.⁸⁹

The Carthusians made books for the lay brothers as well as for the monks,⁹⁰ and their houses—which were renowned for their rich collections of books—generally had two libraries: one for the monks and one for the lay brothers.⁹¹ Making books was an ideal occupation in their cloistered life and strongly encouraged as "a way of preaching God's word with their hands."⁹² When they made books for their Carthusian fellow brothers, they knew their books would

⁸⁹ The episode of the Cistercian lay brother discussed above also points to *Dimittite*'s Carthusian connection. The Carthusians and the Cistercians both sought complete abandonment of worldly life, adopted poverty and simplicity in the religious life, and are almost equally ascetic. Along with any rivalry between the orders there was a certain friendship. Guigo I, for instance, used in the *Consuetudines* the example of the Cistercians as a good model for the Carthusian lay brothers in the observance of the custom of silence during meals. See, Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 86–87.

⁹⁰ See Doyle, "Carthusian Participation," 109–20.

⁹¹ See Richard Bruce Marks, *The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St. Barbara in Cologne*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 21 (Salzburg, 1974), 24. Doyle has not noticed any record of English examples of vernacular books made for lay brothers by the Carthusians but admits the possibility, since there were a substantial number of Carthusian lay brothers in England (*Vernon Manuscript*, 14).

⁹² Guigo I, *Consuetudines* (Sources chrétiennes 313), chap. 28, cited in Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 335–36; Sargent, "Transmission by the English Carthusians," 225–26; and Marks, *Medieval Manuscript Library*, v.

be read in solitude. They aimed to “preach with their hands”; in turn they also must have expected to “hear,” as it were, “with their eyes.”

EDITORIAL METHOD

The text of *Dimitte* is copied by two scribes: fol. 39 is written by a later hand of the mid-fifteenth century (Scribe B),⁹³ while the rest of the treatise (fols. 40–50) is written by the main scribe of the manuscript (Scribe C) and dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Accordingly, punctuation on the first folio is closer to the modern punctuation and the script has more flourishes.

Capitalization, word division, punctuation, and paragraphing are editorial. Words such as *pride*, *baptism*, *flesh*, and *bishop* are frequently capitalized in the manuscript, but this is not reflected in the present edition. The letters *u* and *v* are reproduced as they are in the manuscript, but long and short *i* is transcribed as “i,” and initial double *ff* has been transcribed as single “f” or “F,” as appropriate. The letters *þ* and *ȝ* are preserved. Abbreviations have been silently expanded in accordance with the usual conventions, with the full form of the word being used as a guide: *wⁱ* is expanded to “with,” and *þu* to “þu,” since only *with* and *þu* occur in the full form. When the full form of a word does not occur, it is expanded in a manner that seems appropriate. As noted above, flourishes are conspicuous on the first folio: dots over *i* are exaggerated; *m* and *n* sometimes have a bar over them; *g*, *d*, *f*, and *t* at the end of a word have a prominent flourish. All these flourishes on fol. 39 are regarded as otiose except when they are markedly curled for “e” or “is.” And throughout the text, *h* at the end of a word—including *with*—is almost always barred in the manuscript; in one instance, at the start of fol. 39r, *beth* is spelled out with the final *e* (so, *bethe*), but since this word is not followed by *e* in the other instances, all the bars on the final *h* are ignored. A bar across the *h* also occurs in the midst of a word. In *Iohn*, the bar is ignored; but in *brethen*, the stroke is curled to meet the top of the ascender, and therefore is regarded as the abbreviation for *er*. The stroke across the descender of *p* is expanded variously as *er* or *ar* as seems best. The slightly curved bars over *p* in *bishop*, *wurshep*, *help* and *shep* in the later folios are also regarded as otiose flourishes.

Latin quotations are underlined in red in the manuscript except on fol. 39, where the underlining is black. In the edition, all Latin text has been italicized even if the underlining has been omitted by the scribes. Other red underling in

⁹³ This scribe “starts with some gestures at secretary, s. xv med., but rapidly shifts to an untidy anglicana cursiva” (*Catalogue*, 60).

the manuscript is ignored because it does not seem to be consistently employed in the manuscript.

Dimitte is copied in a fairly careful manner, and has been corrected repeatedly and carefully. Three kinds of corrections are found in the manuscript: (a) occasional corrections by the scribe, who would cross out the word—often before finishing it—with a horizontal stroke, or with rough diagonal strokes, and would then write the correct word; (b) corrections made by a corrector who likewise employed a horizontal stroke to indicate mistakes; and (c) words marked for omission with *subpuncti* (which appear darker), presumably by the later corrector. Words to be supplied are written in the manuscript interlinearly and marginally, often with a caret—usually below the line—or with an *obelus* (†)—above the line—to indicate the place for insertion. All these marginal or interlinear additions and corrections have been adopted and noted in the upper section of the apparatus. Words and letters deleted in the manuscript are also noted.

Grammatical and spelling irregularities are preserved as in the manuscript. Emendations have been kept to the minimum. Supplied words are enclosed in angle brackets; other emendations are enclosed in angle brackets and explained in the apparatus.

Scriptural citations have been made according to the enumeration and nomenclature of the Vulgate and are included with other references to sources and analogues in the middle section of the apparatus. The lower section contains definitions of certain Middle English words in the text.

(Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 2125, fols. 39r–50v)

Dimitte me, domine, vt plangam paululum dolorem meum; antequam vadam, et non reuertar, ad terram tenebrosam, et opertam mortis caligine: terram miserie et tenebrarum etc. These bethe the wordis of the holi mon Iob in the persone of a synner bewaylyng his synfull lyffe byfore passed.

5 Dere frend, these beth the wordes of the foresayd Iob, of whom God hymself bar witnes that he had in erthe no peer in holynes, for he was symple, ryztfull, and dradde God and kepte hym fram euell. And in these foure thynges beth conteyned all the vertues that a good man and holi shold haue. These wordes spake Iob in forme of a synfull creature that desirith to biwayle
10 and biwepe his synnys in this lyffe, that he go nat to helle to euerlastyng peyne aftur this lyf.

 “Lord God,” sayd he, “merci! Suffre me a litell to biwayle my sorowe, or that Y go withowt tornyng ayen to the lond of obscurite, full of derkenes and keueryd with derkenes of deth; lond of wrecchednesse and of derkenes, where
15 the shadow of deth and non ordre but euerlastyng horribilite and hidowesnesse dwellyth yn.”

 Herkne, lef brother, euery word that the foresayd holi man sayd that so was enspirid with þe Holi Gost. “Suffre me,” he sayd, “my Lord God,” as thow³ he sayd thus: “Sire God, graunt me space of penaunce or Y dey that Y go not
20 to euerlastyng deth. For yf Y do no penaunce, Y go to that deth”—as he that owyd to his lord the kyng ten thousand besauntes as oure Lord Ihesu Crist dop us to vnderstond opynli in his Holi Gospell, and he praid his lord respit and day of his dette as he that had not wherof to yeld þat dette, but onli for he trustid hilie on the goodnes and on the grette curtaci and on þe merci of his
25 lord. And þan anon ryzt, had pite of hym his lord, and foryaffe hym al þat det. By this kyng is vnderstond oure Lord Ihesu, þat is Kyng of kynges, as sayth

1 *Dimitte*] *small d visible in the space left blank for a large initial* 13 *go* followed by to the lond, *expunged*

1–3 *Dimitte . . . tenebrarum*: Job 10:20–22, the theme of this sermon-treatise. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia* 9.62.93–66.106 (CCL 143:522–33).

6–7 he had . . . euell: Job 2:3.

20–25 as he . . . det: see Mt 18:23–27.

26 Kyng of kynges: 1 Tim 6:15.

21 *besauntes n.*, gold coins; see *OED bezant*, 1 (“[u]sed by Wyclif to translate both the Latin words *talentum* and *drachma*”).

the apostle to Thimothe, to whom we be al dettours and in pref, þerof we say euery day in oure Pater Noster: *Et dimitte nobis debita nostra*, that is to sey, “Foryeffe vs oure dettes.”

- 30 “Then semyth it hereby that synne is no dette,” seyst þu, “ayenst God, but al goodnes that we haueth of God is his dette, forwhi,” seyst þu, “al þe goodnes þat we haue be of his loone and lenyng and of his yefte. And al euellis comyth of vs self,” and þerfor semyth to þe that þey be oure propre catell. As to þis, Y onswere þus: “Al that euer we haueþ is (not) det to God saue onli
35 synn.” And Y | praye þe, see how. Suppose þat Y be a baillif to a grete man and he betakyþ me his moneye to dispende in his seruise. Yf Y dispend hit in his seruise as (he) comaundeþ me and after his will, Y ne am nat þerof dettoure to hym. But yf Y take the monye which Y sholde dispende in his seruise and Y dispende hit elleswhare at my will, and nat at his, forsoþe þerof Y am
40 dettoure to hym. Ryȝt so, broþer, and in þat same manere haþ God taken vs meny graces, meny vertues and meny goodnesses to disspende hem at his wille; and when þu dispendist hem at his wille, þu arte bounden to thonke hym þerof, but nat as dette. And yf þu dispendist hit at þy wille ayenst his will, þat is ayenst Goddes wille, þen þerof þu shalt answeere hym as of dette,
45 and þat dett is noȝt elles but synne. Now seest þu wel þat synne is dette ayenst God.

- But ho woot how mych he is in dette ayenst oure Maker God of such dett? Sothly, no man. And þerfore owe (we) gretly forto drede þat we be gretly in dette to hym. But for as mych as he ys so debonere þat haue we neuer so
50 mych ne so ofte y-synnyd þat if we with verray repentance crye hym mercy, he woll forȝeue vs anon. And in what blessed maner he forȝeuet þe, Y pray þe? He forȝeueþ to þe verray repentaunt his synne, so þat he woll forȝete hit, neuer to venge, ne to punysshē hit, ne to shame vs, ne yet ferthermore þe deuell shal neuer þerof accuse vs. See þen who wolde or couþe more grace

28 Et . . . nostra *not underlined* 44 þu *smudged* 50 we *followed by be, expunged*
51 blessed maner] maner blessed MS, *with inversion marks* 52 repentaunt *followed by s,*
deleted 53 punysshē] punyssche MS, *with c expunged*

28 *Et . . . nostra*: Mt 6:12.

53–54 þe deuell . . . vs: see Apoc 12:10.

27 *pref n.*, proof; see *MED preve*.

32 *loone n.*, “a gift or grant from a superior”; see *OED loan*, 1, 1 (this form is recorded as a variant); also *MED lon(e)* (1). *lenynge ger.*, giving, granting; see *MED lenen* (3).

51 *forȝeuet*; the *-et* ending for the third person singular, present tense, appears four times in this text: fol. 43r, *angusshet*, *deuouret*, *deȝȝet*; for the past participle, once: fol. 39v, *abasshet*.

55 aske. For of his benyngnyte he askep no more of vs butt verry repentaunce.
 And þis goodnesse he shewiþ ofte when we prayþ hym forȝefnesse of oure
 synnes. For he is redyer to forȝeue þan we beþ forto aske forȝefnesse. And as
 hard he woll be to hem þat woll not repent here now in þis lyfe while tyme ys
 of mercy. For happily when þei wene best to fynde mercy, he woll not mete
 60 hem. And herof may men fynd ensamples at grete plente. Neuerpeles, on
 among oþer Y woll tell, as Seynt Gregor telleþ in þe ferþe boke of Dyalogus.

Narracio. Ther was a riche man in þe cyte of Rome þat was clepid Crisau-
 rius and he was wonder rich and full proude as a lyoun, and to haue oþer
 65 mennes good, ful coueitous, and as to þe gouernayle of his body, full deli-
 cious. But when þe houre of his depþ was comen, he saw stande before hym
 full hidows and horrible deuelis þat hastyd hem gretly to rauyssh his sowle
 and bere hit into hell. And þenn he bygan to quake, to waxe paal and to swete
 and to crye with an hye voys, "Respit! Respit!" And clepid his sone Maxime,
 "Maxyme! Pray, pray! And halde me in thy bileue!" And þen Maxyme his
 70 sone cam rennyng, and al þe meyne of þe hous, sore abasshet and sore dred-
 inge and sychyng, but þey sawe non of pilke wyked spirites. But euer as he
 lay, he turnyd into þat on side of his bed and eft into þat oþer for drede of þat
 syȝt, and into what syde euer he turned hym, alwey thay stode before hym.
 And so gret affray of þat horrible syȝt he hadde þat welny for fere he dyed.
 75 And whenn he saw þat hit wold non oþer wyse be, þen bigan he to crye pi-
 tously, "Respit! Respit, til to morowe! Respit forto morowe!" And anon the
 wikked spirites þat of no creature haueth pyte drew owte cruelych his sowle
 of the bodye, berynge hit into helle.

Se now, if þese wolde haue cryed God mercy by his lyue, he myȝt haue 40r
 80 founden ful good mercy. Bute, for he wolde nat when he myȝt, he sholde nat

62 Narracio (*here and in later pages*) in the margin 78 helle also appears further to the
 right of the line, apparently to show the end of the part of the text to be supplied by the
 rewritten folio

58–59 here . . . mercy: see 2 Cor 6:2.

61–78 Seynt Gregor . . . helle: see Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 4.40.6–8 (ed. Adalbert de
 Vogüé and Paul Antin, 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes 251, 260, 265 [Paris, 1978–80], 3:142–45);
Hom. in Evangelia 12.7 (CCL 141:87–88); cf. Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A*
Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales, FF Communications, 204 (Helsinki, 1969), no. 1050.

59 happily *adv.*, in the course of event; see *MED* *happili*.

64–65 delicious *adj.*, loving luxury; sensual; see *MED* *delicious*, 2.

70 meyne *n.*, household; see *MED* *meine*, 1.(a).

71 sychyng *pres.p.*, sighing; see *MED* *siken*, v.(2).

74 welny *adv.*, very nearly, almost wholly; see *MED* *wel-neigh*, 2.

when he wolde. And certes, of verey riȝt. For if þe kyng of Engelond profred
 now a þousand mark to a pore man þat hadde gret nede þerto, and he refuseth
 hem ones, twyes, þries and meny sides, and fro day to day, and þe kyng þerof
 displeid, withdrawith hym þerof and ȝyueþ hem elleswhere; and þen after
 85 comeþ he þat refused and prayeþ þat forseid money of þe kyng egreliche and
 þe kyng putteþ hym a deaf eere and wul nat hure hym as he þat hadde
 chaungid his wil and so he þat refused þe kynges profre went his wey and bar
 nouȝt þerof with hym. Trewliche riȝt so hit is of oure Lord God of heuene
 and of euereche of vs. Alle we beþ wonder nedy of his grace. And he profreth
 90 hit to vs euery day, and we wul nat receyue hit. And whi? Trewly, for þe ves-
 sel þat shal receyue and holde withynne hym so precious a þyng as þat is
 byhouyþ to be good and fair. And þat vessel, Y telle þe, is þe herte of man,
 þat sholde euere be clene by chastite, and nouȝt onlyche in wil but also in
 þouȝt, and nat foul ne vileyns, fore foule þouȝtes disturbeþ ofte meny good-
 95 nesses in a mannes sowle, as þu maist hure here by ensample.

Narracio. Hit bifel in a tyme þat a man of religion honoured and loued our
 Lady Seynte Marie and deuouteliche saluwed hire, gretynge hure with *Aue*
Maries. Bute euermore continuely in seyȝyng of hem, þer felle in his þouȝt
 þikke ymagynacions and affeccions of lecherie, þat þow he seyde hem by
 100 mouþe, his herte was away fro hure. And þen hit happed þat oure Lady Seynte
 Marie ne wolde nat þat hir seruant sholde lese his meryt. As he was seyȝyng
 his Auees, he fel in slepyng with þenchyng suche foule þouȝtes forseid. And
 as he slepte, our Lady Marye, as hym semede, heeld in hure hond a disshe,
 and in þe disshe þe faireste mossels of þe fairest flesh of þe wordle and most
 105 delicious, and þei sauoured so swetly þat merueile was to wite hit. Bute þe
 disshe was so foul withynne and so stynkyng þat hit was gret abhominacion to
 loke þerynne. And hym þouȝte þat he was so hungry þat he myȝte haue y-ete

83 ones followed by a deleted letter and¹ followed by in, expunged 91 and holde
 in the left margin with a caret 97 deuouteliche faded

90–91 þe vessel . . . is: see 2 Cor 4:7.

96–117 Hit . . . þerto: see Tubach, *Index*, nos. 2108 and 3077; and *Fasciculus Morum*
 1.1.38–43 (part, section, and line numbers) and the note on p. 37 of Wenzel's edition.

83 sides *n.*, times; see *MED sith*, 4.(d).

85 egreliche *adv.*, insistently; see *MED egreli*, 2.(b).

86 hure *inf.*, hear; this text also contains the forms such as *here* and *herest*.

93 nouȝt; see *MED nought*, *pron.*, where *nouȝ* is recorded as an error.

103 heeld 3 *sg. pt.*, held; see *OED hold* for this variant.

104 mossels *n.*, morsels; see *MED morsel*.

110 þe erthe, and for verey hunger hym þouȝte he wolde fayn haue y-ete þerof, ne hadde be þe stencþe þerof. And þen seyde our Lady, "Tak of þese mossels þat beþ so goode and faire, and eet." "A, my Lady," seide he, "mercy! Y may nat taste of hem þow Y sholde deȝȝe." "And whi?" seide our Lady, "Is nat þe mete good and fair and sauory?" "Lady," seide þe monk, "ȝes, but ych haue so gret abhominacion of þe disshe þat is so foul and stynkyng withynne þat Y may nat þerof." "Noo, fair frend," quað our Lady, "hit is no merueyle. These mossels beþ thilke swete Auees whuche þu gretist me with so ofte. And þilke disshe is þi foul herte, þat is so foul and so stynkyng þat of alle þese Auees þ(u) hast seide, my dere sone, ne yche ne takeþ no regard þerto."

But now forþward lift vp þyn hertes | and make hit and þi þouȝtes clene 40v
and sey þyn Auees more deuoutly. And forþermore þis vessel, þat is þyn
120 herte, ne shal nat only be clene of filthe, but hit shal be deep downward by veray humylite to receyue þe more of þis precious licour, þat is þe grace of God, as was þe herte of þe blessid Mayden, oure Lady Seynte Marie, and so deep by verey humylite þat hit mowe neuere be filled vnto þe tyme þat body and soule be plenerly fulfilled with al manere grace, as she was by þe arkan-
125 gel Gabriel seyȝyng to hure þus: *Aue Maria gracia plena etc.*, þat is, "Hayl Marie, ful of grace, our Lord is with þe." Wherefore, dere broþer, if þu desire þe grace of God, appare þyn herte to verey humilite, for þe more þu hast of meknesse, þe more þu receyuyst of grace, as seyþ Seynt Iame þe apostel, "To meke men God ȝeueþ grace."

130 And þis vertue is clepid þe vertue of Ihesu Crist, as seyþ Seynt Paul, "Þat þe vertue of Crist mowe dwelle in me." "Þat is humilite," seiþ þe glose. "Gladly," seyþ Seynt Paul, "Y shal ioȝe in alle myne diseses þat þe vertue of Crist may dwelle in me." "And þat is humilite," seiþ he. Then he þat is ful of

117 þu] þⁱ MS 131 þat . . . glose *underlined*

116 disshe . . . herte: cf. Mc 7:20–23, Is 52:11; *Fasciculus Morum* 7.14.7–8, where a lecher is called a dish for demons.

125 *Aue . . . plena*: Lc 1:28.

128–29 To . . . grace: Jac 4:6.

130–31 þat þe . . . me: 2 Cor 12:9.

131 þat is humilite: see Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* 9.25 (ed. J. Leclercq et al., *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols. [Rome, 1957–77], 3:36).

132–33 Gladly . . . me: 2 Cor 12:9.

133 seyþ he: i.e., St. Bernard (cf. l. 131).

133–35 Then . . . vertues: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gradibus* 9.25 (*Opera* 3:36).

127 appare *impv.*, prepare; see *MED* ap(p)areil(l)en.

135 alle manere vertues, of þes only vertue ioye he as of þe principal, seyþ Seynt
Bernard, and souerayne of alle oþer vertues, as þe Gospell of Matheu makeþ
mencion þat God seide þus: "Lerneþ of me, for Y am mylde and meek of
herte." And for our Lord so mekid hym in erthe, God þe fader hyȝed hym in
140 heuene aboue alle oþer creatures. And on þat same soul vertue of humilite, þe
swete lady of paradys, Goddes moder of heuene, reioysed hireof, as seyþ
Seynt Bernard in þis manere how our Lady seyde: "For als myche as God haþ
seyzen þe meknesse of his handmayde, þerof alle nacions shal blesse me,"
and hervpon seyþ Seynt Luc þe euuangelist.

How dar fro hennesforþward eny man or womman in þe wordle, and namly
of religion, be oþer þan mek, and þat with al her herte, þat hereþ how God
145 hymself and his blessid moder so loued and preysid þat vertue tofore alle oþer,
and withowte whuche þer may non come in heuene? And so seyþ our Lord
Ihesu Crist hymself to his disciples þat saw þo somme suche. "Sothly," seid
Crist, "Y sey ȝow, ȝif ȝe turne ȝow nat," þat is to seye, from pride, "and if ȝe
bycome nat riȝt litel," þat is to seye, meek, "ȝe shal neuere come in heuene."
150 And also, so God me helpe, þer is a hard word in þe Gospel of Seynt
Ma(t)heu, and gretly to drede, and seiþ þus: "Ful meny þer beþ clepid, but
fewe þer beþ sauēd."

And þerfore, dere broþer, shal we do as Holi Writ techēþ vs þat seiþ þus.
For as myche as pride shewith hym in meny maneres as now in port, now in
155 speche, now in loking and oþer diuerse maneres, þerfore þat pride haue non
entre in vs, withstonde we hym and put we hym abak with þe help of God by
verrey meknesse. For þat is þe openyst sygne of saluacion, | and so seiþ 41r
Seynt Gregorius. And þen þe contrarie, þe openyst sygne of dampnacion is

141 þerof followed by al l, deleted

136-37 Lerneþ . . . herte: Mt 11:29.

137-38 And for . . . creatures: see Phil 2:5-11.

139-41 as seyþ . . . me: see Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica canticorum* 57.2 (*Opera* 2:120).

140-41 For . . . me: Lc 1:48.

147-49 Sothly . . . heuene: Mt 18:3.

151-52 Ful . . . sauēd: Mt 20:16 and 22:14, which is repeatedly cited in Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 19.5 and 38.14, for example, as *terribile* and *tremendum* (CCL 141:148 and 373).

157-58 For . . . Gregorius: see Gregory the Great, *Moralia* 34.23.56 (CCL 143B:1772); cf. *Jacob's Well: An English Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience*, ed. Arthur Brandeis,

157 sygne *n.*, sign; see *MED* *signe* for this variant.

- 160 forto be proud. And þerfore seyþ Seynt Ion with þe gilden mouthe þer shal
 neuere Goddis children and þe deueles be cnowen but by meknesse and by
 pride. Then þus þulke þat þu seest proud, whateuere he be, haue þu no doute
 but þat he is þe deueles child. And he þat þu seest meek, trist þu trewliche þat
 he is Goddis child, nat by kynde, but by grace and liknesse, for þe child is lik
 to þe fader gostly, and so seiþ Seynt Austyn in an Omelie þat he made. The
 165 meeke shullen alle be y-hyzed an hy in ioie euerlastyng with Goddes sone þat
 so vereily meked hem þat hy myzt, as God seiþ in þe Gospel: *Qui se humiliat
 exaltabitur*, þat is, "He þat mekeþ hym shal be y-heyzed," 3e, trewly into þe
 forseid ioie. Bute þe proude shal be abeysshed and abatid riȝt foule and depe
 into þe wellyng put of helle in euerlastyng peynes with hym þat so proudly
 170 enhanced hymself þat he myzte nomore. Wherof spekeþ Isaye þe prophete
 þus: "Þu Lucifere, howe fel þu doun fro heuene þat seidest in þyn herte þus: 'I
 shal stye vp into heuene and shal sette my trone aboue þe sterres of heuene
 and aboue þe heyzte of cloudes and Y shal be liche to hym þat is alþer-
 hyzest.'" Sothly seide Isaye þat shal he nat, bute he shal be to-drawe, "and
 175 cast adoun into þe deppest put of helle with þi pride! And for þi pride, þu shalt
 haue strawed vnder þe, venymos vermyne and aboue þe, al manere vermyne."
 Se now, Y praye þe, dere broþer, þe place for proude men, þe quyltes and þe
 couertoures þat beþ ordenyd for hem fro þe bygynnyng of þe wordle. Now
 mayst þu chese whuche þe likeþ better, or forto halde þe lowe, litel and vil by

162 þu¹ inserted above the line 168 forseid followed by oie, deleted

EETS OS 115 (Oxford, 1900), 75–76, where pride and charity are contrasted as the "most opyn signes" of those who shall be damned and saved; the attribution there is to Augustine.

159 Seynt Ion . . . mouthe: the source of the following reference to John Chrysostom has not been located.

164 Seynt Austyn . . . made: no source material has been located.

166–67 *Qui . . . exaltabitur*: Mt 23:12; Lc 14:11, 18:14.

168 þe proud . . . abeysshed: Mt 23:12; Lc 14:11, 18:14.

171–76 Þu Lucifere . . . vermyne: Is 14:12–15, 11. Is 14:11 is cited in *The Parson's Tale* (X.198): "under hem shul been strawed motthes, and hire covertures shulle been of wormes of helle."

166 **hy**; *hy* for "they" appears twice in this text; *hi* once.

169 **wellyng** *v.adj.*, boiling; see *MED wellen*, 2. **put** *n.*, pit; hell; see *MED pit*.

174 **to-drawe** *p.p.*, dragged about, *MED todrauen*, 3.

176 **strawed** *p.p.*, modifying *venymos vermyne* and *al manere vermyne* (of bedding) spread, laid out; see *MED streuen*, 3 and 4.

178 **couertoures** *adj.*, covering for a bed; see *MED coverture*; here it refers to the preceding biblical quotation.

180 meknesse in þis wordle, and be enhanced an hy with God in þat oþer lif, or to
halde þe hy hautein, bold and proud here with mystryst, and be þrowe adoun
with þe deuel withowten ende in þat oþer lif.

“Se þen,” seiþ our Lord God by þe prophete Ieremye, “I sette here bifore
30w þe wey of deþ and þe wey of lif.” þe wey of lif is meknesse. þe wey of
185 deþ is pride and vanite. And wult þu wyte when þu art entred into þe wey of
lif, þat is meknesse? If þu maist suffre in þyn herte þat men mysseye þe,
mysdo þe, despise þe, telle litel of þe or nouȝt, and ert nat yuel willed perfore,
ne vengest þe nat, þow þu be of power, þen mayst (þu) triste sikerliche þat þu
art entred into þe wey of þe lif of Ihesu Crist. For of hem þat beþ in þat oþer
190 wey seyþ our Lord by þe prophete Isaye: “Also myche as heuene is enhanced
fro þe erthe, so myche beþ my weyes chaunged fro ȝoure weyes.” But þe erþe
is so fer fro heuene þat þer is non ende, ȝet is þe proude man ferþer fro God,
and namliche þo þat wul nat ne mowe nat bowe her herte to her neyȝhebore
with meknesse, for þey beþ merkid in þe deuels merke as Y may telle a tale of
195 þe lif of Seynt Oweyn, þe bisshop, | þat in a tyme þer cam to his ȝat þe fairest
bacheler of þe wordle, gret of stature, fair and whit shynyng—his peer of fair-
nesse had nat be seyȝen in erthe—and seide his message to þe porter þat he
was withowte seruise and gladly wolde serue in what seruise euere man wolde
in þe wordle. Bis porter cam to his lord and tolde hym þis mannes message
200 and discryued and comendid gretly to his lord þe beaute of þis man. þen seide
þe bisshop, “Do hym come yn byfore me.” He entrid and cam in byfore þe
lord and hym liked wel his persone and (he) withheld hym in his seruise and
put hym in diuerse seruises. And in euery seruise he dide so wel, so sone and
so parfitly þat merueile hit was to wite hit, forte at þe laste þe lord maked hym

183 *Se followed by þe, deleted* 184 *is followed by hi, deleted* 187 *þe³ inserted*
above the line with a caret 193 *neyȝhebore followed by p, deleted* 195 *at bottom*
right, vita has been added by a later hand 198 *man followed by wordl, deleted*
204 *þat blotted and written again above the line with a caret*

183-84 *Se . . . lif¹: Jer 21:8.*

190-91 *Also . . . weyes²: Is 55:9.*

194-242 *a tale of þe lif of Seynt Oweyn . . . vanysshed away: cf. Tubach, Index, no. 155.*

202 *he: i.e., St. Oweyn, the lord.*

181 *hautein adj., haughty, proud; see MED hautein.*

187 *ert 2 sg. pres., art; this is the only instance in the text.*

195 *ȝat n., gate; see MED gate, n (1).*

202 *persone n., appearance; see MED persoun(e, n.(1), 2.*

204 *forte conj., until; see MED forto.*

- 205 his pryue chamberleyn. And þer was neuere þe hour ne þe tyme þat þere eny
seruise sholde <be> do, þat he ne was redy and parfourned hit withowte de-
faute. And þus he serued hym an two 3er. Then hit happed þat þe bisshop aros
hym vp in a nyzt as priuely and as softe as he couþe or myzte, for he wolde
þat noon had wyst hit, and wente into an herber to praye, for þe weder was
210 mylde and cler þat hit was ioye to se hit. And he biheld þe mone and þe ster-
res and bigan to syche sore and seyde þus: "A Lord God, þer is gret beaute
þere withynne, when þis is so fair withowte." And his chamberleyn stod bi-
sides hym and answerid hym and seyde, "Bifore þat þe mone or þe sterres wer
maked, ych was þerynne." And þe bisshop, meruelyng of þat word, seide, "I
215 comaunde þe in <þe> name of þe Fader and of þe Sone and of þe Holy Gost
þat þu telle me what þu art and whi þu art comen hider." And he seide, "Now
þu hast coniured me þus, Y moot nedes telle þe. I am he þat fel down fro he-
uene for my pryde, þat men clepiþ Lucifer. And I wot wel," seide he, "þat þu
art so goode a man in þe siȝt of God and of so gret meryt þat whateuere þu
220 aske and praye God, anon þu art herd. And ouer al þyng Y coueite to be saued
and come to amendement to gete aȝen þat ioye. And Y wot in no manere how
Y may come þerto but bi þy prayers. And þerfore Y deuysed me in liknesse of
a man to serue þe, ȝif Y myzte þerby eny grace haue, þat þu woldest helpe me
toward God þat Y were sauȝd. And now Y praye þe rewarde me for my ser-
225 uyse." And so longe he prayed and cryed vpon þe bisshop þat he hadde gret
pite of hym and seide þat þer sholde no creature of Goddes perisshe, ȝif he
wolde be verey repentaunt. And þen he seide to þe deuel, "Wult þu with a
good wille do penaunce þat shal be enioyned <to> þe for þi synnes?" And þe
deuel seyde, "Ȝe, forsothe, Y wul do al þe penaunce þat eny man kan speke of
230 or deuysen so þat Y may come to mercy." And þen þat holy man prayed God
longe with gret deuocion þat as he was God ful of mercy þat he wolde haue
mercy on hym, | and þat he myzt haue penaunce. And þer come a voys to hym 42r
so prayng and seide, "Thi prayer is herd and þe penaunce þat þu shalt ordeyne
hym nedep nat to be long. Bid hym only þat he meke hym to God and crye
235 hym mercy, and God wul forȝyue hit anon. So gret is his mercy." And when
Seynt Oweyn herde þis, he hadde þerof gret ioye and þankid God þerof and
bigan to stande on his feet and seyde to þe deuel, "Now is þi nede sped so þat
þu do on litel þyng. Þe mercy of our Lord is so gret he wul no more of þe for

210 was inserted in the right margin in different ink

215 in inserted above the line in different ink

207 *an prep.*, during the course of (a period of time); see *MED on, prep.*, 18(c).

209 *herber n.*, arbor, or a (herb) garden; see *MED herber, n.* (1) .

alle þi synnes but þat þu meke þe to hym and crye hym mercy and þu shalt
 240 haue mercy." "What?" seide þe deuēl, "Sholde Y meke to hym and crye hym
 mercy? Pat shal Y neuere do for nouȝt þat euere he can do." And with þat he
 vanysshed away.

Alas, alas, so meny of his disciples ben in holi churchē in þese daies þat
 wul nat bowe hem by meknesse þat beþ lugged to hym in peyne for he set his
 245 merke on hem and in her hertes, þe whuche merke is þis word, pride. Of þat
 merke he delyuere vs þat <on> þe croys on his bar body for oure synnes was
 merkid; and of þe merk of mekness(e), wherwith alle his chosen beþ merkid!
 Whoso euere bereþ þat merke, he may be sur þat þe deuēl ne haþ no power on
 hym, as me may fynde writen in þe lif of Seynt Antony þat our Lord God in a
 250 tyme shewid hym þe shap of al þe wordle, and he say þat al was ful of þe
 deueles grynes and so þikke entrelaced þat no man myȝt eschape vntaken fro
 þe enemy, and he bigan to siche and pitously pleyne and seide to our Lord:
 "A, Lord," he seide, "ho myȝt eschape fro þese grynes and þes deceytes vn-
 taken?" And þer cam a vois fro heuene and seide, "Sothly nopyng but mek-
 255 nesse." Se þen, broþer, þe vertue of meknesse, þat þe deuēl may non entre
 haue in hem þat beþ meke, ne power.

But anon as a man turneþ to pride, anon þe deuēl set chalenge on hym as
 in his owen seruānt. For he is kyng of alle proude. And so seyþ our Lord in þe
 book þat is clepid Iob. And þat God hateþ pride and loueþ meknesse, hit is
 260 wel shewid in þe þridde Book of Kynges where þat our Lord sende by his
 prophete Helye to Acab þe wikked kyng of Israel þat if he sholde deye in
 town or in cite, þen howndes sholde eten his body, and if he sholde deye in þe

246 on¹] in MS 247 of þe merk of meknesse inserted in the right margin with an
 obelus; at the edge, the letter e is not visible 261 if written in the right margin with marks
 for insertion 262 cite followed by þat, deleted

249-55 þe lif of Seynt Antony . . . meknesse: see Tubach, *Index*, no. 284; *Vitae patrum*
 3.129 (PL 73:785); Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* 21, ed. T. Graesse (1890; rpt. Osnab-
 rüch, 1969), 104-8.

258-59 he . . . Iob: see Job 41:25.

260-70 our Lord . . . for me: 3 Reg 21:24-29.

243-44 **his** and **he** in this sentence refer to the devil.

244 **lugged** *p.p.*, dragged; see *MED lugen*, *v.*

249 **me** *pron. indef.*, one, a person; see *MED me, pron. (1)*.

250 **say** 3 *sg. pt.*, saw; see *MED sen*, *v. (1)* for this variant.

251 **grynes** *n.*, snares, temptations; see *MED grin(e)*.

255 **se** *impv.*, pay attention to; see *MED sen*, *v. (1)*, 23.(b).

feld, þen briddes sholden ete his body, for he was so wikked þat hit wolde be
 ful longe to telle hit. And þerfore God was wroth azenst hym and manassed
 265 hym so. And as sone as he herde þat manace, he shamed hym gretly and for
 sorwe to-tar his robe and tok vpon hym an heyr and lyued in prayers and
 fastyng, lowyng hym to þe erthe and was of sory chere. And when our Lord
 saw his meknesse, he seide to Helye, "Hast þu seyen how Acab haþ mekid
 270 hym? I sey þe soþly for he haþ mekid hym tofore me, he shal neuere in his
 dayes haue harm for me." And anon after, he was fals and wikked in alle his
 dedes, and leste his meknesse and his penaunce, and fel azen to synne, and so
 fel of hym. He withdrow his meknes, and God his byheste. | Then seiþ Seynt 42v
 Gregor vpon þis wordes þus: "Bithenke we vs. Bithenke we how God is ple-
 sid of his chosen þat mekeþ hem by penaunce for her synnes and dredeþ her
 275 God when he was so plesid of þe penaunce of a reproued man þat God knew
 to be dampned, þat dradde to lese þe wordle." Muche more þen hit plesip God
 þe meknesse of his chosen when he was so gretly plesid of so litel and fals
 meknesse in hym þat he knew dampnable for euere.

Here hast þu herd, dere broþer, how God pynyssheþ proude men and loueþ
 280 meke men. Then be we mek for þe loue of hym þat was oure ensampler of
 verrey meknesse. Whenne he was byfore his disciples at his bord, he seruyd
 hem at her mete as þow he hadde be her hyred seruaunt and seide hem in þis
 manere: "Wheþer is he gretter þat sitteþ at mete and is serued oþer he þat
 standeþ byfore and serueþ?" And þei seide, "He þat sitteþ and is serued."
 285 "And ych am among 3ow as he þat serueþ," wilnyng þerby to shewe þat he
 was lest of hem by verrey humilite and meknesse. And ferther 3et to shewe
 hem gretter ensample of gretter meknesse in anoþer day when he ros fro þe
 table, he sette hym on his knees byfore his disciples and wysshe her feet,
 bygynnyng first at Iudas his tretour, and, as Seint Ion Crisostomus seyþ, his

288 hym *inserted in the right margin in different ink*

273–76 Bithenk . . . wordle: Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihalem prophetam*
 1.10.44, ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 142 (Turnhout, 1971), 166–67.

283–85 Wheþer . . . serueþ: Lc 22:27.

287–89 when . . . tretour: Jo 13:3–11.

264 **manassed** 3 sg. pt., threatened; see *MED manacen*.

266 **heyr** n., hair shirt; see *MED her(e, n.2)*.

271 **leste** 3 sg. pt., lost; see *MED lesen, v.(4)*.

280 **ensampler** n., divine exemplar; model; see *MED ensaampler*.

288 **wysshe** 3 sg. pt., washed; see *MED washen* for this variant; *wysshe* for 3 sg. pt. occurs
 again in fol. 45r.

290 mortel enemy, to 3eue vs ensample to meky vs as wel to our enemy as to oure
frend. Who þen is so deceyuyd and so mad þat bi pride wul do þe contrarie of
þis meknesse þat God hymself haþ shewid vs? For if God nadde nat shewid
þis wey, þe proude man hadde be lost withowten ende, and so seyþ Seynt
Iohn Crisostome, and þis wey is meknesse.

295 But Seynt Austyn seiþ hit is gret meruaile how a man may be proud, þat
wul wel biholde his estat. Fore the wrecche, he seiþ, is norissed in his moder
wombe of corrupt blod, y-bore in sorwe—he lyueþ in trauail, he deyeþ in
wepynges, and if he ne be kepid with grace, þe deueles wul haue his soule,
and wel þe wrecche wot þat wormes shal gnawe his body. And ho so by-
300 þouzte hym heron, he shulde fynde gret matere to meke hymself. And Seynt
Gregor seiþ þat nopyng meuyþ more mannes herte to meknesse þan to þenke
what is flessch shal be when he is ded. Then ho so wolde withdrawe and close
alle his wittes fro alle foreyn þynges and loke wel with his ynner eyze of his
herte, and þat ofte, how he haþ lyued and dispendid his tyme, alle þe houres,
305 alle þe places and al his doynges and principally his ende, how þat his body
(wul be) þat he haþ so mychel loued and chyrrished when hit liþ stif streyzt
owt and his tunge bigynneþ to shorty so þat he may nat wel speke, and his
faire eyzen bygynneþ to synke into þe hed þat he may nat wel se, his face and
his leeres bygynnyþ to pale, and his fair colour vanyshe away, and his wittes
310 and membres | bygynneþ to deye and her vertues faile. Þe deþ angusshet hym, 43r

300 gret followed by mak, deleted

289–294 Seint . . . Chrisostome: see John Chrysostom, *Homilies on St. John* 71 (PG 59:385–90).

295–299 Seynt Austyn . . . body: this refers to the Ps.-Bernardian *Meditationes Piissimae de cognitione humanae conditionis* 3.7 (PL 184:490), a work that was often attributed to Augustine in the later Middle Ages; see Takami Matsuda, “The Reception and Influence of Ps.-Bernardine *Meditationes Piissimae* in Middle English,” in *The Medieval Translator*, ed. Roger Ellis, René Tixier and Bernd Weitemeier, vol. 6, Proceedings of the International Conference of Göttingen (22–25 July 1996) (Brepols, 1998), 285–305; cf. Ps 50:7.

300–301 Seynt Gregor seiþ: *Fasciculus Morum* also refers to Gregory in a similar context, guiding the reader to remember the frailty and mutability of the life in this world in order to reach true humility (1.12.6 ff.); the edition, however, cites Innocent III, *De miseria* 1.2, “De vilitate materie.”

290 meky *inf.*, become humble; see *MED meken*. Infinives ending with -y are characteristic of this manuscript, e.g., *shorty* (42v), *distressy* (43r), *sorwy* (49r) and *floury* (49v).

303 foreyn *adj.*, outward; see *MED forein*, 3.(c).

309 leeres *n.pl.*, cheeks, face; see *MED ler*.

310 vertues *n.pl.*, physical abilities; see *MED vertu*, 2.

hastyng faste to hymward. þe lif fleep away þat may no lenger abyde. þe herte
to-breketh and þe soule goop owt and wot in þe wordle whuder he may. The
body men putteþ in þe erthe, be he neuere so gret of burthe, wherof engendreþ
wormes þat etyþ and deuoreþ þe wrecchid body, leuyng no lyme þat hi ne
315 wastep al withynne and withowte, and so faste waxep and encrescit þe wor-
mes of his corrupcion þat þer ne leueþ but multitude of worms. And when þis
feste is endid and nothyng left but bones, þen comeþ owt of þe chyne as
somme clerkes seiþ—somme seyþ of þe brayne—a gret blak hidous toode,
and etip and deuouret al þat vermyne, lasse and more, and when he hap hald
320 his feste, þen deyzet he.

Now hast þu herd an ende of þe body, go we now to þe soule. When þe
soule shal departe fro þe body, hidous and horrible deuels comeþ aboute hit so
egre and so hungry—more rauynous þan eny lyon, more brennyng þan eny
dragon, more cacchyng þan eny faucon or sperhawk oþer merlyon to take þe
325 soule. When hit comeþ owt, ne were þe grete mercy of oure Lord Ihesu Crist,
as Seynt Gregor openly seyþ, and euer þei awayteþ whuderward hit drawith to
rauysse hit. This is as soþ as þe Gospel, for so telleþ þat holy man in his O-
melye vpon Luc: *Circumdabunt et coangustabunt te vndique*, “Thei shal come
al abowte þe and þei shal distressy þe in euer-syde.” And þese beþ þe wordes
330 of our Lord Ihesu Crist hymself in þe Gospel. And vpon þis word seiþ Seynt
Gregor þus: “There þe deuels distressiþ þe soule on euery part, when þei re-
cordeþ alle his synnes, boþe þouzt, word and dede, in þe departyng of þe
soule fro þe body to drawe hit with hem” to þe peynes of helle. And þis þei do
to holy soules as wel as to oþer, for alle we synneþ in þouzt, in word or in
335 dede. And þerfore we shulde þenke how horrible and how egreliche he shal
come to vs at our depday, siþþe he cam to Crist hymself when he deied on þe
cros in his manhed, sechyng 3if auzt were þere longyng to hym, as Crist seiþ

312 to-brekethe followed by þe soule, expunged 318 clerkes followed by clerkes,
expunged 334 to¹ inserted above the line, blotted, and repeated in different ink in the right
margin with marks for insertion

325–33 When . . . hem: Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 39.4 (CCL 141:384); the en-
tire homily (379–92) is on Luke 19:41–47. Cf. *Moralia* 18.13.20 (CCL 143A:898–99).

328 *Circumdabunt . . . vndique*: Lc 19:43.

334–35 for . . . dede: Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 39.8 (CCL 141:388–89); cf. Ps
142:2, Eccli 7:21, 1 Jo 1:8, Jac 3:2.

323 **egre** *adj.*, fierce; see *MED egre*.

324 **merlyon** *n.*, a small falcon, the merlin; see *MED merlioun*.

329 **distressy** *inf.*, harass, attack; see *MED distressen*.

hymself in þe Gospel: *Venit enim princeps mundi huius, et in me non habet quicquam*, þat is to seye, “The prince of þis wordle, þat is þe deuēl, cam to me.” And ho wolde haue trowed or preched þat if Seynt Gregor and oþer
 340 seyntes þat were enspired of þe Holy Gost ne had seid hit? “And what shal we sey and what shal we do, wrecches, þat haueþ so gretly synned? What shal we answer to our enemy at our deþ day?” And we may nat aȝen-seye þat we ne haueþ mychel of his. Lord God, what shal we do, what, saue þat we be mem-
 345 bres of Ihesu Crist by vertue of his passion, and so we may by his mercy eschape, and elles nat? Be we þen membres of Ihesu Crist by verrey meknesse, founded in charite | into owre ende and þen may we hardily receyue þe 43v
 deþ.

And so he com to Seynt Martyn, þere he sholde deye. And þat holy man
 350 saw þe fend stonde byfore hym and seide, “What stondeþ þu þare, cruwel best? Þu ne shalt fynde in me eny þyng þat longeþ ne aperteneþ to þe.” And ȝet lefte nat þe fend to pursue after with gret noyse when he was ded, with gret multitude of fendes, and mette an hyȝ in þe eyr with angels beryng his holy soule to heueneward, and wolde haue rauysshed hit fro þe angels. But he
 355 saw þere þe soule quyt and clene of synne, and wente away confus. For þis tale telliþ vs Seynt Seueryn þe Erchebisshop of Coloyne, here maist þu se, broþer, what violence þe fend doþ to seyntes when þe soule parteþ fro þe

345 mercy followed by eche, deleted 351 þyng inserted in the right margin, in different ink, with a caret 352 noyse inserted in the right margin, in different ink (following gret at the end of the line) 355 þis followed by telleþ, expunged

338–39 *Venit . . . quicquam*: Jo 14:30.

341–43 And . . . day: Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 39.9 (CCL 141:389).

349–58 he com . . . body: cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Epistolae tres*, ed. C. Halm, CSEL 1 (Vienna, 1866), 138–51. According to the third letter of Severus, St. Martin was challenged by the devil at his death and countered to the devil as presented here. However, the rest of the story after his death is not excerpted from the letter. The story that St. Martin was carried to heaven by angels occurs “very often in MSS after Sulpicius Severus’ *Life of St. Martin* and forms part of the collection known as the Martinelli”; see Bertram Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede’s Prose Life* (Cambridge, 1940), 312–13. Similar visions of souls being carried to heaven by angels are common in the lives of the saints; see, e.g., *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, EETS OS 76, 82, 94, and 114 (London, 1881–1900; rpt. as two volumes, Oxford, 1966), 2:304–9, lines 1364–81, 1399–1404, 1430–34; *Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, EETS 73 (London, 1880), 226–27; *South English Legendary*, vol. 2, ed. Charlotte D’Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, EETS 236 (London, 1956; rpt. London, 1967), 492.

349 þere, when; see *MED ther*, adv., 7.

body. Then, sybbe þat þe fendes made suche tempest and affray azenst þe soule of Seynt Martyn—þat was so holy a lyuere þat arered men fro deþ to lyue, and meny oþer miracles dide by his lyue—what may we stynkyng wrecches seye, or do, whenne he comeþ to oure deyng, so hateful and so wrecheful as a brennyng dragon oþer a lyon rampaund to rauysshe our soules? Of þis assaut and þis affray muchel was Dauid þe holy prophete adradde when he seyde þus: *Nequando rapiat vt leo animam meam*. “Lord God,” he seide, “my hope is hool in þe, saue me and delyuere me,” þat is to sey, “when þe soule departeþ fro þe body, þat þe deucl ne rauyshe hit nat as a lyon doþ a shep when he takeþ his preyze and al to-crusssheth wiþ his teef flesh and bones al to-powdre.”

Thenne is þat hidous gostly lyon myche more to drede, þat is of so gret power and strengþe, as seiþ Seynt Iob, that no strengþe in erthe may countrevaile hym when he comeþ with his power, chalengyng our soules if he myzte ber hem away. Shortly to seye, onlyche <me>knesse, vpon whom beþ founded al oþer vertues, may withstand hym. For yf he falleþ, al falleþ; if he stant, al standeþ, as þese holy men telleþ vs þat “if alle þe vertues of þe wordle myzt be togidere in o man, alle wer nauzt withowte meknesse.” And as seiþ Seynt Gregor, “Ho so haþ alle vertues withowte þe vertue of meknesse, he is sikerly as he þat bereþ a litel powdre in þe wynd,” and as a tre withowte roote, or hows withowte foundement, for al is nauzt withowte meknesse. And þerfore seiþ Seynt Austyn *de verbis domini etc.* al þe fairnesse and swetnesse of a tre comeþ only of þe roote, fair howsyng comeþ of þe foundement—ryzt so, al

372 meknesse inserted in left margin with an obelus and a caret; the first two letters have been lost 378 al followed by l(?), deleted 380 roote followed by or of, expunged and also canceled with horizontal and diagonal lines

363 brennyng . . . rampaund: dragons and lions are symbols of pride.

364 *Nequando* . . . *meam*: Ps 7:3.

364–65 Lord . . . me²: Ps 7:2. The English quotation does not correspond to the Latin.

369–70 lyon . . . strengþe: see 1 Petr 5:8.

370–72 as seiþ . . . away: this is possibly a paraphrase of Job 41:24.

374–77 if . . . wynd: Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 7.4 (CCL 141:52); Ps.-Augustine, *Appendix Serm.* 297.1 (PL 39:231–34); Defensor attributes the same to Isidore in *Liber scintillarum* 4.35 (ed. H. Rochais, CCL 117 [Turnhout, 1957], 20).

379–81 al . . . God: see Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV* 40.8 (ed. R. Willems, CCL 36 [Turnhout, 1954], 354).

359 lyuere *n.*, a living creature; see *MED* liver(*e*, *n.*(2)).

arered 3 *sg. pt.*, raised; see *MED* areren.

376 sikerly, with certainty, indeed.

385 þe fairnesse of man comeþ of þe roote of meknesse as byfore þe face of God.
 And þerfore seide Seynt Edmond þe Erchebisshop a god word, as me þynkeþ,
 when he wente into þe see when he wolde to Pounteneye where he deyed, to a
 Frere Menour whom he wel loued þat cam to speke with hym: "Swete broþer,
 385 aboue al þyng of þis. . . ."

and ho þat hap nat charite, he ne hap non vertue, for only in charite beþ alle 44r
 vertues. And þerfore seiþ Seynt Gregor, proud chastite nys no vertue, for
 pride makeþ þat chastite þere lik to hym and so vertue is turned into vice.
 Also meknesse withowte charite is nauȝt worth for of charite comeþ al mek-
 390 nesse, and if hit come nat of charite, hit nys bute ypocresye, feyntyse and fal-
 sed bifore God, and so seiþ þe Book of Wisdom: "þer beþ," he seiþ, "suche
 þat wikkedliche mekeþ hem, for her hertes beþ ful of wikkednesse." And
 shortly <to> passe, an ensample Y shal telle þe.

395 **Narracio.** Hit bifel ones in an abbeye of þe ordre of Cisteaux, þer was a
 fair couent of monkes and of freres þat ne loued nat so wel togidere as longed
 to religion. And our Lord God, wylnyng to shewe hem þe vertue of charite
 and her defaute, he sent amonges hem a pestilence so þat þe abbot fel down
 syk. And his monkes cam to visite hym, and anon þei fel down syk and were
 sent into fermerye. And oþer cam to serue hem, and þat siknesse tok hem
 400 anon. And so forsoþe hit fel as þe hole cam to serue þe syke, anon þei fel
 down sik, so þat þer left nat on of þe couent of þese monkes þat ne were taken

381 þe¹ followed by go, deleted 382 seide] seiþ MS, with þ deleted and de above
 385 a leaf is missing between fols. 43 and 44. 392 her inserted in the right margin
 395 nat inserted above the line with a caret 401 þer inserted above the line with a caret;
 also þere in the right margin

382-85 Seynt Edmond . . . : see *St Edmund of Abingdon*, ed. C. H. Lawrence (Oxford, 1960), esp. 267. St. Edmund of Abingdon, archbishop of Canterbury, died at Soissy on his way to see the pope. He was buried at Pontigny in Champagne, in the abbey of the Cistercians.

386-87 and . . . vertues: see Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 27.1 (CCL 141:229-30).

387 proud . . . vertue: see Gregory the Great, *Moralia* 21.3.6 (CCL 143A:1068).

391-92 þer . . . wikkednesse: Eccli 19:23.

394-456 Hit . . . alle vs: no source material has been located.

390 feyntyse *n.*, deceit, hypocrisy; see *MED feintise*.

390-91 falsed *n.*, deceitfulness; see *MED falshede*, 1.

393 shortly to; similar expressions occur in line 372 above (in the full form) and in line 404 below.

399 fermerye *n.*, monastic infirmary; see *MED fermeri(e)*.

400 hole *adj.*, as noun: a healthy person; see *MED hol(e, adj. (2), 1a (g)*.

and liggyng doun sik. Þen sent þei after her freres þat wer oute at her graun-
ges, gouernyng her husbondrie, and euere as þey come withynne þe abbey za-
tes, þei felle sike and lay doun. And fore shortly <to> come of, þer was non of
405 al þat hous, monk ne frere þat he ne was liggyng in þat pestilence yuel, owt-
take on lewed frere þat was a pure 3ong man ferrest fro þe abbey at a graunge
of heres, and he was seruisable and ful of charite. And he was sent fore and
cam bfore þe abbot. And þen þe abbot seide to hym, "Beau frere, how is hit
with þe?" And he answerid, "Sire, wel, Y þanke God." "And felest þu no sik-
410 nesse?" seide þe abbot. "No, forsoþe, sire," seide he. "Y þanke God, no,"
seyde þe abbot. "Go," quod þe abbot, "to alle þe monkes by rewe, and after to
þe freres, and aske hem what þei wul ete, and help þat þei haue as þei desire."
And he enclyned to þe abbot and seid, "Hit sholde be do," and cam to þe sike
men and asked on what he wolde ete, and he seide, "Gruwel." Anoper seide,
415 "Iowtes," anoper seide, "Porreye," and so þei asked so meny diuerse metes
þat he ne cowþe ne myzte al vnderstonde ne remembre. And what wenest <þu>
he dide? He took a greet pot and took alle þe herbes as he coupe remembre
þat þei coueitid and hew hem alle togiders and buylled faste in þe pot, and
when þei were redi to be eten, þen went he first to þe abbot and seide. "Sire,"
420 he seide, "sitteþ vp if hit be 3our wille and eteþ of þis mete þat yche haue dizt
3ow." And as faste as þe abbot hadde tasted, he was as hool as he euer was.
And so he wente to þe priour, and so to alle a-rewe to þe monkes and to her
freres as þey laye in her siknesse, and euere as þei hadde y-ete of þat he had
dizt for hem, þei were hool and sound of her siknesse. And when þe abbot
425 saw þis myracle þat God had shewyd by þilke 3ong frere, he clepid hym to
hym and seide, "I comaunde þe by þe obedience þat þu owest to God and to
me, sey me þe sothe of þat Y shal aske þe." "Sire," he seyde, "gladly." "What
lif ledist þu?" seide þe | abbot, "Art þu eny gret waker?" "Nay, sire, forsoþe," 44v

409 þe inserted in the left margin, in different ink, with a caret
deleted 428 þe repeated on the verso

422 he followed by to,

404 come of, go on (in the narration); see *MED comen*, 13.

405-6 *owttake prep.*, except; see *MED outtake(n)*.

411 *by rewe*, in order, successively; see *MED reue*, *n.*(2), 4(a).

413 *do* is the main form of the p.p. of *do* in this text, while *don* and *doo* occur once each.

415 *iowtes n. pl.*, "Usually pl.: a soup or pottage made of boiled vegetables or herbs, sometimes thickened with crumbled bread in a meat or fish broth or in almond milk"; see *MED joute*. *porreye n.*, "A soup or broth made of vegetables (as leeks, peas, or cabbage) or fish, boiled and passed through a sieve, and added to soup-stock or almond-milk, with various flavourings"; see *OED porray*, *porrey*; *MED porrei*.

422 *a-rewe adv.*, in succession, one after another; see *MED aroue*.

he seide, "til Y haue slept when hit takeþ me, Y haue no wille to do no good
 dede." "No?" seyde þe abbot. "Art þu of eny gret abstinence?" seide þe abbot.
 430 "Nay, sire, forsoþe," he seide, "vnnethes Y may faste þat þat our rewle co-
 maundeþ me." "And what þen?" seide þe abbot, "Werest þu eny hard cloþ-
 yng?" "Nay, sire, sikerly, for Y haue more esy and nesshe beddyng þan eny of
 my bretheren, and if eny flees or vermyne be aboute me, Y may nat slepe."
 435 "What þen?" seide þe abbot, "Art þu eny bidder of prayeres?" "Nay, forsothe,
 sire, wel negligent(l)i Y sey þat þat my rewle zeueþ me. And whi þat is, sire,
 Y shal telle þow. When Y come fro my labour, Y am so hungri þat nedes Y
 moste ete and þat sadly, and elles, myȝt Y nat wel do my labour. And þen Y
 mot reste for gret trauail and slepe anon. And if Y lefte þis cours, my work
 440 most Y leue." And þen þe abbot asked hym oþer manere of streitnesse of
 religion and hardnesse of lyuyng, and of obseruaunces of þe ordre, and of
 maneres and of vertues as bilongeþ to a man of religion. And he answerid þat
 he had no suche ocupacion, but lyuede boistously as oþer of his bretheren
 dide. And þen þe abbot bigan to meruaile hym gretly þat God shewed þat
 445 myracle by hym þat had non of þo vertues byforeseid, and bigan to biþenke
 hym streytly how þat myȝte be. And þen com to his mynde þe wordes of Holy
 Writ þat non streitnesse of lif ne of fastyng, ne of wakyng, ne prayng, ne
 wepyng, ne non oþer trauail of body neyþer withynne ne withowte, ne
 penaunce, ne affliction, ne ordre, ne religion, ne non oþer vertue withowte
 450 charite helpeþ nat a man as to saluacion. And þen he asked of þe zonge frere,
 "Art þu in charite to alle þi bretheren?" And þe zong man answerid softly,
 "Ȝe, sire, forsoþe, þat grace God haþ ȝyue me þat Y loue al folk with ful herte.
 And gret deel Y haue when eny man is disesid with eny aduersite, and of her
 ese yche am glad. And my bretherene yche loue alle so wel þat me þynkeþ if
 455 Y myȝte, Y wold putte hem alle in my bosom." "Now y-blessid be our Lord,"
 seide þe abbot, "for þi charite haþ heelyd and sauȝd alle vs."

Meny oþer ensamples and resons þer beþ shewyng þat nopyng may profity
 þe soule withowte charite. Hit is þe hyȝest maundement of God as hymself

439 þis followed by *vs*, deleted 453 gret] t inserted above the line with a caret

446-50 wordes . . . saluacion: cf. 1 Cor 13:1-13, 16:14; Col 3:14.

458-59 Hit . . . comprehendid: see Mt 22:37-40.

433 *nesshe* *adj.*, soft; (of beds) well-cushioned; see *MED neshe*.

438 *sadly* *adv.*, fully; *MED sadli*, 1.

443 *boistously* *adv.*, simply; see *MED boistousli*, 1(b).

453 *deel* *n.*, compassion; see *MED dol*, *n*(2), 1.

- seip in þe Gospel and in hym one beþ alle þe comaundementz comprehendid.
 460 And so he þat is in parfit charite haþ fulfilled alle þe comaundementz. And
 þerfor when Crist wente to his passion, he comaunded his aposteles eche to
 loue oþer. And forto afforce hem more to loue in charite, he seide hem twyes,
 thries, as in comaundement þat þei louede togideres “as Y haue loued 3ow,”
 465 for he louede hem swetliche, trewliche and parfitliche. Swetliche, for he
 shewed hem neuer bitterness in dede, in word, ne in chere ne semblaunt, but
 euere goodnesse. Trewliche, for he euere loued hem and bowed his loue neuer
 fro hem what euere þei dide or seide, ne he wold nat hure euel of hem þat he
 ne defendid hem alwey aʒenst þe false Iewes and Pharisees þat pursued hem
 euere. Parfitliche he loued hem, for þer was no defaute in his loue towards
 470 hem, neuere neyþer in prosperite ne in aduersite. And ʒet, on of hem was his
 mortal | enemy, and þat shewide Crist wel when he knelid and wysshe his feet 45r
 so swetly, as seip Seynt Iohn with þe gilden mouthe, ʒif þat he wolde by þat
 gode dede haf repentid of his euel and haue withdrawe his treson—bute he
 wolde nat, for “þe deuyll was entred into his herte.” And al þat dide Crist to
 475 ʒyue vs ensample to loue frendes and enemyes. “Ich haue ʒyue 3ow en-
 sample,” seide Crist, “þat ʒe do as Y do,” for he louede hem fynliche vnto þe
 ende, þat is anon to his deþ, as þe Euuangelist seide, *In finem dilexit eos*, þat
 is to seye, “He loued hem,” seyþ Seynt Austyn, “þat loue ladde hym to þe
 ende, þat is to his deþ.”
 480 Do we þenne his comaundement–loue we togidere swetliche, trewliche,
 parfitliche and fynlyche, for ho so doþ aʒenst his comaundement, wel þu
 wost, he synneþ dedliche. May a tre waxe grene withowte moysture? May a
 man lyue withowte loue? Þat þat is lif to þe tre is moysture, so is verrey loue

459 one followed by beþ al, deleted 469 in followed by pp, deleted 471 catchword
 (enemy) at the bottom right of fol. 44v

462–63 he seide . . . thries: see Jo 13:34, 15:12, 17.
 463 as² . . . 3ow: Jo 13:34, 15:12.
 471–72 when . . . swetly: see Jo 13:1–30.
 472–74 Seynt . . . nat: John Chrysostom, *Homilies on St. John* 70.1 (PG 59:381–82).
 474 þe . . . herte: Jo 13:2.
 475–76 Ich . . . do²: Jo 13:15.
 477 In . . . eos: Jo 13:1.
 478–79 He . . . deþ: Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* 55.2 (CCL 36:464–65), on
 John 13:1.

476 **fynliche** *adv.*, fully, thoroughly; see *MED* *finely*.

477 **anon to**, up to a certain point; see *MED* *an-on*, 2.(b).

485 lif to þe soule, as seiþ Seynt Iohn with þe gilden moup, but a tre growiþ nat
 withowte moysture, ne haþ no beaute, ne grennesse, ne leef, ne flour, ne fruyt.
 Ne soule lyueþ nat withowten loue, no lif ne grace, and þow he lyue by nature
 as doþ euery oþer creature, she is ded bifore God, þat is to seye, bi synne
 when he is owt of charite. For charite is þe signe bi whiche euery soule þat
 490 haþ hit shal be cnowe at þe day of his deyng, wheþer he be of þe meyne of
 Ihesu Crist or of þe fend. For if he hateþ no man bute loueþ euery man in par-
 fit charite, withowte doute he shal haue heuene blisse. And if he haf no
 charite, trewly þe fend wul sette chaleng on hym when lif and soule shal de-
 parte. And þat is hit þat our Lord seiþ in þe Gospel: *In hoc cognoscent omnes*
 495 *etc.*, þat is to seye, "Alle þo þat beþ and shal be shal knowe þat 3e beþ my
 disciples if 3e loue togider eche of 3ow oþer."

Charite is þe robe þat eche man nedip to be cloped with when he shal be
 clepit to entre to þe sposailles of þe kyng. And if he be wel cloped perwith, he
 shal be late yn anone with gret ioie, þat is into heuene with Crist in ioie per-
 durable. Bute if þis robe, þat is charite, faille or be to-rent or defouled or mys-
 500 gouerned, þat is to sey, þat his charite ne be nat parfit ne verrey, he shal foule
 be reboted and rebuked and delyuered withowte delay to þe gaolers, þat is, to
 þe fendes of helle þer is non a3e-turnyng, as seiþ Seynt Gregor. For of þese
 sposailles spak our Lord in þe Gospel by similitude and seide: "When alle
 were assembled at þe sposailles, þer come yn þe kyng to se þat fair assemble.
 505 And he saw a man þat was nat cloped of þe robe þat longed to þo sposailles
 and asked, 'Frend, how comest þu yn, nat cloped in þe sposaile cloþ?' 'Takeþ
 hym,' he seide, 'anon and byndeþ hym feet and hondes and casteþ hym into

489 of^l followed by deyng, deleted

503 Lord followed by spak our lord, expunged

484 Seynt . . . moup: the source of this reference to John Chrysostom has not been located.

493 *In . . . omnes*: Jo 13:35.

496-97 Charite . . . kyng: Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 38.9 (CCL 141:368); the homily is on Mt 22:1-14; cf. Col 3:14.

501-2 to . . . a3e-turnyng: Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 38.13 (CCL 141:372).

503-8 When . . . helle: Mt 22:11-13.

487 she here refers to the soul. This pronoun is used also for such nouns as "house" and "the sun" (fol. 46v) and "soul" (fol. 47v).

489 cnowe *p.p.*, known; see *MED knouen*.

492 chaleng; for this form, see *OED challenge, n.*; *caleng* is recorded as a variant in *MED challenge, n.*

501 reboted *p.p.*, rebuked, reproached; see *MED rebouten* (a).

502 a3e-turnyng, again-turning, returning. For this form, see *MED aye-, pref.*

derk prison, þat is helle.'” By þis man is vnderstonde euery man þat hap no-
 þer loue ne charite to his ney3hebore. Seynt Gregor seyþ þat he þat entreþ to
 þese | sposailles is vnderstonde holi churche, þat Crist Ihesu spousede whenne
 he entred and was conceyuyd in þe Virgyne Marie. Þe entre herof is baptisme.
 But he is naked when he hap no charite. His baptesme is al his bileue, with
 alle oþer vertues and goode workes. And if charite faille, þe remenaunt is nat
 wurth a strawe as to saluacion of þe soule.

45v

Bute þer beþ somme folk þat rekkeþ neuere of þis cloþyng of charite but
 seyeþ þus: “May Y haue charite or Y dy3e, Y rekke neuere, for þat suffiseþ to
 me þow Y mygt nat rather haue hit in al my lyue, for God lookeþ euere to þe
 ende, þat is sop.” Bute, broþer, sorewful hit is þer is no man þat cnoweþ his
 ende, wheþer his ende shal be sodeyn or oþerwise. No, forsothe, and so seyþ
 Salamon in þe Book of Wisdom: *Nescit homo finem suum*. And þerfore Y
 counseile þat euery man puruey hym bfore þat he be nat bytrayed, for if he
 abideþ forte þe soule passe fro þe body, and he þen bygynne to seke lynne and
 wulle to spynne and workmen to shape þat clothyng of charite, hit wul sikerly
 be to late and nat wel shapen to hym as hit wolde haf ben bfore at leyser. And
 if au3t þerof be to-rent oþer sem a-ripped, he spedeth ful sorwfully, for his en-
 tre to þe sposailles wul be forclosed for euere, þat is to seye, owt of þe kyng-
 dom of heuene. þat Ihesu Crist vs forbede of his grete pite!

Afforce we vs þen for Goddes loue þat we haue parfit charite, þat we mowe
 euere be redy when we shulle be clepid. And þenne, if we be clene by verray
 charite and alle partes hol and sound by verey ch(ar)yte, and deep and lowe by
 verey meknesse, þen be we vessels to receyue þat precious licour, þat is þe
 grace of God. For þat grace is euere redy and euere profreþ hym to vs if we
 wolde receyue hit, ri3t as þe sonne profreth hym to pore and to ryche euene-
 liche.

513 oþer followed by her, deleted
 letter

530 charyte] chyte MS, with c written over another

508–9 By . . . ney3hebore: see Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 38.11 (CCL 141:371);
 cf. *ibid.* 38.10 (CCL 141:369).

509–12 Seynt . . . charite: see *ibid.* 38.1, 3, 9 (CCL 141:360, 361, 368).

520 *Nescit . . . suum*: Eccli 9:12.

522–23 seke . . . charite: cf. Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 38.10 (CCL 141:369–
 70), where the double nature of charity, namely the love of God and that of neighbors, is ex-
 pounded through the metaphor of weaving (weft and warp) and double dyeing.

510 vnderstonde *p.p.*, interpreted as; see *MED* *understonden*, 4(b).

535 But wat is þe cause whi þe sonne cometh nat into an hows oueral? Sothly
 for she is closed aȝenst þe sonne. Opene þe dores and wyndowes and anon þe
 sonne entreþ, and euere wher she fyndeþ entre, she entreth. Trewly, so is hit
 of þe verey sonne, þat is Ihesu Crist. Pere he fyndeþ entre, þere he entreþ by
 his grace, as hymself seyþ in þe Apocalips: *Ego sto ad hostium et pulso*, þat
 540 is, “I stonde at þe dore and aske entre, and he þat openeþ to me þe dore, Y
 shal entre in to hym.” This dore is þe herte of man þat is closed aȝenst God al
 þe while a man is in synne. While he loueþ synne and wils, he loueþ þe
 wordle vnresonably, þat is þe vanyte, þe coueitise and þe folye of þe wordle.
 When he loueþ his flesh to mychel, þat is delices, eses and þe wyl of þe flesh.
 545 Bute he openyþ þe dore when he bigynneþ to loue Ihesu Crist and his co-
 maundementz and hateþ synne and vilenye. And þis dore praieþ our Lord to
 opene in þe Book of Loue, wher he spekeþ to a soule as to his loue and to his
 spouse and seiþ þus: *Aperi michi, soror mea, etc.*, þat is, “Opene,” he seyþ,
 “þe dore to me, my faire sister, my faire loue, for my hed is ful of reed blood
 550 vpon hit when Y was harde corowned for þe.” Hit is good riȝt þat he haue
 entre, for derwardly | he bouȝte hit.

46r

Opene we þen owre hertes aȝenst hym by verey loue and repentaunce for
 þat we haueþ trespassed hym, and þat deuowtly with hote teres and sey we:
Dimitte me, domine, vt plangam paululum etc., that is, “Suffre me, Lord, suf-
 555 fre me a litel to wepe.” And wel hit seyþ “to wepe,” for þerof may no man be
 excused þat he ne shal wepe here or elleswher. And þat shewid vs wel oure
 Lord Ihesu Crist in his wepyng, for he weep so tenderly and so pitously, nat
 for hymself, for he hadde non nede, but he dide hit to ȝyue vs ensample to
 wepe. For he seide in þe Gospel: *Beati qui nunc fletis, quia ridebitis*, þat is,
 560 “I-blessed be þay þat now wepiþ, þat is in þis lif, for þey shal haue gret ioye
 elleswher.” And of hem þat so ne doþ nat, he seiþ: *Ve vobis, qui ridetis, etc.*

551 *catchwords* (he bouȝt hit) at the bottom right of fol. 45v

539 *Ego . . . pulso*: Apoc 3:20; this verse is also cited in *The Parson's Tale* (X.289–90).

548 *Aperi . . . mea*: Cant 5:2.

554 *Dimitte . . . paululum*: Job 10:20 (the theme of the text). Here begins a new division.

557 Lord . . . wepyng: see Lc 19:41; Jo 11:35.

559 *Beati . . . ridebitis*: Lc 6:21.

561 *Ve . . . ridetis*: Lc 6:25.

538 *þere . . . þere*, wherever . . . , there; see *MED ther*, 8.

557 *weep* 3 *sg. pt.*, wept.

Ve scilicet eterne dampnacionis. "Go 3e," seiþ Crist, "þat lau3heth nowþe, for 3e shal wepe afterward, þat is for euermore." Þat is to sey, "3e þat haueþ here 3owre ioye, goth, for 3e shal neuere haue oþer." Then is hit good to wepe
 565 here in þis wordle for hit destruyeb synne in þe synners. For, as Seynt Austyn seiþ, hit doþ nat away onliche synne bute bryngeþ a3eyn alle þe goodnesses þat were lost byfore þorw synne. Hit is no merueyle, seyþ Seynt Isidre, for ri3t as synnes beþ relessed by baptisme and as by martirdom, þer leueþ ne abideþ no synne, ri3t so with verrey compunccion of teres wepyng, beth alle
 570 synnes for3yue, and þei beþ acounted bifore God as baptisme. And fore teres beþ of so gret vertue, our enemy, þe fend, is myche abowte ny3t and day to lette man þerfro. For he wot wel þat be a soule neuer so vil-embrowed of synne ne so foule-soiled, ne so horribliche þat hit ne may with teres be was-shen away, and be clene fair and cler tofore þe face of God. For Seynt Iohn
 575 with þe gilden mouth seiþ in þe book *De reparacione lapsi anime*, þat God hymself his makere coueytiþ to loue hit for his fairnesse. And he groundeb hym on þe wordes of Daudid þe profete, þat seiþ þus: *Et concupisset Rex deco-rem tuum*, þat is, "The Kyng," seyþ Daudid þe profete, "shal coueite þi fairnesse." And ho was more acombred of synne þan was Seynt Peter when he
 580 forsook Crist? And also sone as he bygan to wepe, his synne was for3yue

571 ny3t followed by &, deleted 572 a soule inserted in the right margin with an obelus and a caret 573 be inserted above the line with a caret 575 God inserted above the line with a caret

562 *Ve . . . dampnacionis*: this is apparently a gloss of the preceding quotation and might be an indication that *Dimitte* originally contained more Latin.

565–67 Seynt Austyn . . . synne: a similar remark is attributed to Bernard in *Fasciculus Morum* 5.10.24–25.

567–70 seyþ . . . baptisme: Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.17.6 (ed. Christopher M. Lawson, CCL 113 [Turnhout, 1989], 81–82), cited in *Speculum Christiani* 8 (ed. Gustaf Holmstedt, EETS OS 182 [London, 1933], 214–17); also in Defensor, *Liber Scintillarum* 6.26 (CCL 117:27).

574–79 Seynt . . . fairnesse: John Chrysostom, *De reparacione lapsi* 13 (ed. Jean Dumortier, in *Jean Chrysostom: A Théodore*, Sources chrétiennes 117 [Paris, 1966], 295).

577–78 *Et . . . tuum*: Ps 44:12.

579–80: Seynt . . . Crist: Mt 26:69–75; this example of St. Peter's tears also occurs in *The Parson's Tale* (X.994) to show the third sign of the first condition of a true and profitable confession: "shrift sholde be ful of teiris" (X.993).

568 **relessed** *p.p.*, forgiven of sin; see *MED* *relesen*, v.(1), 2(e).

572 **lette** *inf.*, hinder; see *MED* *letten* **vil-embrowed** *adj.*, foully stained; see *MED* *vil(e, a, 2* (as *adv.*); *embreuen*, v.

585 hym. And þis fynde we writen, seiþ Seynt Ambrosy, þat he spak no word of
 confession but þat his teres made hym haue plener pardoun. Wepynge, he
 seiþ, openeþ þe synne þat mouth shameþ to speke. Wepynge, he seiþ, is a
 stille prayer. Þei seiþ no þyng, ne prayeþ no pardoun, but þei haueþ pardon
 anon. And whi is þat? For þei auaile more þan prayer of mouth, for prayer of
 mouth faileþ oþerwhile but prayer of wepyng failleþ neuere.

Se þen, Y praye þe, what was worth to Seynt Peter his wepyng. Byfore his
 wepyng, he fel into synne; and after he hadde wept, he was chose Goddes
 apostle, prins and principal of alle oþer. And ho of þe apostels haþ now more
 590 ioye in heuene? And in þe self manere, of Marye Maudeleyne, what womman
 was þer more delaue, ne more defouled of stynk of synne? And when she
 hadde bitterly wept fore hure synne, to whom shewyd Crist gretter loue, for
 when he ros fro deþ to lyue, he shewyd hym first to þat blessid Marie as þe
 Gospel telleþ. And what womman is now gretter in heuene saue our Lady?
 595 Þerfore gret grace haþ he þat may so wepe, and herof a tale (Y shal telle).

Narracio. Hit byfel in a contre where was an holy man þat preched Goddes
 word and gret peple þere was. | And as a man cam to predicacion, the pre- 46v
 chour biheld hym and saw how þe deuel ladde hym by a grete cheyne of ire
 þe whuche was tyed abowte his nekke ful strongly. And as he prechid of vices
 600 aȝenste diuerse synnes, he þat þe deuel ladde by þe cheyne bigan to wepe, and
 euere as he preched, þe faster þe man wepte. And euere as he wepte, þe
 cheyne brak of a-pece, and þere þe teres felle vpon þe cheyne, a pece of þe
 cheyne brak of, so þat in a litel tyme þe cheyne was al gon and þat fend
 vanysshed away.

605 Here maist þu, broþer, hure þe merueillous vertue þat wepynges haþ—how
 þei be to a synful soule for baptisme, how þei delyuere a man of al gostliche
 euil, þat is to seye, synne, and how þei make a man recouere alle goodnesses
 þat were lost þorw synne and makeþ þe soule pure, fair and clene, were he

581–85 And þis . . . anon: Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* 10.88–90 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 14 [Turnhout, 1957], 371–72).

591–92 when . . . synne: Lc 7:37–50; verse 37, the tears of Mary Magdalene, is adopted in *The Parson's Tale* (X.996) as an example for the fourth sign of the confession made in bitterness of heart (immediately following the example of St. Peter, referred to above at 579–80).

593–94 when . . . telleþ: Jo 20:11–18.

596–604 Hit . . . vanysshed away: Tubach, *Index*, no. 925.

582 **plener** *adj.*, complete, full; see *MED plener(e)*.

586 **oþerwhile** *adv.*, sometimes, occasionally; see *MED other-while*.

591 **delaue** *adj.*, dissolute, lecherous; see *MED deslave*.

598 **ire** *n.*, iron; see *MED iren*.

610 neuere so foul of synne byfore, so fer-forþ þat God hymself coueiteþ hure for
hure grete beaute. And meny mo meruayles (þer bep) whuche may nat be told
here for brefnesse of tyme. Natheles on ensample litel and short Y shal telle
3ow and sone make an ende.

Narracio. Hit bifel so þat Seynt Benet wente in a day owt of his abbey a
litel toward his suster Seynt Scolas, þe whuche cam to-ʒenst hym to se hym
615 as she was woned to do euery 3er ones, and wente to hure hous togidere, and
sat longe of þe day togideres, and spaken of helpe of her soules til þe tyme þat
nyzt was comen. And þen bigan þay to sope and ne cessed nat of holy
spekyng til þat derk nyzt was comen. Þen seide Seynt Benet, "Fair sister, Y
most go fro þi selle here. Y may no lenger dwelle." "3es, Y pray þe, goode
620 broþer, for Seynte Charite, abid al þis nyzt and speke we of þe ioies of
heuene if hit be 3oure wille." "What wolde 3e, faire sister, þat Y sholde abide
al nyzt out of my hows? Nay, þat wul Y nat." And when þat holy womman
vnderstod þat he wolde nat abide at hire prayer, she bowed down hir hed vpon
þe table þer þey sete, and held hym bitwext hure twey hondes and bigan to
625 praye our Lord and wepe. And anon þer cam so gret thunder, liʒtnyng and
reyn troubling þat he, ne non of his meyne þat þer cam with hym, ne derst
sette o foot withowte þe dore. And þis is þe meruaile, as seiþ þat seynt, þat þer
þe firmament was so cler as cristal þat no clowde myʒte be seye in þe eyr,
sodenly descendid þe reyn þat in þe same hour and þe same poynt þat she lifte
630 vp hire hed cam down þe reyn. "Hire teeres," seide þe holy man, "meuyd þe
clernesse of þe eyr into reyn. Lord God, how þe vertue of teeres wept drawith
þe eyr into wepyng, and forþer more to thundre and liʒtny so hidously and
merueillously!" And when Seynt Benet saw þat God had wrouʒt suche vertue
for þat holy maiden, his sister, he bicam sory and pensif and pleynyd hym þat
635 he myʒt nat go to his abbey and seyde, "Faire sister, God forʒyue hit þe! What
hast þu do?" And she answerid, "Faire broþer, Y praied 3ow and 3e wolde

611 short] *horizontal stroke of t crossed by a downward stroke* 618 derk inserted
above the line with a caret 627 is inserted above the line with a caret

613-41 Hit . . . do: Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 2.33.2-4 (ed. de Vogüé and Antin, 2:230-33).

609 so *fer-forþ*, so much, to such a degree; see *MED fer-forth*, 1.

619 *selle n.*, cell; see *MED celle*.

624 *þer*, where; see *MED ther*, 5.

628 *seye p.p.*, seen; see *MED sen*, v. (1) for this variant.

632 *liʒtny inf.*, (of lightning) flash; see *MED lightnen*, v. (1), 1.(a).

nat hure me. And Y prayed my Lord, and he of his gret goodnesse herde me. Now broþer," seide she, "goþ owt if ȝe wulle, and goþ hennes and leueþ me here allone." But he myȝt nat owt and so he moste nedes abide, and graunted
 640 to abide. And þerfore he doþ þe beste | þat he may, þat doth with good wille 47r
 þat þat he mot nedys do.

Desire we þenne fro hennesforthward to wepe, syþen þat wepyng haþ suche power. God wul, as seyþ Seynt Gregor, þat we peerce heuene with wep(yng), for we mow nat with no meritis wynne hit. Staunche we, he seyþ, oure de-
 645 fautes and owre synnes by wepyng, for we beþ defouled suthē we were baptised by synne. Baptise we þen vselue with teeres, he seiþ eftsones, and so may we be euere clene by þe grace of God. Afforce we vs þen ofte to wepe for oure synnes, for we mowe nat longe dure in gret fastyng ne gret wakyng, ne suffre no gret trauail of our body, ne go none grete pilgimages as som
 650 men doþ to purge her synnes as sumtyme bi londe and somtyme bi water, and suffreth gret disese, þere we beþ in gret ese. And sikerly Y comende better in good fey to be vnder obedience in quyet and silence, and praye, and wepe for our synnes þan to go abowte þe wordle by water and by londe.

But somme men perauenture wul seye, "How shal Y do þenne, for Y haue
 655 nat þat grace þat Y may wepe?" I answeere þe, þu þat so seist, Y may nat leue ne trowe hit þat þu seist, by no wey—if þat þu wult bisily seeche grace. "How þen," seist þu, "shal Y fynde grace?" I shal telle þe, leue broþer. First gadere togidere þi fyue wyttes fram alle outward þynges and þen gadere þyn herte in þe same manere. And þen with þe eyen of þyn herte, byhold stedfastliche and
 660 sadliche how synfully þu hast lyued al þi lif, and how þu shalt passe owt of þis wordle and wost neuere when ne whoder. And þenk alle þe condicions of

637 his inserted above the line with a caret and an obelus; the ink is lighter, but the hand closely resembles that of the scribe 640 catchwords (þat he may) at the bottom right of fol. 46v 643 we followed by p, deleted with wepyng inserted in the right margin with a caret; the last letters are lost at the edge 651 Y preceded by part of a letter, deleted

643-44 God . . . hit: cf. Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 17.10, 25.10 (CCL 141:124-25, 215-16).

643 peerce heuene: cf. Eccli 35:21: *Oratio humiliantis se nubes penetrabit.*

644-46 Staunche . . . synne: Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 25.10 (CCL 141:216).

646 Baptise . . . eftsones: see *ibid.* 10.7, 17.10, 20.7, 15, 33.8, 37.10, 39.9, etc. (CCL 141:71-72, 124-25, 159, 169, 298, 358, 390, etc.).

644 **staunche** 1 pl. pres. subj., put an end to; see *MED staunchen*, 4.

651 **þere**, when; see *MED ther*, 7.

man when he shal deyze, and whenne he is deed, of þe corrupcion þat he
 turnyþ to. And after þis, þenk in helle and bihold þe estat of soules þat þere
 beþ, how þei brenneþ in endeles fir, and no comfort þei ne haueþ. And þu
 665 wost no more þan wot þi foot wheþer þu be demed þider or no. And in þe
 same manere, þenk in purgatorie. And after þenk in heuene, on hem þat beþ in
 ioie withowte eny ende. And of þe, hit is in gret awerouste wheþer þu comest
 þere or no. And þen þenk on þe bitter passion of our Lord Ihesu Crist, and on
 þi synnes. And sur be þu, if þu abidest wel and deuoutly in þi þenkynge, þu
 670 shalt haue gret plente of teeres.

I cnowe suche a man þat somtyme wept in þis manere, and afterward, by
 suche manere þenkyng and prayer with þe grace of God, he hadde so gret
 plente of teeres þat þer was no day of his lif after þat þat he ne hadde so gret
 plente of teeres what by daye and what by nyȝte, þat no nombre he myȝte telle
 675 þerof. So fer-forth þat ne hadde <hit> be for þe lesyng of his sȝt and þe akyng
 of his hed þat febled hym gretly, he wolde haue wept more þan he dide. And
 also he wiste wel þat better was o good teere þan a þousand oþer.

And þerto acordeth Stefne þe archebisshop, þat hadde gret and special
 grace of teeres byfore meny oþer. And ofte he lefte his wepyng for the | 47v
 680 seyng of folk, þat pride bynam hym nat al his meryt and mede. For þere is
 nothyng in þe wordle so perilous to a soule as is veynglorye. And so seiþ
 Seynt Iohn with þe gilden mouth. And whi he seiþ <so> Y shal telle ȝow. For
 ho so euere haue þat synne, he falleþ al down, for hit makeþ hym lede sorew-
 ful lif. Fore euere þat wikked passion of veynglore troubleþ þe soule and suf-
 685 freþ hire haue no reste, for he ne putteþ nat þe soule only in synne but when a
 man dop a good dede, be hit neuer so litel, hit takeþ hit away anon fro hym
 and al þe meryt þerof. And þerfore haue we ful gret nede to kepe vs in alle
 oure dedis, in alle places, fro veynglorye, for hit is so sotil a synne þat a man
 shal nat wel perceyue hire til she be clene despoiled and maked baar. And per-

675 for inserted above the line with a caret 679 for the repeated on the verso

680–82 For . . . mouth: cf. John Chrysostom, *Sur la vaine gloire et l'éducation des enfants* 1.3 (ed. Anne-Marie Malingrey, Sources chrétiennes 188 [Paris, 1972], 64–75).

663 **þenk in helle**, “imagine as though you were in hell”; similarly, in the following *þenk in purgatorie/ heuene*.

667 **awerouste** *n.*, adversity, difficulty; see *MED adversite*.

680 **bynam** 3 *sg. pt. subj.*, should deprive of; see *MED binimen*.

685 **hire** refers to the soul, which is treated as female in this passage.

686 **hit**² refers to vainglory.

690 fore seiþ Seynt Austyn *ad Dioscorum* wher þat meknesse comeþ bifore alle
 oure goode dedes and felawshepyþ hem, 〈hit〉 comeþ after and folewith oure
 goode dedis. 〈A〉non as we haueþ þerof ioie, anon comeþ pride and takeþ þo
 goode dedis fro vs. And þerfore alle oþer vices, he seiþ, beþ to be reherced in
 synne and remembred, bute veynglorie is myche to drede in alle goode
 695 workes. And þerfore seiþ Seynt Gregor in an Omelie forto warne vs: “Mi-
 chel,” he seyþ, “he desireþ to be robbed þat bereþ his tresour openly, goyng
 by þe wey,” wher þe þef, þat is þe fend, hideþ hym and aspieth hym to take
 away our gode dedes fro vs, as þe þef takeþ fro þat weifaryng man. And þer-
 fore, goode broþer, kepe we vs þat we lese nat oure goodes, þat beþ our goode
 700 dedis. Bute þerfore leue we nat þat we ne do as meny goodes as we may, bute
 þat our entente be good and holy bifore God, nat for man bute for God, and
 þenne is al saf. And zet mayst þu do hit tofore folk to meue her wil and her
 corage to do wel as our Lord seiþ, bute lat þi good entent be hidde and al be
 hit don to þe wurshep of God.

705 Bute o þyng þu shalt wyte þat þer beþ diuerse manere teeres. Somme of
 contricion. Somme of compassion. Somme of deuocion. The teeres of contri-
 cion comeþ of sorwe. Pilke of compassion comeþ of swetnesse. And þilke of
 deuocion comeþ of loue. And þese þre manere teeres our Lord God loueþ
 cherly and hem þat hem haueþ in his syzt. Vpon þis seiþ Dauid þe profete:
 710 *Posuisti lacrimas meas in conspectu tuo, etc.*, “Lord, þu hast put my teeres
 bifore þi syzt.” 3e, forsoþe, God loueþ gretly þe syzt of hem. And þat preuyþ
 wel when he doþ so meny and faire myracles for suche manere of teeres, but
 for Y haue no leyser to telle meny of hem as Y myzt and couþe. Neuerþeles,
 on ensample Y shal shortly telle.

691 hit] & MS; þey in the right margin, canceled
 692 Anon as] As non as MS
 698 as followed by h, deleted
 699 vs followed by na, deleted
 706 compassion
 followed by whuche comeþ of swetnesse, expunged
 710 Posuisti] sti was first written
 above the line and then the entire word was repeated in the left margin

690–95 Seynt . . . workes: Augustine, *Ep.* 118.3.22 (PL 33:442).

695–97 Michel . . . wey: Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 11.1 (CCL 141:74).

710 *Posuisti . . . tuo*: Ps 55:9.

714 on ensample: the following text includes more than one example.

691 **felawshepyþ** 3 sg. *pres.*, becomes associates; see *MED felaushipen*, 1.

693 **reherced** *p.p.*, reckoned up, enumerated, listed; see *MED rehersen*.

697 **aspieth** 3 sg. *pres.*, lies in ambush, sets a snare (with *to* phrase); see *MED aspien*, 2(b).

709 **cherly** *adv.*, dearly; see *MED cherli*, 1(a).

- 715 **Narracio.** Hit bifel in a tyme, in þe lif of Seynt Basille, Erchebisshop of Cartaigne, þat þer was a lady in þat contre þat hadde do meny horrible and foule synnes þat for shame of hem she myzt ne wolde nat discouere hem, for she wolde raper deyze vnshryuen, she seide, and go to helle. And what fel bute wel, þis lady in a tyme brouzte a lettre enselid to Seynt Basile, in the
 720 whuche | were contened alle hire synnes, and seide to hym in þis wyse: “Iche bytake to God and to þe alle my synnes, and specialy þo þat beþ writen here in þis lettre,” and wente hir wey, as she þat myzt nat for shame abyde. Hit happed þen anon after þe Erchebisshop deyde, Seynt Basille, and men bar his body toward þe churche. And when þe lady herde þat he was ded, she seide,
 725 “Allas and welaway, howe shal Y now do? Now am Y shent and shamed for euere. For if þe meyne of þe Erchebisshop fynde my lettre, Iche am lost. A, Lord God, whuder may Y go?” And who is hit þat ne may haue comfort of God ȝif he wul hertely aske? And she fel down to þe erthe byfore þe ded body and bigan to make so gret sorwe þat non ende nas of her sorwe. Hit byfel þen,
 730 as she lay so bifore þe body, fel down þat same lettre bifore hire, enselid riȝt as she took hit to þe Erchebisshop by his lyue. And anon she took hit and openyd hit, and fonde noþyng writen, saue þe bar parchemyn. And þen she þanked God and Seynt Basille of þat myracle, for she hadde by reuelacion of þe Holy Gost þat hir synnes were forȝyuen hire.
- 735 **Narracio.** Also hit bifel at Seynt Victores of Parys þat a clerk þat hadde synned oftesythes horribly and put hem in a scrowe to telle hem bi rewe to his confessour. And when he cam and wolde shrive hym, he fel in wepyng þat he ne myzt speke o word for sorwe. And when his confessour myzte haue no word of hym, he took þe scrowe towardses hym and wente in to haue conseil
 740 what penaunce he myzt ordeyne hym for so hidous and so fele synnes þat he hadde don, siþpe þat he myzt nat confesse hym for his gret wepyng. And as he wolde biholde þe scrowe what were þeron for hit was large, þer was nat o

729 sorwe] r written above the line

715–34 Hit . . . hire: cf. *An Alphabet of Tales: An English 15th Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum* 102 (ed. Mary McLeod Banks, EETS OS 127 [London, 1905], 75–76); *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints* 1.3.

735–46 Also . . . contricion: see *Jacob’s Well*, ed. Brandeis, 12; Tubach, *Index*, no. 1202a; cf. *Fasciculus Morum* 5.7.221–26.

719 **enselid** *p.p.*, closed with seal; see *MED* *enselen*, 3(b).

725 **shent** *p.p.*, disgraced, put to shame; see *MED* *shenden*, 3(a).

736 **scrowe** *n.*, scroll, a piece of parchment; see *MED* *scrou(e)*.

745 lettre y-sene but al whit parchemyn. And al suche a cas bifel at Oxenford at þe
Frere Menours nat longe ago of a scoler þat wolde haue confessid hym, and
myzte nat for wepyng. And al þis doþ our Lord God to shewe þe vertue of
teeres and how liztly a man may haue forzefnesse so þat he haue contricion.

Narracio. Of teeres of compassion spekiþ Seynt Gregor in þe firste book of
Dialoges in þis manere: Hit fel in a tyme þat þer was a good man in a contre
and his name was Seuerus and was a prest of þe churche of our Lady in þat
750 contre. Hit happed by auenture þat on þat was his parosshen fel sore sik þat he
moste deye. Messangeres cam to hym in gret haste, prayng hym come and
visite þe sike. Happid þat þe prest hastid hym nat as he sholde, so þat þe sike
man deide or þe prest cam. Tydyng cam to þe prest þat þe man was ded
sodeynly. And þat holy prest bygan to wepe of compassion þat he hadde of þe
755 mannes deyng in þat manere. He cam to þe body, seyng al þe peple, and kne-
lid down bfore þe bed þat þe ded man lay on, and wepte. And when he hadde
a goode while wept, þe soule cam azen to þe body in syzt of al þat peple. And
þey þat stode abowte þe body asked hym wher he hadde be and how he was
comen azen to his body. | He answerid and seide, “Riȝt blak and hidous folk 48v
760 me ladde, and of her mouth and noseþerles come owt alwey fir þat wo me was
to suffre hit. And þei drowe me bi meny derke places. And at þe last cam
azent vs a fair zong man, and fair and swete to biholde, and seide to hem þat
drow me, ‘Ledyþ hym azen faste, fore þe prest Seuerus wepiþ and our Lord
God haþ zeuen hym to hym.’”

765 And for þis word telle Y þis tale þat our Lord God dide þat gret myracle to
make þe soule entre azen into þe body þat was delyuered to deueles of helle,
and þat only for þe teeres of a synful man, for þat is on of grettest myracles of
þe wordle þat God doþ in þis lyue when he makeþ þe soule come azen to þe
body. Fore forto hele of diuerse bodily siknesses, hit is but litel in regard of
770 þis miracle. And maist þu here ofte of diuerse seynts and seyntes when her
miracles beþ shewyd or rehersed, þat among alle þe myracles þat God doþ,
vnethes herest þu of dede men rerid to lyue. And when hit bifalleþ, þow hit be

758 be inserted above the line with a caret
caret

764 hym to inserted above the line with a

747–64 Of . . . hym to hym: see Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 1.12.1–2 (ed. de Vogüé and Antin, 2:112–15).

750 **parosshen** *n.*, parishioner; see *MED parishen*, *n.* (1).

760 **noseþerles** *n.pl.*, nostrils; see *MED nose-thirl*.

772 **rerid** *p.p.*, raised; see *MED reren*, *v.* (1), 1.(a).

selde, more is þat only miracle merked, accounted and herd þan alle þe re-
 menaunt. And þat is riȝt, for to oper maladies may helpe herbes, ston, and
 775 word, bute forto do come aȝen þe lif, when hit is ones parted, þat may non
 leche, phisicien ne surgen, by non experiment, craft, charme ne enchaunte-
 ment, but only þe vertue of our Lord þorw his mercy and his goodnesse. And
 specially to hem þat haueþ teeres, God graunteþ hit—nat so to men of
 780 prayeres, ne to fasteres, ne to wakeres, but only to teeres of comp(as)sion. For
 alle manere bodily affliction, as Y dar seye as tofore God, sauoureþ litel bi-
 fore God withowte teeres of deuocion.

Heere mayst þu putte an obieccion aȝenst me of Samuel þat þe sorcerer
 made arise fro deþ to lyue bi charme or enchauntement as hit is writen in þe
 firste Book of Kynges, but herto Y wul nat answeere. Bute Y leue better Seynt
 785 Austyn þat expowneþ þat matere. Fore alle þe false dyuynes and alle þe false
 clerkes þat so seyeth and vnderstondeþ nat þe trouthe, bute on her ydel ryot by
 her seyng lediþ meny into heresy for þei ne haue nat wel ouerlokod Holi
 Writ. And so seyþ Seynt Austyn in Libro de Ciuitate dei: Saul, he seide, wur-
 shepid þe deuyt, and wende wel he hadde wurshepid þe prophete Samuel. For

779 compassion] as *smeared* 782 þat followed by made, *expunged and canceled*; made
 is then supplied by a hand similar to the scribe's in the left margin with an obelus and a caret
 after sorcerer sorcerer] the final r is probably a later contemporary addition 789 For
 followed by to, *deleted*

774 ston: "The use of jewels, gold and other precious metals in medicine was common [in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries]" (Angela Montford, *Health, Sickness, Medicine and the Friars in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* [Hants and Burlington, 2004], 202). Also see "The Hand of Christ: Drugs for the Sick Friar," *ibid.*, 194–225. Gold was mixed into medicine in flakes and leaves, and pearls in powder. Substances considered to have occult properties, especially balls made of amber and corall (though they are not exactly stones) were also carried in amulets against disease, the plague, particularly (*ibid.*, 207–8). It seems more plausible, however, that the *ston* refers to gem-stones which were believed to have healing power rather than those pagan cures. See Faye Marie Getz, *Healing and Society in Medieval England* (Madison, 1991), xviii–xix: Jacinth, a blue stone, for example, is described as a medicine for the heart, and lapis lazuli is recommended for eye disease, the spleen and hemorrhoids in the Middle English *Gilbertus Anglicus*, edited by Getz from Wellcome MS 537.

782–84 Samuel . . . Kynges: see 1 Sam 28:3–19.

775 *do inf.*, make something happen; see *MED don*, v.(1), 4.

776 *leche n.*, doctor; see *MED leche*, n.(3), 1.

786 *ydel adj.*, vain, worthless; also false, sinful; see *MED idel*. *ryot n.*, foolish saying;
 see *MED riot(e)*.

787 *ouerlokod p.p.*, examined carefully; see *MED overloken*.

790 þerto afforceþ hym þe deuēl to be wurshepid as God. 3if Samuel, seide Seynt Austyn, hadde apperid verriliche, he, so holy man as he was, wolde in no manere haue suffred to haue be wurshepid as God, þat preched in his lyue þat men sholde wurshepy bute o God.

795 No more sholde of þis. Meny oþer manere of teeres þer beþ, as of impaciēce, when a man is anyed, or greued, or trobled in herte ouer mesure, now of frend, now of fo; teeres also of envye and wikkednesse, when a man wepiþ of þe ioie of his enemy, þat is fallen in som mysaventure, oþer | for he 49r is auauanced or enhanced in wordly wurshep; teeres also of anguyssh (and) of sorewe, when a man wepiþ for lost of chatel or oþer harm of catel, or of anuye or greuaunce of body. Somme beþ goode for þei turneþ into profit, and 800 somme beþ in partie euel for þei appeireþ a man. Thre manere of teeres beþ ful euele, for thei beþ dedliche. Also þer beþ teeres of ypocresye, when a man wepiþ seyng þe peple to be preysid and holde holy; and teeres of losengerie, when a man wepiþ with on eyȝe and lauzheþ with þat oþer. And how þes teres 805 and oþer manere teeres comeþ aplace, forsoþe hit were ouerlong to write hit here. And þerfore leue we þat matere and go we aȝen to our matiere as we bigonne at.

Dimitte me, domine, vt plangam paululum dolorem meum etc. "Sire," he seip, "suffre me to pleyne, or to weyly and to wepe." Broþer, þis pertenyth 810 specialy to folk of religion þat shulleþ wepe nat only her synnes and her oþer defautes bute sorwy nyȝt and day for þe prisone of þis wrecched lif where is nobyng bute care and wo; and for þe taryȝnge of þat oþer lif where is nobyng bute ioie; and in mynde of þe pitous passion of our Lord Ihesu Crist and of his deþ. And þerfore seip þe holy man, þei beþ seuered fro þe wordle to kepe 815 þe bettere her huryng, her seeyng, her tonge and her oþer wittes þat her soule

798 and blotted 809 me inserted above the line 811 defautes followed by &, deleted; sorwy inserted above bute

788-93 Seynt . . . God: see Ps.-Augustine (Ambrosiaster), *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti* CXXVII 27 (ed. A. Souter, CSEL 50 [Vienna, 1908], 54-56).

808 *Dimitte . . . meum*: Job 10:20 (reiteration of the theme). This begins a new division on the religious life.

795 **anyed** *p.p.*, annoyed, offended; see *MED* *anoien*, 1.

801 **appeireþ** 3 *pl. pres.*, impair, harm; see *MED* *apeiren*.

803 **losengerie** *n.*, deceitful flattery; see *MED* *losengeri(e)*.

805 **comeþ aplace**, come into existence, arise; see *MED* *aplace*, *adv.*

809 **weyly** *inf.*, wail, lament; see *MED* *weilen*.

may alwey be pure and clene, and her herte in þe seruise of Ihesu Crist. For
 þe fyue wittes bep þe wyndowes by whuc(h)e deþ entriþ into þe soule as seyþ
 þe prophete Ieremye. Folk of ioye of religion, þei bep alle delyuered to þe
 820 lyuyng forseyd by þe ordinance of God. If þei kepe her estat, þei shal haue
 gretter mede and hyȝer coroune þan oþer folk as þo þat bep especial sones
 and douȝtres of God. And if þei oþerwise do, þei shal haue gretter peyns and
 more hard dampnacion. Wherfro he defende vs, þat by his grace haþ chosen
 vs to serue hym in religion. And ȝyue vs grace so to kepe our wittes, vs lyu-
 yng, and so dispende hem in his seruice þat hit be to his wurshep and oure sal-
 825 uacion.

Thenke we þen, Y praye þe, goode broþer, whi we cam into religion, and
 for whas loue we forsooke þe wordle and þe delices of þe flessch and al wordly
 wurshep fro þe firste day þat we toke þe habit of religion; wheþer we haue be
 repentaunt and ful of holy deuocion in wepyng, in teeres, nyȝt and day, and
 830 alwey in orisons with a brennyng wil and ful of holy meknesse; and so y-
 grounded in pacience and euere redy to holy obedience; so blessed, swet and
 pitous in holy brennyng loue to alle men; in euery godnesse, feruent; in euel,
 suffryng and pacient; in fastyng, in wakyng, in abstynence, alwey armed with
 pacience; nat grucchyng ne pleynyng in siknesse. Was hit also our delyt and
 835 desir to serue to oþer on feet and hondes, nat recheles ne feynt? Thus was þe
 bygynnyng of religion. Now þenke we þen on þe ende. On þis wyse, broþer,
 shal we shape al our lif and our conuersacion. And if we doþ in þis manere,
 we may be sur þat we lyueþ after our profession.

Bute now is þer somme folk of religion þat anon after her profession, when
 840 þey shold drawe to gretter perfeccion of lif | and ȝyue good ensample to al þe 49v
 congregacion in encres of vertues and rebutyng of synne, þenne bicomme þey

816 be inserted above the line with a caret 833 wakyng] g inserted above the line with
 a caret 835 Thus] This with i expunged and u above

817–18 fyue . . . Ieremye: Jer 9:21; the windows in Jer 9:21 are customarily translated as
 the five senses: e.g., Augustine, *Sermones de vetere Testamento* 15 (CCL 41:193 ff.); Gregory
 the Great, *Moralia* 21.1.2 (CCL 143A:1063–64); Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gradibus* 10.28
 (*Opera* 4:38); and *Sermone de conversione ad clericos* 5.7 (*Opera* 4:83).

835 **recheles** *adj.*, uncaring; see *MED recheles*. **feynt** *adj.*, feigned, false, faithless; see
MED feint, 1.

837 **conuersacion** *n.*, manner of living; see *MED conversacioun*, 1.

841 **encres** *n.*, growth, advancement; see *MED encres*, 1. **rebutyng** *ger.*, rebuking; see
MED rebouten, *v.*

more seculers, more dedeynous, more hawtein, more delicious, idel and vicious, 3yuyng euel ensample to alle men, feble and tedious to trauaile, slugged and slepy to prayer and passyng in pride, in ire, in envye and in diuerse oþer
 845 vices þan euere þei were bifore. And þenne her charite is waxen cold, and trouthe vanysshed away. Pees, ne pite, ne pacience ne toucheþ nat her concience. Meknesse is put abak, and þe loue of God forzete. And þenne bigynneþ vertues to valewe and vade, and vices to floury, and holy ordre dis-
 850 cresce, and synful lyuyng to encresce. And þerfor, if Y shal soth seye, þis wordle is ner hand at his ende. Bute suche wrecched religious haueþ forzete whi þei entred and how þei toke her religion. Alas, þey takeþ no kepe of her profession. And as Seynt Bernard seiþ, hit hadde be myche better for hem to haue dwellid stille in þe wordle þan to perisshe in religion. And why? For her dampnacion shal be hardere, in as myche as þei be bownde to gretter perfec-
 855 cion.

Wonder litel þenke þey vpon þe wordes of þat holy man Iob: *Dimitte me, domine, etc.* "Lord," he seide, "suffre me to bywayle and pleyne a litel my sorewe." He seiþ nat only "a litel" bute "a litel litel," and he seiþ merueil-
 860 lously wel. For al þe sorwe and al þe peyne of þis wordle in regard of þe peyne in þe oþer wordle is bute a shadewe, for no man þat is dedliche may ne can make comparison bitwexte hem. Alas, alas, to litel men þenke in þe litel sorwyng and weilyng here in þis lif, and þerfore þei go þe faster to þat gretter peyne after þis lif. For if þei wolde ofte þenke heron, þei wolde nat passe ouer so liztliche, as seiþ Seynt Gregor.

865 Bute here may a man telle of þre manere of peynes. The firste is þe liztest and þat is þe peyne þat men suffreth here in þis lif. The secunde is harder and þat is in purgatorye. The þridde is most hard, where is noþer ende ne mesure,

843 and repeated on the next line 850 wrecched] wreched MS 856-57 Dimitte
 ... etc. not underlined 858 seiþ¹ followed by two letters, deleted

852-53 Seynt Bernard ... religion: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo de conversione ad clericos* 20 (*Opera* 4:110-13).

856-57 *Dimitte me domine*: Job 10:20 (reiteration of the theme), marking the beginning of the last division.

864 as ... Gregor: the source has not been located.

842 **dedeynous** *adj.*, scornful, disdainful; see *MED disdeinous*. proud; see *MED hautein*, 1.

848 **valewe** *inf.*, fade, wither; see *MED falwen*, v. (2), 1.(b). away; see *MED faden*, v. (1).

hawtein *adj.*, haughty,

vade *inf.*, fade; waste

bat is þe peyne of helle. Fro þat peyne and þat deþ Ihesu Crist defende v(s),
 bat for vs suffred deþ, amen. And on of þese þre peynes, euery man and
 870 womman þat is born of woman only moot nedes suffre. For þer was neuere
 non bor of womman þat ne hadde in hym som manere of synne, saue he þat
 cam into erthe withoute synne, oure Lord Ihesu Crist, as seiþ Seynt Gregor
 super Lucam. And 3et was he nat quyt of peyne, 3et dide he neuer synne.
 875 "How may we þenne," seiþ Gregor, "be quyt of peyne þat haueth so mychel
 synned?" Hit were a3enst resoun and a3enst trouthe, and folie hit were to seye
 hit and wodnesse to þenke hit. And þat euery man and womman þat haþ syn-
 nyd shal suffre on of þese þre peynes, hit signifieþ wel where þat our Lord
 God sende þe prophete Gad to kyng Daid and sent hym word for o synne þat
 880 he hadde do, þat he sholde chese on of þre þynges: to | haue seuen 3eer gret
 hunger in his lond, or gret deþ by mortel werre and he to fle tofore his ene-
 myes, or thre dayes pestilence, þat is moryne of folk in his rewme þo þre
 dayes. And þat is bute a litel terme and þeron is vnderstonde þe peyne of þis
 lif, þat nys bute wonder short in comparison of þat in purgatorie. By the gret
 deþ by werre þat bitokneþ gretter terme is vnderstonde þe peyne of purgatory,
 885 þat is so hard, so peynful, so bitter and so greuous þat no man can telle hit
 saue he þat haþ felid hit. By þe seuen 3eer þat is a ri3t longe terme to hem þat
 beþ in prisone and in peyne is vnderstonde þe peyne of helle, whuche is so
 gret þat hit haþ non ende.
 Of þe firste peyne hit is nat mychel to speke, for þat peyne we haueþ ofte
 890 feled and doþ ny3t and day and þerfore we conne þe better telle þerof with-
 owte writyng. And þerfore leue we to speke þerof. And speke we of þe se-
 cunde þat is þe peyne of purgatorye, wuche is more anguyssous to suffre, as

868 vs inserted in the right margin; the second letter is lost at the edge
 inserted in the left margin 869 þat for
 870 of followed by soul, deleted 871 womman followed by
 only, deleted 874 Gregor followed by cue to writing in left margin 879 catchwords
 (haue vii 3eer gret hunger) at bottom right of fol. 49v

870–73 For . . . Lucam: see Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 39.8 (CCL 141:388–89); cf. *Moralia* 13.16.19 (CCL 143A 2:679–80).

874–75 How . . . synned: Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangelia* 39.9 (CCL 141:389), which starts with a slightly different line.

877–82 where . . . dayes: 2 Sam 24:11–13.

892–94 purgatorye . . . lyue: the same remark is attributed to St. Augustine in *Fasciculus*

873 3et² conj., although; see *MED yet, adv.*, 5(a) (as conj).

881 moryne n., plague; widespread sickness among people or animals; see *MED morein(e)*.

seip Seynt Austyn, þan eny peyne þat eny dedly man may suffre here in þis
 lyue. "For as Y trowe," he seyþ, "as þer is no comparisoun bitwexte a fir de-
 895 peyntyd in a wal and a materiel fir þat we mow se brenne byfore vs, riȝt so
 þer is no more comparison bitwexte þe materiel fir þat we seep brenne and þe
 fir of purgatorye." Ferþermore, alle þe turmentes þat may be þouȝt in þis lyue,
 he seyþ, as þe rostyng of Seynt Laurence, the peynful stone castyng to þe deþ
 of Seynt Stephne, the bitter huldyng of Seynt Bertholmeu, þe peynful cruci-
 900 fyzyng of Seynt Peter, ne beþ bute a shadewe in regard of þe peynes of purga-
 torye. And he þat þider shal come shal peraventure be þere as longe as he was
 here in þis lif, and þere shal greue hym more þe peyne of o day þan alle þe
 peynes þat euere he suffred here in þis lif, þow he hadde lyued meny mannes
 lif. And þat þis is soth we may fynde meny autoritees in Holi Writ, wherof Y
 905 shal shortly touche an ensample þat fel nat longe ago, and acordyng þerto.

Narracio. Hit bifel in a tyme þer was a good man and holy, þat was so sore
 take with siknesse þat hym hadde be leuer þan al þe gold in þe wordle, myȝte
 he haue deyȝed, and prayed our Lord to haue pite vpon hym and mercy þat he
 myȝte passe owt of þis wordle, for his siknesse was so feruent þat he myȝt nat
 910 endure hit. So myche he cryed and prayed þat þer cam to hym an awngel of
 heuene and seide hym, "Fair frend, þu desirest mychel to deye to be delyuered
 of þi peyne" "Ȝe, forsoþe," seide þe sik man. "Then," seide þe aungel, "wite
 þu forsoþe þat if þu passe, þu shalt be in purgatorye seuen ȝeer fullyche. And
 if þu wult suffre þis siknesse, þu shalt be quyt of purgatorye, and þu shalt
 915 frely wende to heuene <a>non as þu art ded, for God," he seide, "hap herd þy

894 comparisoun] *thick long s written over another letter* 901 longe followed by or
 lenger inserted above the line with a caret 907 wordle followed by mys, deleted
 915 anon as] as non as MS

Morum 5.2.181-83; the edition cites Ps.-Augustine, *De vera et falsa penitencia* 18.34 (PL 40:1128).

894-97 For . . . purgatorye: cf. Helinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 16 in festo Pentecostes I* (PL 212:618); the metaphor of natural fire and painted fire for the comparison of natural fire and the fire of purgatory can be found in several sources in the context of a reference to St. Augustine, but no Augustinian or Ps.-Augustinian source has been located; cf. *Fasciculus Morum* 1.15.24-25 (the reference here, however, is to the fire of hell).

897-901 alle . . . purgatorye: cf. *Fasciculus Morum* 1.9.34-35, where the names of Saints Peter, Paul, Lawrence and Bartholomew are listed in a similar way; Ps.-Augustine, *De vera et falsa penitencia* 18.34 (PL 40.1128) refers to the suffering of martyrs.

906-50 Hit . . . heuene: cf. Tubach, *Index*, no. 4002.

899 **huldyng** *ger.*, skinning, stripping off the skin; see *MED hilden*.

prayer. Ches now wether þu wolt abide here and suffre þis peyne, oþer dey
 anon and passe into purgatorye and perfourme þi penaunce þere fulle seuē
 3eer." "Yche haue leuer deye," he seide, "and perfourme my penaunce þere to
 be delyuered of þis peyne." "Make þe aredy," seide þe aungel, "þu shalt passe
 920 anon." | This sike man sente for his frendes, as þe manere is, to come bifore 50v
 hym, and þei cam, and he took his leue of hem and receyuyd al his riȝtes of
 holi churche and deide. Þe aungel took his soule and ladde hit into purgatory
 and went his wey anon. And sodeynly cam þe tormentours of þat place and
 took þe soule and ladde hit fro peyne into peyne so harde þat hit hadde ynow
 925 of peyne as hit þouȝt hire. What wolt þu but wel? Hit hadde so mychel peyne
 þat hit had leuere þan an hundred þousand wordles þat hit hadde do his
 penaunce in þis wordle and myche more siknesse hadde suffred þerto þan he
 hadde when he was here in þis lyue. And beyng þus þis soule in his penaunce
 in purgatory, þis aungel cam bifore hyt and seyde, "Faire broþer, how is hit
 930 with þe?" "A," seide þe soule, "I se wel now þat þu art no good aungel, fore
 þu hast disceyuyd me and hast halde me no couenaunt." "Whi so?" seide þe
 angel, "And wherof?" "I shal telle þe," seide þat oþer, "Þu byhetest me þat Y
 sholde be in purgatorye but seuē 3eer and no more and þen Y sholde come to
 ioye, bute Yche haue ben here more þan þritty wynter, and þerfore þu art nat
 935 trewe ne no good aungel." "Whi seist þu so, faire broþer? 3et hast þu be here
 bute sibbe was 3estarday eue til now, and al þat tyme was bute on nyȝt and
 half a day. And at þis, be soth," he seide, "þe freres bereþ now first þi body to
 putte hit in þe erthe." "Allas," he seide, "Allas, þat euere Y was born of wom-
 man! Allas and welawey, þat Y ne hadde suffred þat siknesse in þe wordle,
 940 for þat was nopyng in regard of þis here!" "And woldest þen gladly," seide þe
 angel, "come aȝen to þi body and suffre þat peyne to be quyt of þis?" "3e," he
 seide, "leuer þan al þis wordle wolde Y suffre þat peyne to haue reles of þis."
 "Now," seide þe aungel, "God haþ graunted þe þi prayer. Come with me
 anon, for þei leggiþ now þi body in þe erthe." And as sone as hy hadde ful
 945 seid þe office of buryȝyng and wolde haf nome þe body and leid hit in þe pit,
 þe soule entred into þe body and stod vp. And alle þe freres drow abak and
 derst nat aproche þerto til was longe þat he spak, and þen þei vndede hym and
 bar hym yn. And he tolde hem fro bigynnyng to þe ende of al þat was doo.

927 hadde suffred *inserted above the line with a caret*
 with a caret 941 he *inserted above the line with a caret*

938 he *inserted above the line*

925 **hit** refers to his soul.

937 **at þis**, at this moment.

948 **was doo**, happened; see *MED don*, v.(1), 4(a).

And he lyuede after in his maladye a litel while and deyde and wente to
 950 heuene.

Now Y praye þe, fair broþer þat herest þis, þenk inwardly in þyn herte, if
 þat þis man, whuche hadde so greet grace of God þat he sente hym an angel
 and graunted hym his desir as first to departe fro þe body, afterward to come
 955 aȝen to þe body, and at þe laste so holily deye and suffre suche peynes as he
 suffred diuerse tymes, how sore may we drede, carful wrecches, of þat forseid
 peyne, þat is in purgatorye? Hit is ful dredful, so God me helpe! Perfore Y
 counseil ȝow, doþ penaunce with ful herte and wyl whils ȝe beþ in þis lyue,
 fore þe kyngdom of heuene neȝheth faste þat ȝe mowe þe liztloker askape þe
 960 forseid peynes of purgatory and come to þat kyngdom þorwe þe help, grace
 and mercy of our Lord Ihesu Crist, þat is in heuene withowte ende. Amen.

951 þe inserted above the line with a caret
 caret 954 he inserted above the line with a caret
 the beginning of the next line

952 God inserted above the line with a
 caret 957 wyl followed by wil, deleted, at

THE ORIGINS OF THE “SARUM” CHRISM MASS AT ELEVENTH-CENTURY CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY

Christopher A. Jones

IN cathedral churches of the West, a blessing of holy oils by the bishop has for many centuries crowned the observance of Maundy Thursday. The blessing takes place in a special liturgy, the Chrism Mass (or Mass of the Holy Oils), many elements of which descend from the earliest Roman and Frankish sources through the Tridentine *Pontificale Romanum* to the present.¹

¹ On the history of the Roman Chrism Mass, see Peter Maier, *Die Feier der Missa chris-matis: Die Reform der Ölweihen des Pontificale Romanum vor dem Hintergrund der Ritus-geschichte*, Studien zur Pastoralliturgie 7 (Regensburg, 1990), cited hereafter as “Maier.” The following other abbreviations are used in my references:

GeA = the Sacramentary of Angoulême [Frankish Gelasian], cited by text number in *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis: Manuscrit B.N. Lat. 816, le sacramentaire Gélasien d'An-goulême*, ed. Patrick Saint-Roch, CCL 159C (Turnhout, 1987).

GeG = the Sacramentary of Gellone [Frankish Gelasian], cited by text number in vol. 1 of *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. Antoine Dumas and Jean Deshusses, 2 vols., CCL 159–159A (Turnhout, 1981).

GeV = the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, cited by text number in *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56) (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*, ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, with Leo Eizenhöfer and Petrus Siffrin, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta*, Series Maior, Fontes 4 (Rome, 1960).

GrH = the “Hadrianic” Gregorian Sacramentary, cited by text number in vol. 1 of *Le sacra-mentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes après les plus anciens manuscrits*, ed. Jean De-shusses, 3 vols., *Spicilegium Friburgense* 16, 24, and 28 (Fribourg, 1971–82; vol. 1 reprinted with corrections, 1992).

GrSp = the Carolingian “Supplement” to the Gregorian Sacramentary, cited by text number in vol. 1 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, ed. Deshusses (see GrH).

OR = *Ordo Romanus* / *Ordines Romani*, cited by *ordo* and subdivisions in *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, ed. Michel Andrieu, 5 vols., *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* 11, 23–24, and 28–29 (Louvain, 1931–61). Exceptionally, for “OR 51,” see the edition by Chavasse cited at n. 13 below.

Pont.Durand = the Pontifical of William Durand of Mende (late thirteenth century), cited by book, *ordo*, and subdivisions in vol. 3 of *Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, ed. Michel Andrieu, 4 vols., *Studi e Testi* 86–88 and 99 (Vatican City, 1938–41).

Pont.Rom.Curia = the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (thirteenth century), cited by *ordo* and subdivisions in vol. 2 of *Le pontifical*, ed. Andrieu (see Pont.Durand).

Pont.Rom.XII = the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century, cited by *ordo* and sub-

Like all liturgies, however, the early Chrism Mass knew both regional and diachronic variations. One especially peculiar offshoot from the Roman stock appears for the first time in a manuscript written, most agree, at Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, in the middle decades of the eleventh century. Service books of the following centuries indicate that this new variant on the Chrism Mass established itself at Canterbury and underwent many further revisions. The *ordo* stabilized in the twelfth century, by which time it had become a creature quite distinct from its Romano-Frankish and Romano-German peers. The mature “Canterbury *ordo*” for the Chrism Mass was, at some point before the mid-thirteenth century, adopted at Salisbury and hence could enjoy the added prestige of association by some, at least, with “Sarum Use.”²

This essay seeks to account for the singularity of the little-studied “Sarum” (better “Canterbury”) Chrism Mass and to trace its unusually clear lineage from pre-Conquest traditions.³ It is hoped, at the same time, that the interest of the project will be wider, as a case study of liturgical innovation in the central Middle Ages. Against models of change by piecemeal gains and losses or haphazard customizing, much that is new in this Canterbury *ordo* seems utterly unexpected, thorough, and purposeful. Substantial records (though far from complete) bear witness to late Anglo-Saxon pontifical liturgy, and Christ Church is well represented among the survivals. Yet little in the earlier Insular or, for that matter, continental evidence anticipates the directions taken by this *ordo*. Its sudden and quite full eleventh- and twelfth-century record offers a rare opportunity to follow step by step, from a point close to their origin, a highly complex series of liturgical experiments.

The emergence of this new form corresponds, I will ultimately argue, to changing perceptions of the holy oils, witnessed elsewhere by heightened concern to fix their number and functions, and by an increase of theological and canonistic reflection on the role of Chrism in different types of anointing. The motives at work in the Canterbury *ordo* were, it seems, as much conceptual or bookish as pragmatic. Its author(s) and reviser(s) show a high degree of sophistication in their approach to ritual, its textual sources, and its ideo-

divisions in vol. 1 of *Le pontifical*, ed. Andrieu (see Pont.Durand).

PRG = *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*, cited by *ordo* and subdivisions in *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, 3 vols., Studi e Testi 226–27 and 269 (Vatican City, 1963–72).

² For the specific evidence, see pp. 285–87 below.

³ Despite its oddity, the “Sarum” Chrism Mass has attracted little notice since remarks by W. G. Henderson, *Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, Surtees Society 61 (Durham, 1875), 251–65, 201–6, and 332–33. It is briefly discussed in a survey of Chrism Mass *ordines* by John Walter Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week, Its Services and Ceremonial*, Alcuin Club Collections 29 (London, 1932), 96–105.

logical valences. To appreciate their achievement in the Canterbury *ordo*, familiarity with several backgrounds is required, such as the various types of holy oil (part 1.1, below), the forms used to bless them in Roman, Frankish, and Romano-German sources (parts 1.2–3), and peculiarities already found in the blessing-rituals used in earlier Anglo-Saxon England (part 1.4). Against these backgrounds, it is possible to delineate the more remarkable features of the Canterbury *ordo*, to reconstruct their development (part 2), and then, finally, to consider how these revisions in totality suggest highly purposeful, historically specific designs (part 3).

1. BACKGROUNDS OF THE RITUAL

1.1. The Types of Holy Oil.

Pontifical liturgies shone light on the bishop's role as chief pastor in his diocese and intermediary between the local and universal church. Medieval ceremonies involving the bishop consequently tended towards ever greater splendor and complexity. A number of them have benefited from close study, especially the royal inaugurations or "coronations," but also rituals for confirming the baptized, ordaining clergy, administering public penance, and dedicating new churches. Less conspicuous than those, the blessing of oils on Maundy Thursday was nevertheless a crucial event in the annual life of any medieval diocese. Only a bishop could bless the oils needed by every priest to administer the routine sacraments of baptism and anointing of the sick. To judge by its frequent mention in conciliar decrees and capitularies, receipt of the new Chrism and other oils was more than a practical necessity; it was an act of submission that confirmed, year after year, canonical bonds between a bishop and his diocesan clergy.

The uses of holy oils, to say nothing of the rituals for blessing them, emerged differently in the East and West.⁴ Early Christianity recognized two types: an oil for healing the sick, and the "Chrism" (< Gr. *chrisma* "ointment, unguent") for the anointing associated with baptism. Already in late antiquity, some sources introduce a further distinction between Chrism and an oil used to anoint candidates before baptism, hence known as the "Oil of Catechumens" or "Oil of Exorcism." At Rome the distinction appears by the early fifth century, and the resulting threefold division of the oils seems already to have been taken for granted by the time the compiler of the so-called Old

⁴ On the general history of holy oils, see Philipp Hofmeister, *Die heiligen Öle in der morgen- und abendländischen Kirche: Eine kirchenrechtlich-liturgische Abhandlung*, Das östliche Christentum N.F. 6/7 (Würzburg, 1948), 18–24; and Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 1:335–61.

Gelasian Sacramentary was active. The three kinds would become normative in the Middle Ages, despite some instability in their nomenclature, or the occasional reversion to two major types, or the proliferation of other, minor types of blessed oil.⁵

The original purposes of the three oils are therefore reasonably clear. The complexity arises from their analogous and transferred uses, which often developed differently from region to region. As a Christian practice, anointing the sick had an obvious foundation in Scripture, at James 5:14 ("Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the church and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord") and also Mark 6:13. With such precedents, the Oil of the Sick had an unambiguous function. The Oil of Catechumens likewise did not drift far from its original service in exorcizing candidates for baptism. In some regions its uses would eventually expand to double, in effect, those of Chrism at ordinations and royal sacings, but these are comparatively late, restricted developments. For its part, Chrism had originally been used to anoint the newly baptized—probably as a literal expression of the anointing with the Holy Spirit mentioned in the New Testament (e.g., 2 Corinthians 1:21; 1 John 2:20 and 27). The rich associations of Chrism, and of anointing as *consecration*, reached far back into the Old Testament.⁶ God commanded Moses to make a "chrism" out of olive oil and fragrant spices, and with it to anoint the Ark of the Covenant, the vessels of the tabernacle, and Aaron the high priest (e.g., Exodus 30:22–33; Leviticus 8:10–12). The first kings of Israel, Saul and David, were both set apart for God's special purposes when they received anointing at the hands of Samuel (1 Samuel 10:1 and 16:13). These and other biblical precedents⁷ inspired multiple uses for Chrism in the early and medieval church. In addition to its use after baptism, Chrism would come to serve for anointing higher clergy at ordination and for consecrating holy objects, such as church buildings, altars, and sacred vessels. From at least the eighth century, Chrism would also play an increasingly important role in the inauguration rites of western monarchs. It is difficult to generalize about the early history of such developments,⁸ but their rationale seems to be a general perception that Chrism—unlike the other two types of holy oil—changes the character of the anointed, placing the thing or person in a new relationship to God and, hence, to human society.

⁵ As late as the ninth century, for example, some priests were combining the functions of the Oil of Exorcism and the Oil of the Sick; see Hofmeister, *Die heiligen Öle*, 21.

⁶ For fuller references to biblical and other literature, see Hofmeister, *Die heiligen Öle*, 14–17.

⁷ E.g., David was re-anointed by the men of Judah (2 Samuel 2:4), and again, at age 30, as "king of all Israel" (5:3). Solomon was anointed by Zadok and Nathan (1 Kings 1:34 and 45).

⁸ On these developments, see p. 226 below.

1.2. Early Roman and Romano-Frankish Sources.

Earliest tradition associates the blessings of Chrism and of the *oleum infirmorum* immediately with the occasions of baptism or visitation of the sick, whenever they befell.⁹ The custom, known in both East and West, of blessing the Chrism at the Mass of Maundy Thursday emerged in the seventh and eighth centuries (save in the Gallican rite, which originally placed the blessing of oils at mid-Lent or on Palm Sunday).¹⁰ It was only in the West, however, that all three oils came to be blessed on Maundy Thursday; in the East the blessing of the Oils of Exorcism and of the Sick lingered in the orbits of the particular ceremonies that used them. The West was also the innovator in finally restricting all three blessings to a bishop. That of the Chrism had long been a pontifical privilege, but the other two kinds of oil could originally be blessed by priests. This remained the custom of the East and was, presumably, the early practice at Rome.

Study of any part of medieval worship usually begins with the two earliest representatives of the Roman Mass liturgy, the "Leonine" and "Gelasian" Sacramentaries. The former, however, is fragmentary and contains no material for a Chrism Mass. The latter—both the Old Gelasian and the sub-group known as the "Frankish" or "Eighth-Century Gelasians"—may preserve important evidence of the early Roman Chrism Mass and its reception north of the Alps.¹¹ Scholars remain sharply divided, however, in their interpretation of the Gelasian material. For that reason, and because Gelasian influence on the Canterbury *ordo* appears to have been negligible, it is preferable to begin with the simpler and more influential material in the "Gregorian" Sacramentaries and certain of the *Ordines Romani*. As a reflection of seventh-century papal liturgy, the Gregorian Sacramentaries of "Type I" (the "Hadrianum" and the Sacramentary of Trento) included in their single formulary for Maundy Thursday three blessing-prayers, one for each of the holy oils.¹² Between the Type-I sacramentaries and corresponding directions in several of the *Ordines Romani* (Andrieu's numbers 24, 27, 28, 30B, and 31, as well as the earlier "Lateran *ordo*," also known as "OR 51"), we possess a store of information about the early Roman Chrism Mass.¹³ Since the core of the Roman

⁹ See Hofmeister, *Die heiligen Öle*, 44–45.

¹⁰ Antoine Chavasse, "La bénédiction du chrême en Gaule avant l'adoption intégrale de la liturgie romaine," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 1 (1945): 109–28.

¹¹ See pp. 225–26 below.

¹² The evidence for the Chrism Mass in "Type-II" Gregorians (represented by the Sacramentary of Padua) is complicated and not significant in the present connection; see discussion by Maier, 54–58 and 101.

¹³ GrH 328–37; see the summary and further references in Maier, 47–54. For the *Ordines Romani*, including "OR 51," see the survey in Maier, 58–75. OR 24 and 27 contain descriptions

ceremony endured, its main features can be reduced to a composite, below (fig. 1, left column).

The Gregorian books and *Ordines Romani* provide for a single Mass on Maundy Thursday. Some of these early sources stipulate that only two ampoules be prepared beforehand (this direction probably hearkens back to a time when the oil to be blessed for anointing the sick was presented by the people at the offertory).¹⁴ The Mass, with its own propers, then proceeds in the usual way down to the end of the eucharistic prayer. Then, near the end of the Canon (after the words of the *Nobis quoque*, “. . . sed veniae quaesumus largitor admitte”), but before the closing doxology (“Per quem haec omnia domine semper bona creas . . . omnis honor et gloria. Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen”), the Oil of the Sick is brought forward. The bishop recites over it the prayer “Emitte domine spiritum sanctum tuum paraclytum . . .” and concludes the Canon with the doxology. At this point, the Oil of the Sick is removed and the Mass continues with the Lord’s Prayer, the Fraction, the *Pax*, and the celebrant’s own communion. Then, before the other clergy or people communicate, the Chrism and Oil of Catechumens are brought forward. The *Ordines Romani* describe this presentation in some detail. Before Mass, the bishop has already mixed balsam with the contents of the larger or finer (*melior*) of the two ampoules, and this shall become the vessel of Chrism.¹⁵ Both ampoules are to be carried by acolytes in a very particular way: the two ends of a long piece of white silk (*sin don alba syrica*) are draped over the shoulders in such a way that part of the cloth looping down over the chest forms a kind of pocket, which cradles and partly conceals the ampoule as it is carried.¹⁶ The Roman texts unanimously have the blessing of Chrism before that of the Oil of Catechumens; prior to either, the *ordines* frequently mention certain minor accompanying gestures, such as three-fold breathings (insufflations) and signs of the cross. The consecration of the Chrism begins with an opening dialogue and response (“Sursum corda . . .”), followed by a

of the Chrism Mass similar to *OR* 28, 30B, and 31, save that they do not include the Oil of the Sick. *OR* 23 speaks only of one consecration, that of “Chrism,” where the exact meaning of the term is uncertain (Maier, 98). For “*OR* 51,” believed to reflect the liturgy of the Lateran basilica in the late seventh or early eighth century, I cite the text and divisions by A. Chavassee, “À Rome, le jeudi-saint, au VII^e siècle, d’après un vieil ordo,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 50 (1955): 21–35 (edition at 24–28). On the sources of this edition, see n. 36 below.

¹⁴ See Maier, 61.

¹⁵ Balsam is added before the Mass in *OR* 24, 27, 28, and 31, and in the ninth-century “Pontifical of Poitiers” (on the last-named, see Maier, 82–96).

¹⁶ This seems to be the meaning of the provision (here quoted from *OR* 24.15): “Et continuo duo acoliti involutas ampullas cum sindone alba syrica, ita ut videri possint a medio, tenent in brachio sinistro, proiectis sindonibus super scapulam sinistram, ita ut pertingant scapulam dextram, quatenus possint dependentia retinere.”

long prayer in the style of a eucharistic preface: "Vere dignum . . . aeternae deus. Qui in principio inter cetera bonitatis tuae munera. . . ." Typically, this is sung aloud. The prayer over the Oil of Catechumens, "Deus qui uirtute sancti spiritus . . .," immediately follows, but *tacite* (like the blessing for the Oil of the Sick). Finally, most of the *ordines* mention some act of veneration towards the Chrism, or to both the Chrism and Oil of Catechumens. Afterwards, the regular order of Mass resumes, with the communion of the remaining clergy and people, the post-communion prayer, and dismissal.

The core of the early Roman ceremony is a group of three prayers, intruded at the close of the Canon ("Emitte domine," for Oil of the Sick); and between the communions of the celebrant and the rest ("VD. Qui in principio," for Chrism, and "Deus qui uirtute," for Oil of Catechumens). From the outset, however, there were alternative arrangements. The most important was a legacy of the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, received through the so-called Frankish or Eighth-Century Gelasians.¹⁷ The Old Gelasian Chrism Mass agrees with the Gregorian in its placement and use of "Emitte domine" for the Oil of the Sick (though the Gelasian form has minor textual variants). The Mass then continues, but only as far as the Lord's Prayer and Fraction. At that point the celebrant does *not* communicate, but rather utters a standard liturgical greeting ("Dominus uobiscum . . .") followed by the prayer "Deus incrementorum [*sic*] et profectuum spiritalium munerator, qui uirtute sancti spiritus tui . . .," which is only a slightly expanded form of the Gregorian prayer over the Oil of Catechumens ("Deus qui uirtute"). Then follows another greeting, and the long preface "VD. Qui in principio"—which is, of course, the prayer for consecrating the Chrism in Gregorian books. This is followed by a rubric prescribing the addition of balsam to (the next? the preceding?) oil, then by two prayers for the Oil of Catechumens (here headed *Olei exorcizati confectio*) not found in the Gregorian tradition: "Exorcizo te, creatura olei . . ." and "VD. Qui mysteriorum tuorum secreta. . ."¹⁸ After this prayer, the celebrant returns to the altar, receives communion (no exchange of the *Pax* is mentioned), and the Mass proceeds to its completion.

¹⁷ GeV 375–90; cf. GeG 611–32, GeA 622–37, and Maier, 36–47, for additional references and discussion.

¹⁸ The exorcism shows close verbal similarities to two others included in the Old Gelasian *ordines* for ministering to the sick: GeV 607 (exorcism of baptismal water) and GeV 617 (exorcism of oil for anointing the sick, confusingly headed *Ad succurrendum. Benedictio olei exorcizato* [*sic*]); see Elmar Bartsch, *Die Sachbeschwörungen der römischen Liturgie: Eine liturgiegeschichtliche und liturgietheologische Studie*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 46 (Münster, 1967), 264–66 and 306–7, respectively. The new Gelasian blessing-prayer, "VD. Qui mysteriorum," has the opening of a preface; Chavasse believed it to be an older Gallican text for the consecration of Chrism ("La bénédiction," 128 and n. 68; cf. Maier, 120).

The Gelasian Chrism Mass has taxed the ingenuity of many a liturgical historian. There seems a good chance that the order as copied, with its repeated dialogues and misplaced rubric about the balsam, is a muddle. In it Chavasse perceived several layers of accretion, at the core of which was a vestige of the Old Gelasian's origin in the Roman presbyteral, rather than papal, liturgy.¹⁹ By that view, at the time the archetype of the Old Gelasian crossed the Alps, blessing the Oil of the Sick and of Catechumens was still a prerogative of ordinary priests in the titular churches. The presence of "Emitte domine" followed immediately by "Deus incrementorum . . . qui uirtute"—the prayer that, from the Gregorian tradition, we expect to pertain to the Oil of Catechumens—may represent the kernel of a Roman presbyteral Mass of Maundy Thursday, in which a consecration of Chrism would never have occurred. When this form of the ceremony reached Francia, a redactor added to the series two Gallican prayers for exorcizing and consecrating the Chrism, with the result that the order of blessings was, for a time, Oil of the Sick, Oil of Catechumens, and Chrism. Later, Chavasse's theory continues, a reviser familiar with papal tradition restored the Gregorian order by inserting the Roman Chrism-blessing "VD. Qui in principio" after "Deus incrementorum . . . qui uirtute"; the latter thereby lost any clear function and became merely a kind of anticipatory prayer before the consecration of Chrism. The same reviser, or another, kept the two originally Gallican Chrism-prayers but converted them into new blessings for the Oil of Catechumens (the wording of the euchology itself was suitably non-specific). The Frankish Gelasian books show efforts to make the best of this awkwardness inherited from the Old Gelasian: most move the rubric about adding balsam to a more logical place (before "VD. Qui in principio") and accept the untethered "Deus incrementorum . . . qui uirtute" as a lead-in to the chief blessing of the Chrism;²⁰ some also relocate the two latter blessings with respect to the communion rites, moving the Chrism-prayer to a point just after the final doxology of the Canon, and the prayer over the Oil of Catechumens to the end of the Mass, after the *super populum*.²¹

The Gelasian form of the Chrism Mass had a limited life of its own. Its more enduring legacy was to join the Gregorian Sacramentary and *Ordines Romani* as a source for the next major development in the Chrism Mass liturgy, witnessed in the well-known Romano-German Pontifical.

¹⁹ The following remarks summarize Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire Gélasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque de théologie, ser. 4, Histoire de la théologie 1 (Tournai, 1958), 133–39. For a weighing of Chavasse's hypothesis against some alternatives, see Maier, 105–14.

²⁰ No other function, at any rate, is easily imagined; see Maier, 45.

²¹ For fuller discussion and references, see Maier, 122–24.

1.3. The Romano-German Pontifical.

Assembled at Mainz in the mid-tenth century, the large collection of *ordines* known as the Romano-German Pontifical (*PRG*) exercised considerable influence both in itself and as a source-mine for Roman pontificals of later centuries. The most ambitious segment of the *PRG* was its *Ordo* 99 (= Andrieu's *Ordo Romanus* 50, Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus antiquus*) covering all the major liturgies in the ecclesiastical year, including a long description of the Chrism Mass on Maundy Thursday. In its elaborateness, the *PRG* Chrism Mass represents a major advance beyond earlier forms. As a source it bears on the present study at two levels: it very plainly influenced later modifications of the Canterbury *ordo*; but a case can also be made that the very beginnings of the Canterbury tradition show familiarity, direct or indirect, with various *PRG* traits.

Like the Gregorian Sacramentaries and *Ordines Romani*, the *PRG* provides for a single Mass on Maundy Thursday.²² In its structure—namely, the sequence and placement of the three blessings—the Chrism Mass in the *PRG* conforms to the Roman *ordines*. In the choice of prayer texts, however, the compiler of the *PRG ordo* drew from both Gregorian and Gelasian traditions. Minor textual variants hint that his exemplar for the prayers over the Oil of the Sick ("Emitte domine") and the Chrism ("VD. Qui in principio") was slightly closer to Gregorian than to Gelasian models. Those variants are trivial, however, next to a departure late in the prayer over the Chrism ("VD. Qui in principio"). The close of the original text (both Gelasian and Gregorian) had read "... unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, prophetas, et martyres, ut sit his qui renati fuerint ex aqua et spiritu sancto chrisma salutis. ..." The *PRG* form inserts three additional *ut*-clauses after "martyres":

... ut spiritualis lavacri baptismo renovandis creaturam chris-matis in sacramentum perfectae salutis vitaeque conformes [*var.* confirmes], ut sanctificatione unctionis infusa, corruptione primae nativitatis absorta, sanctum [*var.* secundum] uniuscuiusque templum acceptabilis vitae innocens odore redolescat, ut, secundum constitutionis tuae sacramentum, regio et sacerdotali propheticoque honore perfusi, vestimento incorrupti muneris induantur, ut sit his. ...²³

The phrases that make up the interpolation came from a Gallican eucharistic preface for Maundy Thursday ("VD. Clementiam tuam suppliciter obsecrare ...") preserved in the Gelasians and in the Carolingian "Supplement" to the Gregorian Sacramentary.²⁴ The mixed euchology in the *PRG* Chrism Mass is

²² *OR* 50.25.21–104 (= *PRG* 99.222–83); see further discussion by Maier, 124–36.

²³ Quoted from *OR* 50.25.92 (variants from *PRG* 99.275).

²⁴ *GeV* 378; *GeG* 614; *GeA* 626; *GrSp* 1586. Chavasse believed that this prayer was originally a Gallican preface for consecrating the Chrism ("La bénédiction," 113–14). Whatever its

again conspicuous at the prayers over the Oil of Catechumens. First is the exorcism “Exorcizo te, creatura olei,” identical to the prayer that the Gelasians introduced at the same point. Then follows the blessing “Deus incrementorum . . . qui uirtute.” Though textually the Gelasian form, the prayer has been rescued from its indeterminate position in Gelasian books (i.e., *before* the Chrism-blessing) and restored to its Gregorian place and function, as the prayer over the Oil of Catechumens.

Apart from such changes to the Roman core, several additional prayers appear for the first time in the Romano-German *ordo* (see fig. 1 below, right column). Formal exorcisms now intrude before the blessings of the Oil of the Sick and of the Chrism and may have been inspired by the exorcism before the Oil of Catechumens from the Gelasian tradition.²⁵ Also explicable as Gelasian influence, a mixing of balsam into the ampoule of Chrism takes place in the body of the Mass, rather than prior to the liturgy as in *OR* 24, 27, 28, and 31. Yet at this point the *PRG* goes much further than the Gelasian, for the commingling now figures as an important sub-ritual accompanied by two new prayers: “Oremus dominum nostrum omnipotentem, qui incomprehensibilem . . .” (over the balsam) and “Haec commixtio liquorum . . .” (as the bishop mixes the balsam with the oil).²⁶ At the end of his Maundy Thursday *ordo*, the compiler of the *PRG* added various alternative prayers (including some authentic Milanese-rite texts) for blessing the oils²⁷ as well as two sermons for a bishop to preach on the occasion.²⁸

ultimate source, the conflation of this text and the Roman preface may have occurred prior to the activity of the *PRG* compiler.

²⁵ The new exorcism over the Chrism (*OR* 50.25.91 = *PRG* 99.274) is close to the Gelasian form headed *ad succurrendum* (GeV 617), already cited (n. 18 above). The exorcism over the Oil of the Sick is perhaps a new composition for the *PRG*. See Bartsch, *Sachbeschwörungen*, 310–14; and Maier, 135–36.

²⁶ *OR* 50.25.88–89 (= *PRG* 99.272–73). The latter is modeled on the prayer “Haec commixtio corporis” that, by this date (tenth century), often accompanied the rite of commingling the bread and wine before communion.

²⁷ *OR* 50.25.138 (= *PRG* 99.295–96): *Benedictio olei ad omnem languorem*. Then follow *OR* 50.25.139–42 (= *PRG* 99.297–300), “Ambrosian” prayers for the Oil of the Sick, the Oil of Catechumens, and the Chrism (in that order). See general discussion by Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen* (above, n. 4) 1:342–50. Andrieu’s apparatus indicates that some copyists of the *PRG* incorporated these prayers at the appropriate points in the *ordo* itself. The “Ambrosian” formulas for the Chrism and Oil of Catechumens appear in authentic Milanese books; see Marco Magistretti, *Monumenta liturgiae Ambrosianae*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1897–1904), 1:93–110; and Pietro Borella, “La consecrazione degli olii nell’ antico rito ambrosiano,” *Ambrosius* 32 (1956): 92–98.

²⁸ *OR* 50.25.144–45 (= *PRG* 99.301–2): *Sermo generalis de confectione chrismatis* and *Item sermo de chrismate*. These, like the extraneous Ambrosian-rite prayers, were sometimes omitted from copies of the *PRG*.

The rubrics, too, are lengthier and more explicit throughout the *PRG* text, in part because they describe a ritual of greater complexity than did the earlier *ordines*. The most striking change occurs after the blessing of the Oil of the Sick and conclusion of the Canon, whereupon the bishop gives his blessing²⁹ and returns to his seat (all this much as in the *Ordines Romani*). Next, however, a grand procession of clergy exits the sacristy to carry the two remaining ampoules up to the altar-space. The rubrics describe this moment in great detail.³⁰ First come two acolytes carrying torches, followed by an acolyte carrying the ampoule of Chrism, flanked on either side by a crucifer. Next comes the acolyte bearing the Oil of Catechumens, flanked by two thurifers. (Both ampoules are carried half-veiled by a pendant swath of cloth, as dictated by the earlier *Ordines Romani*.) Behind these follows a cleric with the gospel book, then twelve priests walking two by two. At the rear of the procession are *pueri*, who meanwhile sing an apparently new proper hymn, "O redemptor sume carmen." Many other details in the *PRG* Chrism Mass could be mentioned, but for the sake of economy I have reduced its essential points to outline in the right-hand column of the following figure. Where distinguishable, the source traditions reflected in various parts of the service transmitted by the *PRG* are noted in parentheses (Gr = Gregorian Type I; *OR* = *Ordines Romani*, s. VII–IX; and Ge = material common to the Old and Frankish Gelasians).

Fig. 1: Synopsis of the early Roman and tenth-century Romano-German *ordines* for the Chrism Mass

"Hadrianic" Gregorian, *OR* 24, 27, 28, 30B, 31, and "OR 51" ("Lateran *ordo*")

PRG 99 (= *OR* 50)

(BEFORE MASS TWO AMPOULES ARE FILLED WITH OIL. THE FINER OF THE TWO SHALL BE THAT FOR THE CHRISM; THE BISHOP MIXES BALSAM IN IT)

(BEFORE MASS THREE AMPOULES ARE FILLED WITH OIL, WITH THE LARGEST OF THE THREE DESIGNATED FOR THE CHRISM. THE AMPOULE FOR CHRISM IS WRAPPED IN WHITE SILK, THE OTHER TWO IN DIFFERENT COLORS)³¹

²⁹ Though an ordinary feature of Gallican and Romano-Frankish pontifical Masses, this benediction was not mentioned in the earlier Chrism Mass *ordines*. The full text of the benediction at *OR* 50.25.76 (= *PRG* 99.266) is that associated with the Carolingian Supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary; see *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*, ed. E. Moeller, 4 vols., CCL 162 and 162A–C (Turnhout, 1971–79), 1:100–101 (no. 233), and further discussion at pp. 259–62 below (part 2.2.6).

³⁰ *OR* 50.25.79–81 (= *PRG* 99.268). No extant *ordines* prior to the *PRG* mention a full procession of one or more of the oils (but cf. the Roman [Lateran] source cited below, n. 97, which may reflect considerably earlier traditions). Maier, 129–30, discusses the possible significance of differences between this procession and the earlier entrance of the bishop and clergy (alluded to at *OR* 50.25.61 = *PRG* 99.252).

³¹ *OR* 50.25.21 (= *PRG* 99.222). Earlier customs for distinguishing the ampoules are rarely attested. The early Lateran *ordo* (*OR* 51.12 and 16) requires a golden vessel for the Chrism and

"Hadrianic" Gregorian, *OR* 24, 27, 28,
30B, 31, and "*OR* 51" ("*Lateran ordo*")

PRG 99 (= *OR* 50)

THE BISHOP RECITES THE CANON THROUGH
Nobis quoque, PAUSING BEFORE "Per quem
haec omnia . . ." THE OIL OF THE SICK IS
BROUGHT FORWARD

THE BISHOP RECITES THE CANON THROUGH
Nobis quoque, PAUSING BEFORE "Per quem
haec omnia . . ." THE OIL OF THE SICK IS
BROUGHT FORWARD (*OR*)

BLESSING FOR OIL OF THE SICK (*tacite*): "E-
mitte domine . . ."

EXORCISM FOR OIL OF THE SICK: "Exorcizo
te, inmundissime spiritus . . ."

THE BISHOP RESUMES THE CANON, FROM
"Per quem haec omnia . . ."

BLESSING FOR OIL OF THE SICK: "Emitte do-
mine . . ." (Gr/Ge)

LORD'S PRAYER & EMBOLISM

THE BISHOP RESUMES THE CANON, FROM
"Per quem haec omnia . . ."

FRACTION

LORD'S PRAYER & EMBOLISM

PAX

EPISCOPAL BENEDICTION

PAX

MINOR FRACTION OF HOST FOR CELEBRANT'S
COMMUNION

THE BISHOP COMMUNICATES AND RETURNS TO
HIS SEAT WHILE DEACONS COVER EUCHARIS-
TIC ELEMENTS ON THE ALTAR WITH A SINDON
ACOLYTES PRESENT AMPOULES OF CHRISM
AND OIL OF CATECHUMENS, PARTIALLY VEILED

THE BISHOP COMMUNICATES AND RETURNS TO
HIS SEAT WHILE DEACONS COVER EUCHARIS-
TIC ELEMENTS ON THE ALTAR WITH A SINDON
SOLEMN PROCESSION OF THE CHRISM AND
OIL OF CATECHUMENS

HYMN: "O redemptor sume carmen"

INSUFFLATION(S) AND SIGN(S) OF THE CROSS
OVER THE AMPOULE OF CHRISM

NEW PRAYERS BEFORE AND AT THE MIXING
OF BALSAM: "Oremus dominum nostrum . . .";
"Haec commixtio . . ."

BLESSING FOR CHRISM (*excelsa voce*): "Sur-
sum corda . . ."; "VD. Qui in principio . . ."

EXORCISM FOR THE CHRISM: "Exorcizo te
. . ." (Ge, but different use)

BLESSING FOR CHRISM (*alta voce*) "Sursum
corda . . ."; "VD. Qui in principio . . ." (Gr
+ Ge)

INSUFFLATION(S) AND SIGN(S) OF THE CROSS
OVER THE AMPOULE OF OIL OF CATECHUMENS

VENERATION OF CHRISM (*OR*)

EXORCISM FOR OIL OF CATECHUMENS: "Exor-
cizo te . . ." (Ge)

BLESSING FOR OIL OF CATECHUMENS (*taci-
te*): "Deus qui uirtute . . ."

BLESSING FOR OIL OF CATECHUMENS: "Deus
incrementorum . . . qui uirtute . . ." (Ge)

VENERATION OF ONE OR BOTH OILS

VENERATION OF OIL OF CATECHUMENS (*OR*)

CONTINUATION OF MASS, WITH COMMUNION
OF THE CLERGY, PEOPLE, POST-COMMUNION
PRAYER, DISMISSAL, ETC.

CONTINUATION OF MASS, WITH COMMUNION
OF THE CLERGY, PEOPLE, POST-COMMUNION
PRAYER, DISMISSAL, ETC. (*OR*)

a silver one for the Oil of Catechumens; it furthermore requires a white veil (*pallium album*)
over the former, a dark one (*fuscum*) over the latter; see Maier, 70–71. On the solution adopted
in some Anglo-Saxon *ordines* of labeling the ampoules, see p. 233 and n. 39 below.

Among the large number of manuscripts transmitting the Romano-German Pontifical, there inevitably occur departures from the text printed by Andrieu and Vogel-Elze. But these variations rarely touched the essential structure of the ceremony, which eventually passed, with some further elaborations, into the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century, the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia, and the Pontifical of William Durand (1293 × 1295).³²

1.4. The Chrism Mass in Anglo-Saxon England.

It is now possible, at last, to shift focus to England and the particular pre-history of the Canterbury *ordo*. Unsurprisingly, much of the textual evidence for celebration of the Chrism Mass in pre-Conquest England conforms to one or another of the majority traditions hitherto surveyed (viz. those of the Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentaries or the Romano-German Pontifical). Even so, Anglo-Saxon books as a group show some relatively distinctive traits,³³ among which those associated with the Canterbury (future "Sarum") *ordo* are the most distinctive by far. The wealth of witnesses to the Anglo-Saxon Chrism Mass results from a happily disproportionate survival of English pontificals and benedictionals from the later tenth to twelfth centuries. Though disputed in certain cases, the geographic spread represented by all these books does not likely take us beyond Winchester, Canterbury, and Worcester or York (the two last-named sees often held in plurality during the period in question). In such narrow limits, it is hardly surprising that many of the Anglo-Saxon pontificals show major textual affinities to one another even while, as whole collections, their exact relations defy stemmatic reconstruction.³⁴ Against the close-knit appearance of the group as a whole stands a

³² All edited by Andrieu (see n. 1 above); for analyses, see Maier, 136–51.

³³ This provisional statement is based on published materials (from Martène to the present), on modern secondary literature, and on inventories, where available, of unpublished manuscripts, especially Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1924); idem, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1937); J. Brückmann, "Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales," *Traditio* 29 (1973): 391–458. Evidence of non-Roman Western rites is scarce, but see n. 27 above (on Ambrosian prayers), and nn. 18 and 24 above (on Gallican antecedents). Anglo-Saxon forms of the Chrism Mass are surveyed and classified by Christopher A. Jones, "The Chrism Mass in Later Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 5 (London, 2005), 105–42.

³⁴ This difficulty attends the study of pontificals in general. It may result from their origin in collections of independent *libelli* containing the various *ordines*; see Neils Krogh Rasmussen "Unité et diversité des pontificaux latins aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles," in *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia 7 (Rome, 1976), 393–410; and idem, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge: Genèse du livre de*

marked diversity in certain *ordines*, including those for the Chrism Mass, which reflect several distinct textual traditions.

Traces of the Old- and Frankish-Gelasian Chrism Mass are scarce in Anglo-Saxon books, and what few there are may have arrived *via* the Supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary or as part of the Gelasian elements subsumed into the *PRG*.³⁵ The basic prayers and rubrics of the Hadrianum Chrism Mass were widely available in England. Occasionally copied in its pristine form, this text-group also attracted small elaborations in the rubrics, but in all such cases the results differed only incidentally from the Gregorians and *Ordines Romani*. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of Roman Chrism Mass materials as transmitted in Anglo-Saxon England is the concentration there of evidence for an archaic Roman variant of the ceremony, reconstructed by Chavasse and supposedly reflecting late seventh- or early eighth-century uses of the Lateran.³⁶ This Lateran *ordo*, now also known (since Mundó) as "*Ordo Romanus* 51," remains distinctive textually (in the wording of its rubrics), even though it survives only in later, predominantly Anglo-Saxon copies that have variously brought its rituals into closer conformity with the majority Gregorian tradition.³⁷

At the other end of the scale, the impressive *ordo* of the *PRG* was also available to the late Anglo-Saxon church, though from what date and at which

l'évêque, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* 49 (Louvain, 1998), 431–502 ("Essai de typologie").

³⁵ For example, the Gelasian Mass-preface "VD. Clementiam tuam" (GeV 378) was taken over as GrSp 1586 (see n. 24 above). Curiously, the same prayer (minus the opening dialogue) appears at the end of the Chrism Mass—in what function cannot be determined—in two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (the "Dunstan" and "Anderson"); see Jones, "Chrism Mass," 113.

³⁶ Chavasse's edition (n. 13 above) is based on four witnesses: (1) a copy in the now-lost (and probably misnamed) "Pontifical of Turpin," printed by Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 4.22 (Antwerp edition in four vols., 1736–38 [rpt. Hildesheim, 1966], 3:283–84); (2) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF] lat. 10575 (= the Egbert Pontifical, in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (the Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, ed. H. M. J. Banting, Henry Bradshaw Society 104 [Woodbridge, 1989], 128–30); (3) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale 368 (A.27) (= the Lanalet Pontifical, as *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. G. H. Doble, Henry Bradshaw Society 74 [London, 1937], 81–82); (4) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale 369 (Y.7) (= *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society 24 [London, 1903], 13–14). To these may now be added (5) the *ordo* copied as the main text in the Anderson Pontifical (see Jones, "Chrism Mass," 112–13). On the disputed date of the Lateran *ordo*, see Chavasse, "À Rome," and Anscharius Mundó (who first referred to it as "OR 51"), "Adnotationes in antiquissimum Ordinem Romanum Feriae V in Cena Domini noviter editum," in *Liturgica 2, Scripta et Documenta* 10 (Montserrat, 1958), 181–216; see also *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, pp. xxvi–xxix; Aimé-Georges Martimort, *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène: Étude codicologique*, Studi e Testi 279 (Vatican City, 1978), 476–77 (no. 1028).

³⁷ There is one exception: three copies of "OR 51" revise the (supposedly) earlier form of their text so as to place the bishop's communion after all three oil-blessings; see n. 120 below.

centers are disputed. Probably a large selection of *ordines* from the *PRG* was imported to England in the 1050s by bishop Ealdred of Worcester (later archbishop of York). So, in one sense, it may be correct to date the arrival of the *PRG* (as a collection) rather late in the life of the Anglo-Saxon church. The study of individual *ordines* in late Anglo-Saxon pontificals, however, lends increasing weight to the opinion that features of Romano-German ceremonial had already made their way across the Channel in the later tenth and earlier eleventh centuries—or, alternatively, compilers of English pontificals in the decades before Ealdred had independent access to *ordines* similar to ones seen by compilers of the *PRG* at Mainz.³⁸ An earlier or multi-stage arrival for some *PRG* rituals or their sources is the most economical way to explain Romano-German symptoms in some earlier Anglo-Saxon *ordines*, including a number of those for the Chrism Mass.

One such *ordo*, known at present from four copies, all of the later tenth or eleventh century, I have provisionally labeled the "*breviculum*-type" after its unusual stipulation that each of the three ampoules have an affixed label or tag (*breviculum*) bearing the name "Chrism" or "Oil of Catechumens" or "Oil of the Sick."³⁹ This *breviculum*-type *ordo* demands a short excursus for two reasons. First, it strongly hints of Romano-German influences, direct or indirect, in the generation before Ealdred. In that respect it offers an instructive

³⁸ On the complex influence of the *PRG* (or its sources) on Anglo-Saxon pontificals prior to the 1050s, see George Garnett, "The Third Recension of the English Coronation *Ordo*: The Manuscripts," *Haskins Society Journal* 11 (2003, issued for 1998): 43–71, esp. 66. A similar finding emerges from a study of the Anglo-Saxon church-dedication *ordines* by Thomas Davies Kozachek, "The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy, and Ritual" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1995), 351. For *PRG* influence on rites of public penance in Anglo-Saxon England, see nn. 57–58 below.

³⁹ Apparently this *breviculum* could be a permanent inscription, if the material of the ampoule permitted. I know of no other *ordo* with such a provision except for those of the Canterbury-family itself, which owes the detail to a *breviculum*-type text; see p. 249 below, and *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus* (Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, lat. 12052), ed. Nicholas Orchard, Henry Bradshaw Society 116 (London, 2005), cliii n. 260; the editor of the present journal has also kindly alerted me to a possible analogue in one narrative source, Hincmar of Reims's *Vita s. Remigii* 28 (PL 125:1153–54; *Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis* 10, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SS *Rerum Merovingicarum* 3 [Hannover, 1896], 290). For "OR 51," see n. 31 above. The other *Ordines Romani* and *PRG* typically distinguish the ampoules from one another by size or value (that for Chrism being biggest or most precious), or by the color of cloth used to veil them; for extensive references, see Maier, 60, 70–71, and 126. Hereafter I employ the neuter *breviculum* (plural *brevicula*) by default, although the word appears in the texts under discussion only in the accusative singular, making it impossible to determine whether the authors took the term as neuter or masculine. Both genders are recorded by the *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. O. Prinz et al. (Munich, 1967–), s.v. *breviculus*; neuter and feminine forms only are recorded by the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham et al. (London, 1975–), s.v. *breviculum*.

parallel, since identifying and dating liturgical changes inspired by the *PRG* will be recurring challenges in the discussion ahead. The second and plainer interest of the *breviculum*-type is that it served as a major source for the Canterbury *ordo* and so illumines the origins of the latter (see part 2.2.2 below).

The fullest versions of the *breviculum*-type occur within a longer *ordo* for Maundy Thursday, including a reconciliation of penitents and Vespers, preserved in two French manuscripts: the “Ratoldus Sacramentary” (Paris, BnF lat. 12052), and a quire of liturgical texts appended to the so-called Pontifical of Egbert (Paris, BnF lat. 10575).⁴⁰ Neither witness necessarily bespeaks a French origin for this type of *ordo*. The Ratoldus book, written for the Corbie abbot of that name (ca. 972–986), consists of texts ambitiously combined from two distinct sources: one a northern French (ultimately Saint-Denis) sacramentary, the other an Anglo-Saxon pontifical with apparent affiliations to Canterbury, perhaps from the period of Oda’s archiepiscopacy (941–58).⁴¹ All evidence suggests that Ratoldus’s *breviculum*-type *ordo* (and, indeed, the longer Maundy Thursday order of which it is a part) came from the same Anglo-Saxon source. Likewise, an Anglo-Saxon element lurks in the “supplement” to the Egbert Pontifical. The body of that book was copied ca. 1000 at an unidentified English center. It is generally held that the manuscript left England soon after it was written and traveled to Évreux; there it received the supplementary quire (now fols. 179–87) which includes the same *ordo* for Maundy Thursday as found in Ratoldus.⁴² It should be pointed out, however,

⁴⁰ The “Ratoldus” *ordo* for Maundy Thursday was edited by H. Netzer in *L’introduction de la messe romaine en France sous les Carolingiens* (Paris, 1910), 252–56; but this edition is now superseded by *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, 189–201 (nos. 836–81). The Egbert supplement is printed in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, 145–53; thus the Egbert Pontifical has two entirely distinct Chrism Mass *ordines*: “OR 51” in the original part of the book (see n. 36 above) and a *breviculum*-type among the supplemental leaves.

⁴¹ On Anglo-Saxon backgrounds of the pontifical in Ratoldus, see C. E. Hohler, “Some Service-Books of the Later Saxon Church,” in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. David Parsons (London, 1975), 60–83 and 217–27; Andrew Prescott, “The Text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold,” in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), 119–47, at 135–44; Helen Gittos, “Creating the Sacred: Anglo-Saxon Rites for Consecrating Cemeteries,” in *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Sam Lucy and Andrew Reynolds, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs 17 (London, 2002), 195–240, at 198–200; Kozachek, “Repertory of Chant,” 328–30; and now extensively *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, xxxi–xxxiii and xcvi–clxxxii.

⁴² On the date and makeup of the Egbert Pontifical, see Banting’s introduction and Martimort’s description (above, n. 36), as well as Janet L. Nelson and Richard W. Pfaff, “Pontificals and Benedictionals,” in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, Old English Newsletter Subsidia 23 (Kalamazoo, 1995), 87–98, at 90. The date of the book’s export to Normandy is uncertain, associated by Banting (*Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, x) with the career of Thurstan, archbishop of York (1119–40), whose brother Audoen was bishop of Évreux (1113–39). Others

that the contents of the added leaves offer no evidence to associate them with the local liturgy of Évreux.⁴³ Even if the quire was copied there, its texts in fact show substantial affiliations with earlier English books.⁴⁴ Certainly, the other copies of the *breviculum*-type Chrism Mass known to me survive in books of unquestionably Anglo-Saxon origin. The first, probably written at Worcester in the first half of the eleventh century (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College [CCCC] 190, manuscript pages 259–64), contains a slightly variant text of the same Maundy Thursday *ordo* as in Ratoldus and the Egbert supplement.⁴⁵ The other Anglo-Saxon copy is a severely abridged or defective version of the *breviculum*-type Chrism Mass only (without the adjoining rituals for Maundy Thursday) on fols. 133r–136v of "Claudius Pontifical I" (London, British Library Cotton Claudius A. iii). This manuscript, written ca. 1000, has often been attributed to Winchester, but more recent opinions favor Worcester or York, and Nicholas Orchard has lately pointed out various hitherto unrecognized similarities between "Claudius I" and the pontifical incorporated into Ratoldus.⁴⁶

argue for an export before the end of the eleventh century; see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 370; David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 5 (Woodbridge, 1992), 86.

⁴³ Leroquais, *Pontificaux* 2:163 (no. 144), implies that there is liturgical evidence, as does Ker (*Catalogue*, no. 370): "see ff. 179–81 for evidence of provenance." I find no support for this inference among the texts of the supplement itself, other than a seventeenth-century annotation across the top of fol. 179r (the opening of the added quire): "Ebroicensis ecclesiae ritus in Caena domini ab annis circiter 800 [sic] scripti." (The transcription of this note in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, xiv and 145 n. 37, misprints *Eboracensis* "York" for *Ebroicensis*. Even so, Banting's discussion follows Leroquais and Ker in assuming that the texts of the supplement came from Évreux.)

⁴⁴ Banting noted some of the connections (*Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, 145–48 nn. 37–41).

⁴⁵ The Maundy Thursday *ordo* in CCCC 190 begins with a majuscule rubric and a reference to the hymn "O redemptor" (neumed); the full text of the hymn, and the ordinal materials that precede it in the Corpus-Cambridge manuscript, also appear in another Wulfstanian codex, London, British Library Cotton Nero A.i; see n. 56 below.

⁴⁶ The present Cotton Claudius A.iii contains fragments of three originally separate pontificals. "Claudius Pontifical I" is now fols. 31–86 + 106–50, the Chrism *ordo* beginning on 133r and ending abruptly, after the prayer over the Oil of Catechumens, at the top of 136v; see *The Claudius Pontificals (from Cotton MS. Claudius A.iii in the British Museum)*, ed. D. H. Turner, Henry Bradshaw Society 97 (London, 1971), 28–30; see further Nelson and Pfaff, "Pontificals and Benedictionals," 91, and Christopher A. Jones, "Wulfstan's Liturgical Interests," in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 10 (Turnhout, 2004), 325–52, at 334–46. Banting (*Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, 150 n. 43) acknowledged but understated similarities between the Chrism Mass *ordines* in the Egbert supplement and Claudius Pontifical I. For the points of contact with Ratoldus, see *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, e.g., xxxii, xcvi, cxii–cxix, cxxxviii, and cxlvii–cl.

From a purely liturgical viewpoint, the *breviculum*-type respects earlier Roman and Romano-Frankish models.⁴⁷ The choice of prayers (given by incipit in the Egbert supplement and CCCC 190, but fully in Ratoldus and Claudius Pontifical I) reflects the Hadrianum only, without such extra formulas or exorcisms as characterize the Gelasians and *PRG*.⁴⁸ The only additions to the euchology in the *breviculum*-type are two short prayers inserted before the blessing of Chrism:

Consecratio chrismalis: Oremus fratres carissimi. ut deus omnipotens hoc mysterium corporis filii sui domine [sic] nostri iesu christi gerulum benedictione sanctificationis tutamine defensionis et donationis implere dignetur orantibus nobis. per eundem.

Alia: Omnipotens sancta trinitas deus manibus nostris opem tue benedictionis infunde. ut per nostram benedictionem hoc uasculum sanctificetur et corporis christi nouum sepulchrum spiritus sancti gratia perficiatur. per.⁴⁹

The same two prayers appear similarly placed in the Chrism Mass in a number of other Anglo-Saxon books.⁵⁰ By their content the prayers concern the oil-vessel itself (*chrismale*) rather than the oil inside. Both texts were lifted straight from a Gallican *ordo* for the dedication of churches (with their individual furnishings, such as the *chrismale*), which passed into the Old Gelasian Sacramentary and thence into some Frankish Gelasians.⁵¹ Significantly, these

⁴⁷ Describing the bishop's sermon over the penitents, the text includes the aside "sicut ordo precipit romanus" (*Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, 148; cf. *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, 190 (no. 842), and CCCC 190, p. 260), implying some remove from the "Roman" source. The *PRG* does not provide for such a sermon, but the comment may have in mind the *ordo* that immediately precedes in CCCC 190 (at p. 258: "surgens episcopus faciat uerbum exortatorium ad ipsos penitentes de eadem lectione [viz., a sermon by Abbo of Saint-Germain that has just been read by the deacon]").

⁴⁸ See p. 228 above.

⁴⁹ Both quoted from *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, 151; cf. *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. Turner, 29, and *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, 197 (nos. 867–68). The *ordo* in the Egbert supplement does not ordinarily give complete prayer texts, so its inclusion of these two prayers in full is noteworthy.

⁵⁰ That is, (1) in the earliest (and probably continental) stratum of the so-called Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 579); (2) in the original (early eleventh-century) portion of CCCC 146, the "Samson Pontifical"; and (3) in a marginal addition to London, British Library Add. 57337, the "Anderson Pontifical." None of these is a *breviculum*-type *ordo*. Such crossing of family lines, however, is quite typical of the Anglo-Saxon evidence; see Jones, "Chrism Mass," 111 and 128–30.

⁵¹ Nos. 67–68 in the Gallican *Missale Francorum* (*Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat.* 257), ed. Leo Cuni- bert Mohlberg, with Leo Eizenhöfer and Petrus Siffrin, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta*, Series Maior, Fontes 2 (Rome, 1957). These prayers appear as GeV 701–2 *Praefacio chrismalis* and *Item alia*, the last two under the item LXXXVIII: *Orationes in dedicatione basilicae nouae*. They appear in the same arrangement as GeG 2434–35 and GeA 2036–37.

two prayers have been inserted into the *breviculum*-type Chrism Mass at the very point where the Gelasians and *PRG* require the mixing of balsam and oil. While the *breviculum*-type clearly follows the *Ordines Romani* in placing that action before the Mass, familiarity with the Gelasians or *PRG* would explain some compiler's wish to preface the blessing of the Chrism with such prayers over the vessel.

More than their euchology, what separates this small sub-group of texts from the older *Ordines Romani* are rubrical details beginning with the aforementioned *brevicula* to distinguish one ampoule from another.⁵² Likewise the instructions for passing the half-veiled vessels back and forth at the altar are more elaborate than in comparable texts, and (in Ratoldus and the Egbert supplement) the covering of the bread and wine after the celebrant's communion is also detailed in an unusual way.⁵³ Texts of the *breviculum*-type for the Maundy Thursday ritual as a whole include several points that recall developments associated with the *PRG*. The bishop's entrance procession, for example, is headed by seven deacons, seven subdeacons, and acolytes with torches and thuribles.⁵⁴ Later, the three acolytes carrying the ampoules proceed from the sacristy after the Canon of the Mass has begun.⁵⁵ (The hymn "O redemptor" is not mentioned at this point in the description, but a note just before the *ordo* in CCCC 190, p. 259, does give the incipit of the hymn with the rubric *Versus in Cena Domini quando crisma de secretario portatur. hoc est antequam ad missam dicatur. Per quem hæc omnia domine semper bona creas. sanctificas. O redemptor . . . et ea quæ secuntur.*⁵⁶) Finally, the *brevicu-*

⁵² *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, 150; *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, 194 (no. 860); CCCC 190, p. 261; *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. Turner, 28.

⁵³ *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, 151; *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, 196 (no. 865); CCCC 190, pp. 261–63; *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. Turner, 28–29. As in the analogues, the vessels are passed up and back from one clerical rank to the next, but this *ordo* is unusually explicit in describing how each minister shall arrange the *sin*don on his person. All texts that descend from the *Ordines Romani* likewise include the instruction about veiling the bread and wine after the celebrant's communion, but the Egbert supplement stipulates that the bishop himself shall help do this. Ratoldus and the Egbert supplement also unusually require that the paten be placed in the middle of the altar, the principal chalice on the right side and a second, empty chalice on the left.

⁵⁴ *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, 148; *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, 189 (no. 837); CCCC 190, pp. 259–60; cf. *OR* 50.25.61 (= *PRG* 99.252).

⁵⁵ *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, 150; *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, 194 (no. 860); CCCC 190, p. 261; *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. Turner, 28; cf. *OR* 50.25.80–83 (= *PRG* 99.268–70).

⁵⁶ CCCC 190, p. 259. The same rubric, followed by the entire hymn, occurs in another Anglo-Saxon manuscript, London, British Library Cotton Nero A.i, "Part B" [= fols. 70–177], a book most likely copied at Worcester or York in the early eleventh century. The first four stanzas of the hymn, fully neumed, are written on fol. 172r–v; see *A Wulfstan Manuscript Con-*

lum-type collapses into one synaxis elements that are kept apart in other traditions. It inserts the full order for reconciliation of public penitents (corresponding in many details to the reconciliation rite in the *PRG*) between the gospel and offertory.⁵⁷ The three complete copies of the *breviculum*-type also merge the end of this already crowded Mass with Vespers of the day and the ceremonial foot-washing (*mandatum*) thereafter. The *PRG* kept all these ceremonies formally distinct, but their contiguity in the manuscripts and the demands of time make the solution in the *breviculum*-type understandable.⁵⁸

2. THE CANTERBURY *ORDO*

Wherever the Canterbury *ordo* draws on identifiable sources, such as a text of the *breviculum*-type, the Hadrianic Gregorian, and the *PRG*, its innovations stand out plainly. Foremost among them are (1) the addition of long full introductory rubrics, including a spiritual exegesis of the procession of the holy oils; (2) a change to the order in which the oils are blessed; (3) changes in the placement of the blessings; and (4) expansive rewriting of most of the received formulas, as well as the addition of several new, lengthy prayers.

taining Institutes, Laws and Homilies: British Museum Cotton Nero A.I., ed. Henry R. Loyn, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 17 (Copenhagen, 1971). In Nero A.i the hymn immediately follows a block of material about Lenten public penitents (fols. 168r–172r), and the whole is much the same block that appears on pp. 245–59 in CCCC 190. It is therefore remarkable that Nero A.i does *not* continue, after the hymn, with a copy of the *breviculum*-type *ordo*.

⁵⁷ Here Ratoldus and the Egbert supplement seem to transmit a different tradition from the one that CCCC 190 transmits, but both recensions mimic the *PRG* by mentioning the (arch)-deacon's preparatory announcement (cf. *OR* 50.25.25 = *PRG* 99.224); Ratoldus and Egbert also include the bishop's prostration (ed. Banting, 148; ed. Orchard, 190 [no. 842]; cf. *OR* 50.25.34 = *PRG* 99.229). Just prior to its copy of the *breviculum*-type *ordo*, CCCC 190 contains another *ordo* for the reconciliation of public penitents (pp. 252–59, material also found in Cotton Nero A.i [see preceding note]) which shows even stronger similarities to the *PRG*, especially in the repetition of the antiphon *Venite* (cf. *OR* 50.25.29–31 = *PRG* 99.228, with some close parallels of wording in the rubrics). On the gradual infiltration of *PRG* traits into earlier English rituals of penance—a process that obviously mirrors, in general terms, developments affecting the Chrism Mass—see Sarah Hamilton, “Rites for Public Penance in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Gittos and Bedingfield (above, n. 33), 65–103. Her study, restricted to service books proper, does not take account of the *ordines* in the more miscellaneous CCCC 190.

⁵⁸ The penitential liturgy occurs at *OR* 50.25.23–59 (= *PRG* 99.223–51) and is not entirely consistent with the provisions for the Mass of the Holy Oils, as both are said to commence *hora tertia*. Both the *breviculum*-type and the *PRG* mention the preparation of the three ampoules *mane primo*, before the reconciliation liturgy (*OR* 50.25.21 = *PRG* 99.222). The reconciliation of penitents and blessing of the oils are incorporated into the same Mass at *OR* 31.20, but not commonly elsewhere. For Vespers and the rest, see *OR* 50.25.105–37 (= *PRG* 99.284–94).

Understanding the liturgical aspects, however, first requires a sorting out of complicated textual evidence behind the label "the Canterbury *ordo*," several versions of which survive. Some of the most distinctive features seem to have been introduced all at once, but other major adjustments evidently continued to be worked out over a considerable span of time. On purely textual criteria, the eleventh- and twelfth-century copies can be sorted into three groups. The exact relations among them are now hard to recover, but the best hypothesis sees in the three textual families three successive stages of development, providing the terminology of "Stages I–III" adopted hereafter (the arguments for this sequence are given in greater detail below, pp. 246–65 and 280–81). To avoid overuse of long block-quotations in support the textual argument, I include as an Appendix complete parallel versions of the different stages, with selective critical apparatus and notes. Subsequent references to the rubrics (**r**) and prayers (**pr**) in the *ordo* will follow the division of items in that Appendix.

2.1. Manuscripts.

Sorting out the textual relations requires first a synopsis of pertinent manuscripts. A few of the relevant books emanate from Christ Church Cathedral itself and nearly all of them can be linked to Canterbury province. The groupings below are based on the recension-history (Stages I–III), which happens to parallel, more often than not, a chronology of the manuscripts based on palaeographical criteria. Unless otherwise indicated, all these manuscripts are pontificals or combined pontifical-benedictionals.

Stage I

Stage I represents the shortest and least developed of the three versions. Its rubrics and prayers stand textually closer to earlier, identifiable sources than is the case in II or III. Only two copies of this stage survive:

CantB = London, British Library Harley 2892, "Canterbury Benedictional" (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. XI^{2/4});⁵⁹

*CantB*₂ = *ibid*: a second copy of the same *ordo*, now bound at the front of Harley 2892 (as fols. 1–16); the text is incomplete, its last words at the bottom of fol. 16v being "propheticoque honore" (near the end of my **pr 10a**).

Since it preserves the earliest witnesses to our *ordo*, Harley 2892 (the "Canterbury Benedictional") holds an obvious importance. Attribution of the main

⁵⁹ *The Canterbury Benedictional* (British Museum, Harl. MS. 2892), ed. Reginald Maxwell Woolley, Henry Bradshaw Society 51 (London, 1917), 36–42.

part of the codex (fols. 17–214) to Canterbury, and specifically to Christ Church, depends on clues from the *Sanctorale*, but also on scattered references to an “archbishop” and a mention, in the *ordo* for Palm Sunday, of a procession to a church of St. Martin, probably the ancient parish of that name outside the walls of Canterbury.⁶⁰ The book contains a proper blessing for the Translation of St. Ælfheah (Elphege) and so must have been copied after 1023, a dating confirmed by the script, which is a large, rotund “Style-IV” Anglo-Caroline.⁶¹ An upper limit, unfortunately, is harder to fix. The editor of the book, Reginald Woolley, argued that its materials must have been assembled before Lanfranc’s reforms of the Canterbury liturgy.⁶² He furthermore quoted the judgment of Sir George Warner in favor of a palaeographic dating “within the second quarter of the eleventh century.”⁶³ Recently Alicia Corrêa has arrived at nearly the same conclusion (a date of 1023 × 1052) based on further analysis of the book’s *Sanctorale*.⁶⁴ Opinion is still divided over whether to place the manuscript earlier or later within the second quarter of the eleventh century.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ On the liturgical evidence, see *Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. Woolley, xiii–xiv, and Alicia Corrêa, “St Austraberta of Pavilly in the Anglo-Saxon Liturgy,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 15 (1997): 77–112, at 77 and 103–9. Corrêa also builds a strong case against the notion that Harley 2892 was assembled at Winchester for Canterbury use; cf. Andrew W. Prescott, “The Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals,” *British Library Journal* 13 (1987): 118–58, at 132–33; and Richard Gameson, “Manuscript Art at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the Generation after St Dunstan,” in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), 187–220, at 211 n. 102.

⁶¹ *Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. Woolley, xxv. On “Style-IV” Anglo-Caroline at Canterbury from the second quarter of the eleventh century, see David N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030*, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History* 6 (Woodbridge, 1993), 111–40.

⁶² Lanfranc’s impact on Canterbury liturgy continues to be much debated (and, inevitably, more focused on the cult of saints than on other aspects); see esp. Richard W. Pfaff, “Lanfranc’s Supposed Purge of the Anglo-Saxon Calendar,” in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1992), 95–108; cf. T. A. Heslop, “The Canterbury Calendars and the Norman Conquest,” in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066–1109*, ed. Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe (London and Rio Grande, Ohio, 1995), 53–85; Jay Rubenstein, “Liturgy Against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury,” *Speculum* 74 (1999): 279–309.

⁶³ *Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. Woolley, xiii.

⁶⁴ Corrêa, “St Austraberta of Pavilly,” 108–9, although elsewhere the same article refers to the book as “mid-eleventh century” (103), and “written at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the second half of the eleventh century” (77).

⁶⁵ See the cautionary remarks of Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History* (above, n. 42), 79–80, who speaks only of a “mid-eleventh-century” date; cf. Prescott, “Structure,” 132: “shortly after 1023” (similarly Gameson, “Manuscript Art at Christ Church,” 211 n. 102); Nelson and Pfaff, “Pontificals and Benedictionals” (above, n. 42), 92: “ca. 1030”; Nicholas

In format and script, *CantB₂* appears to have an origin different from and, perhaps, a little earlier than the main part of the book. Textually, however, *CantB₂* is so close to the *ordo* in *CantB* (the similarity extending so far as eccentric word-divisions) that the former was very possibly the exemplar of the latter.⁶⁶ If so, *CantB₂* may well be the remnant of an independent *libellus*, a kind of document that has rarely survived but must have played a significant role in the diffusion of pontifical *ordines*.⁶⁷

Stage II

At some point before ca. 1075 (the approximate date for the copying of *Cp*, below), a Stage-I document underwent full-scale revision to its rubrics and prayers.⁶⁸ The initial results appear scantily preserved, and it must be admitted that, of the three manuscript groupings, Stage II is the least firmly supported:

Cp = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265 (a miscellany of canonistic, pastoral, and liturgical texts), pp. 228–31 (Worcester, s. XI^{3/4}); a scribe copied the long initial rubric (r 0.1 through r 1) then left blank the last five lines of 231 and all of 232–36;

Mart = "Ordo III" printed by Martène in his *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*⁶⁹ from one or two lost manuscripts, *MartL* and *MartR*, reported to be of Lyre (diocese of Évreux), ca. 1100, and Reims (Saint-Remi), ca. 1200, respectively;

Do = Douai, Bibliothèque municipale 67 (? Canterbury province, s. XII).⁷⁰

Orchard, "The Bosworth Psalter and the St Augustine's Missal," in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*, ed. Eales and Sharpe, 87–94, at 89 n. 14: "c. 1030–50"; more recently Orchard has associated the contents of Harley 2892 specifically with the archiepiscopate of Stigand (1052–70); see *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, cxi.

⁶⁶ The judgment that fols. 1–16 are somewhat earlier was George Warner's, reported by Woolley (*Canterbury Benedictional*, xiii). Woolley did not edit the duplicate matter on fols. 1–16, but see his introduction, xi–xiii. No more recent attempts to date or localize *CantB₂* are known to me. Part of the difficulty is its style of script, which is unusually large and artificial even by the standards of "Style-IV" Anglo-Caroline.

⁶⁷ See works by Rasmussen, cited at n. 34 above, and Éric Palazzo, "Le rôle des *libelli* dans la pratique liturgique du haut moyen âge: Histoire et typologie," *Revue Mabillon*, nouv. ser. 1 (1990): 9–36.

⁶⁸ Errors in *CantB* and *CantB₂* not transmitted to Stages II–III suggest (but do not prove) that neither copy in the present Harley 2892 stood as exemplar for the latter redactions.

⁶⁹ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 4.22 (§ 3) "Ordo III" (3:248–54).

⁷⁰ The script has been dated to the first half of the twelfth century, the contents associated with Canterbury or Canterbury province; see Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* (above, n. 33) 1:148; Kozachek, "Repertory of Chant" (above, n. 38), 298. An eighteenth-century notice at the head of Douai 67 claims that the book was donated to the church of Marchiennes by Thomas Becket. Despite its twelfth-century date, some *ordines* in Douai 67 seem to reflect older models, a pattern that would accord with its Stage-II Chrim Mass on fols. 110r–114r. See the general description in Henderson, *Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge* (above, n. 3), xx–xxi.

The great Maurist, Martène, based his edition of this *ordo* on a Stage-II manuscript from Reims (presumably a pontifical), but the book has since been lost.⁷¹ Further doubts cloud the printed testimony, as Martène's account of his sources does not entirely add up. His manuscript from Lyre (also untraceable)⁷² evidently contained readings that would affiliate it with Stage-III copies. His third manuscript, which does survive (now Paris, BnF lat. 14832, discussed below), verifiably belongs to Stage III, yet Martène gave no indication of the major differences between it and the Stage-II text printed in *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*. To compound the uncertainties, Martène printed only incipits for some of the prayers (namely **pr 2** and **pr 4**), so their affiliations cannot now be determined.

The only other witnesses to Stage II known at present are problematic for different reasons. The Cambridge witness *Cp*—the only manuscript among all these being considered (for Stages I–III) that is not an actual service-book—contains only the long opening rubric (**r 0.1** through **r 1**), after which the text breaks off abruptly; several blank pages follow, perhaps enough space to finish copying the *ordo* if some prayers had been reduced to incipits. The Douai pontifical (*Do*) shares with *Cp* and *Mart* decisive variants in the opening rubric and at a few other points. Yet in other ways, *Do* departs from Martène's printed text. Some of the differences indicate that *Do* is a later reworking of Stage II, certainly abridged and possibly contaminated by other traditions. In the resulting *ordo*, isolated prayers or rubrics occasionally agree with one of the other types against the text of Martène's edition.

The coherence of Stage II as a group depends, therefore, less on a unity of the witnesses than on negative evidence: the manuscripts all transmit the major expansion of Stage I while they lack some of the further editorial interventions common among the copies of Stage III.⁷³

Stage III

The differences between Stage II and Stage III are, in totality, less substantial than those between I and II. The copies attesting Stage III nevertheless form a distinct group, largely coterminous with a celebrated family of Anglo-Norman pontificals mainly of the twelfth century:

⁷¹ Martimort, *La documentation* (above, n. 36), 472 (no. 1013) and 183 (nos. 259–60). To assume that the Reims book was Martène's base manuscript is reasonable, if not assured, for he reports variants from *Lyrensis*, while his third manuscript, which does survive, belongs to a different recension altogether.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 472 (no. 1013) and 142–43 (no. 177).

⁷³ On differences between Stages II and III, see the discussion of specific liturgical points at parts 2.2.3, 5, and 6 below.

B = Cambridge, Trinity College B 11.10 (? Canterbury; ? Ely provenance)

C = Cambridge, University Library Ll.2.10 (? Ely; perh. copied from *B*)

D = Dublin, Trinity College 98 (B 3.6) (Christ Church, Canterbury)

E = Cambridge, University Library, Ee.2.3 (Canterbury province; Winchester provenance)

M = Oxford, Magdalen College 226, "Magdalen Pontifical" (Canterbury; ? Hereford provenance)

P = Paris, BnF lat. 14832 (Mont Saint-Michel; Avranches and Saint-Victor provenances)

*Sam*₃ = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 146, "Samson Pontifical," pp. 37–50; note that this siglum (with subscript 3) refers to the extensive cancellations and marginal supplements added, from a Stage-III exemplar, at Worcester in s. XI² or XI/XII; for the underlying text of the Chrism Mass originally copied into this part of "Samson," see below under "Unclassifiable or Conflated Versions," siglum *Sam*₂

Of this group, only *M* (the "Magdalen Pontifical") has been printed, but its editor, Wilson, collated the book's lengthy Chrism Mass on fols. 182v–195v against the other witnesses *B*, *C*, *D*, and *E* (all his sigla), reporting their more important differences in his notes.⁷⁴ The two additional witnesses above, namely the Mont-Saint-Michel pontifical⁷⁵ and the Stage-III additions to the Samson Pontifical (to which I assign the sigla *P* and *Sam*₃, respectively) were not known to Wilson. Individual dates and localizations remain tentative for most members of this impressive family of books,⁷⁶ but Wilson at least

⁷⁴ *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society 39 (London, 1910). Relying on Wilson's notes, I have not re-collated these except in the case of *E*, the Chrism Mass in which represents a somewhat later and more complex stage. I have also collated the two additional witnesses unknown to Wilson, namely, the Mont-Saint-Michel book (see the following note) and the Stage-III additions to the Samson Pontifical; the sigla hereafter used for these (*P* and *Sam*₃, respectively) are my own. The entire group of pontificals has figured prominently in other studies of individual rites; see Kozachek, "Repertory of Chant," 331–34; J. Brückmann, "The Ordines of the Third Recension of the Medieval English Coronation Order," in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), 99–115; and esp. the recent study by Garnett (above, n. 38).

⁷⁵ See Fernand Combaluzier, "Un pontifical du Mont Saint-Michel (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. latin 14832)," in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel, I: Histoire et vie monastiques*, ed. J. Laporte (Paris, 1966), 383–98 (this study bears a different title in the book's table of contents: "Le Pontifical dit d'Avranches"). The unpublished Chrism Mass in this book occupies fols. 155v–166v.

⁷⁶ Wilson's datings are *B*, s. XII^{3/4}; *C*, s. XII²; *D*, s. XII²; *E*, ca. 1200; and *M*, s. XII² (*Pontifical of Magdalen College*, xiv–xv, xx, xxiv, and xii, respectively). Kozachek ("Repertory of Chant") generally follows Wilson's dates, adding the Mont Saint-Michel manuscript *P* (his "MicP") which he dates to the first half or middle of the twelfth century. By contrast, Brück-

showed that an erstwhile association of the group with St. Osmund and Salisbury carries no force. He maintained, on the contrary, that “[manuscripts] *M*, *B*, and *D* appear to be derived from a recension proceeding from Canterbury, and possibly intended for general use throughout the southern province.”⁷⁷ The *terminus ante quem* for such a major project would be set by manuscript *D* (Dublin, Trinity College 98), now attributed with even greater confidence to late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Christ Church, Canterbury. One recent study persuasively argues that the Dublin book belonged to Anselm himself.⁷⁸

Stage-III copies of the Chrism Mass *ordo* all seem to descend from a common ancestor which was itself a revised version of Stage II. It is possible, on the basis of minor variants and additions, to characterize *E* as a further redaction.⁷⁹ It was, in any case, a Stage-III text with certain additions similar to those in *E* that evidently became the model for the “Sarum” blessing of the oils found in a number of later-medieval English pontificals.

Unclassifiable or Conflated Versions

Two final witnesses do not, for differing reasons, submit to classification in any of the preceding groups:

*Sam*₂ = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 146 “Samson Pontifical,” pp. 37–50 (among quires added at Worcester, s. XI² and XI/XII, to the original core of the manuscript; for subsequent alterations of these pages, see above under Stage III, siglum *Sam*₃)

*And*₃ = London, British Library Add. 57337 “Anderson Pontifical,” additions on fol. 56r–v (Canterbury, s. XI)

mann dated *E* (his *A*) to “the early twelfth century,” *B* (his *E*) to the mid-twelfth century, *D* and *M* (his *C* and *D*) no more narrowly than to the twelfth century (“Ordines,” 103–5; he does not use Wilson’s *C*). Brückmann’s datings generally depend on textual arguments that have not won acceptance. Now see also Garnett, “Third Recension,” 53–56.

⁷⁷ The hypothesis of Wilson; see his introduction to *Pontifical of Magdalen College*, xxxi, countering earlier views of Henderson, *Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge* (above, n. 3), xxxi.

⁷⁸ See Marvin L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1991); 1:195–98, at 195: “England (probably Canterbury), 12 cent. (1st half)”; see also Richard Gameson, “English Manuscript Art in the Late Eleventh Century: Canterbury and its Context,” in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*, ed. Eales and Sharpe (above, n. 62), 95–144, at 102 n. 27; idem, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)* (Oxford, 1999), 78 (no. 200). For the association with Anselm, see Michael Gullick and Richard W. Pfaff, “The Dublin Pontifical (TCD 98 [B.3.6]): St Anselm’s?,” *Scriptorium* 55 (2001): 284–94 and plates 58–60.

⁷⁹ Wilson’s edition of the *ordo* from *M* (*Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 159–68) also cites major variants from *B* and *D* (ibid., 268–87) but pays less notice to variants from *C* and *E*.

The Samson Pontifical consists of an original core copied in the early eleventh century, possibly at Canterbury for Winchester. The book received extensive additions, amounting to several new gatherings, at Worcester during the later eleventh through early twelfth century.⁸⁰ The original part of the book contains (pp. 192–96) a mostly unexceptional *ordo* for the Chrism Mass, with Hadrianic prayers and some distinctive if scanty rubrics.⁸¹ But then, among the Worcester supplements, we find on pp. 37–50 a full copy (*Sam*₂) of the Canterbury *ordo*, albeit of utterly unparalleled constitution: its prayers vacillate between forms of Stages I and III, while its rubrics are almost all identical to those of Stage III.⁸² The prayers in this hybrid version were later brought into closer conformity with Stage III by extensive cancellations and marginal additions (given a separate siglum above, *Sam*₃, under Stage-III).

Though now missing a crucial folio, enough survives of the Chrism *ordo* in the body of the Anderson Pontifical to verify its descent from "OR 51"—the archaic Lateran *ordo* which, as noted above, enjoyed a revival in the late Anglo-Saxon church.⁸³ But two different strata of additions in eleventh-century hands modify the *ordo* on fol. 56 (and probably did so on the now-lost fol. 57 as well). The addition located at the top margin of fol. 56r need not concern us.⁸⁴ That in the right margin, however, and continuing on fol. 56v,

⁸⁰ Where the original part of the book came from remains a topic of debate. Winchester was long favored, but I follow Nelson and Pfaff, ("Pontificals and Benedictionals" [above, n. 42], 95) in accepting the revised attribution by Dumville (*Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History* [above, n. 42], 72) to Canterbury—though perhaps written for Winchester. Detailed descriptions of the two separate parts are provided by Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1909–12), 1:332–35, and Mildred Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols. (Kalamazoo, 1997), 1:495–99 (no. 31).

⁸¹ The *ordo* is still unprinted. Its only mildly peculiar feature is the presence, before the blessing of Chrism, of the two aforementioned *chrismale* prayers, also associable with the distinctive *breviculum*-type; see p. 236 above.

⁸² The exact disposition is as follows (using the item numbers of my Appendix): (1) Rubrics: **r 1**, **r 2**, **r 4**, **r 5**, **r 8**, **r 11**, **r 12**, and **r 13** follow Stage III very closely; **r 3**, **r 6**, and **r 10** show minor variants but are still in the main of Stage III. (2) Prayers: **pr 1**, **pr 4**, **pr 7**, and **pr 8** follow Stage III; **pr 2**, **pr 3**, **pr 5**, and **pr 10a** follow Stage I, and the latter two are actually *closer* to the ultimate sources (i.e., the forms as found in the Hadrianum and, perhaps, the *PRG*) than the forms are in *CantB*; finally, **pr 6** and **pr 9** are closer to Stage I than to Stage III, but they also contain some major variants found in neither, but identical in one case (**pr 9**) to variants in our other maverick recension, *And*₂.

⁸³ See p. 232 and n. 36 above.

⁸⁴ For the text of this addition, see Marie A. Conn, "The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) Pontificals: An Edition and Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1993), 262 n. 674. The passage in question closely resembles a part of the Chrism *ordo* in the original core of the Samson Pontifical (CCCC 146, pp. 192–96); see Jones, "Chrism Mass" (above, n. 33), 113.

consists of supplementary prayer texts found only in the Canterbury *ordo* (**pr** 3 and **pr** 9). What is more, the prayers added in these margins (designated *And*₃) contain important variants seen in no other copy *except* that added to the Samson Pontifical at late eleventh-century Worcester.⁸⁵

2.2. Liturgical Hallmarks of Stages I–III.

There is no efficient way to inventory all the differences between the new Chrism Mass and its competitors or, indeed, among the several stages of the Canterbury *ordo* alone. It has seemed preferable to select a handful of the more prominent liturgical features, to identify sources for each, then to trace their changes from Stage I through Stage III. The presentation is necessarily selective but suffices to demonstrate some major lines of development. For points not treated below, the reader should also consult the full texts and notes in the Appendix.

2.2.1. The opening rubric and procession of the oils.

All versions of the *ordo* have an unusually full opening section describing, among other things, a procession that carries the three ampoules from the sacristy (**r** 0.4–9, continuing through **r** 0.13 in Stages II–III). Ignoring, for the moment, the allegorizing exposition that also occurs here (treated below, part 3.2), we are still left with important differences among the purely rubrical matter. Stage I is most restricted in scope, describing little other than the actual blessing of the oils. By Stage II and its revision into Stage III, the opening rubrics have proliferated beyond all practical necessity: they have come to include an outline for the entire order of the Chrism Mass, from the gathering of clergy in the sacristy and preparation of the three ampoules, through the entrance rites, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, epistle, gradual, gospel (with procession), offertory, secret, preface, and *Sanctus*.⁸⁶ The description of the oil-procession which follows differs greatly from Stage I in detail and verbosity, but in terms of liturgical praxis it alters the received arrangement in only a single detail, namely the addition of one or two processional crosses at the end of the ranks.

A solemn procession of the oils, as found in all three stages of the Canterbury *ordo*, is described in no liturgical record earlier than the Romano-German Pontifical, and a simple outline (fig. 2) makes it immediately clear

⁸⁵ See pp. 296–97 and 308 below.

⁸⁶ See the Appendix, **r** 0.1–3 (Stages II–III). The only propers noted are the introit “*Nos autem gloriamur*” and collect “*Deus a quo et Iudas*.” One Stage-II manuscript (Douai 67) summarizes the propers a little differently and adds that the entrance psalm shall be *Deus misereatur nostri* (Ps 66).

that the form of the procession in the *PRG* looked rather different from that in Stages I–III. The *PRG* arranges thuribles and processional crosses around the two oils, and it also requires a retinue of twelve priests following, two by two, the ministers who carry the ampoules. All stages of the Canterbury *ordo* agree against the *PRG* in placing *vexilla* at the head of the procession. Because Stages II–III further distinguish these *vexilla* from processional crosses (the latter being placed, unusually, at the *rear* of the line), the term probably means liturgical “banners” in each instance.⁸⁷

Fig. 2: The processions in the *PRG* and Stages I vs. II–III of the Canterbury *ordo*

	<i>PRG</i> ⁸⁸	Canterbury <i>ordo</i> Stage I	Canterbury <i>ordo</i> Stages II–III
(front)	2 torches	2 banners (<i>vexilla</i>)	2 banners (<i>vexilla</i>)
	ampoule (Chrism), flanked by 2 proces- sional crosses	2 torches	2 torches
	ampoule (Oil of Cate- chumens), flanked by 2 thuribles	2 thuribles	2 thuribles
	1 gospel book	2 gospel books	2 gospel books
	12 priests walking by twos	3 ampoules with <i>brevi- cula</i> (Oil of the Sick) (Oil of Catechumens) (Chrism)	3 ampoules with <i>brevi- cula</i> (Oil of the Sick) (Oil of Catechumens) (Chrism)
(rear)	<i>pueri</i> , singing “O re- demptor”		1 or 2 processional crosses

A final important difference, though far less obvious, concerns the timing. In the *PRG*, only the Chrism and Oil of Catechumens figure in the procession because the Oil of the Sick has, at that point, already been blessed (see fig. 1 above). The fact that all three oils are carried in the Canterbury *ordo* indicates that its procession must take place at some earlier point. The rubrics in Stage I do not indicate when, but Stages II and III have the procession leave the sacristy at the *Te igitur* (the beginning of the Canon proper). The bearers should

⁸⁷ See Joseph Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit: Ein Handbuch der Paramentik*, 2d ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1924), 236–39.

⁸⁸ OR 50.25.81 (= *PRG* 99.268).

therefore arrive at the altar before the bishop reaches the end of the *Nobis quoque*, after which he will pause to bless the Oil of the Sick.

The mere fact of a procession of oils accompanied by incense, candles, and crosses suggests contact with a form of the ceremony like that in the *PRG*. On the other hand, the clear differences indicate perhaps an indirect rather than direct link—as in the scenario that both the Mainz *ordo* and the Stage-I Canterbury *ordo* had a common source. Other backgrounds for the procession as such do not readily suggest themselves. The doubling of thuribles, crosses, and gospel books in major processions has analogues in many sources, among them Cluniac customaries, but the precise arrangements rarely resemble these in the Canterbury *ordo*.⁸⁹ The carrying of banners, eventually widespread on important feasts, is seldom mentioned in prescriptive texts before the mid-eleventh century, and then some of the earliest evidence is late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman.⁹⁰ For participants, surrounding the oils with such festive trappings urged a comparison between the ampoules and other holy objects accompanied by processions, including vessels that housed the relics of saints or the reserved eucharist.

The faint suggestion of contacts with the *PRG* for Stage I grows to a near certainty for Stages II–III. In the latter, the greatly expanded rubrics include verbal echoes of the *PRG*, especially at the beginning (r 0.1):

PRG

Canterbury *ordo* Stage II

Ipsa feria quinta maioris ebdomadae, id est in cena domini, mane primo mansionarii ordinent omnia quae sint necessaria ad consecrationem chrismatis: ampullas tres de oleo mundissimo plenas ponentes in sacrario, unam ad oleum pro infirmis, alteram ad chrisma, tertiam vero ad ole-

Feria .V. cenę domini primo mane custodes ecclesię ordinent omnia quę ad consecrationes oleorum sunt necessaria: tres uidelicet ampullas de oleo mundissimo plenas, unam de oleo infirmorum, alteram ad catecuminos unguendos, terciam uero ad consecrandum chrisma praepra-

⁸⁹ See, e.g., the diagram of the procession before the major Mass of Christmas Day in the mid-eleventh-century *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis*, ed. Peter Dinter, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 10 (Siegburg, 1980), 23. For the more typical arrangements of medieval processions, see Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, *Studies and Texts* 21 (Toronto, 1971), 112–15.

⁹⁰ The testament (1069 × 1072) of bishop Leofric of Exeter lists among ecclesiastical furnishings “.ii. guðfana” [two standards]; see Patrick W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History* 4 (Woodbridge, 1993), 232. Early references to processional *vexilla* (in a sense clearly distinct from “crosses”) also cluster in the Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc (ca. 1075); see *Decreta Lanfranci monachis Cantuariensibus transmissa*, ed. David Knowles, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 3 (Siegburg, 1967), 23–24 (Palm Sunday), 43–45 (Rogation Days), and 53 (Ascension). As another point of similarity, Lanfranc’s customs require two crosses and two gospel books in all festal processions (*ibid.*, 50).

um ad caticuminos unguendos . . . et pon- *ratam. Preuideatque pontifex ut sit chris-*
*tifex provideat [var. prae-] de balsamo.*⁹¹ *matitis oleum balsamo commixtum.*⁹²

Here the movement from Stage I to II–III points to a general trend of waxing conformity with the more “modern” *PRG*. From start to finish, there is hardly a single liturgical detail in the expanded opening rubrics of Stages II–III that cannot be paralleled in the Romano-German ceremony. Studies of other late Anglo-Saxon pontifical *ordines* have suggested that influence of the *PRG* did not break suddenly into a pristine Insular tradition. Rather, individual *ordines* from the Romano-German collection, or the antecedents of such *ordines*, were already influencing the contents of tenth- and earlier eleventh-century English pontificals (see part 1.4, above). The history of the Canterbury-type Chrism Mass at Stage I illustrates this early reception, prior to the Ealdred’s import of the *PRG* as a whole; the various adaptations to create Stages II–III confirm the growing importance of *PRG* models through the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

2.2.2. The *brevicula*.

All stages of the Canterbury *ordo* require that the individual ampoules bear labels or inscriptions. Stage I terms them *brevicula*, while Stages II–III are as usual more verbose: *Unaqueque autem ampullarum. discretionis titulum super se teneat inscriptum.*⁹³ This detail immediately signals that one source of the Canterbury *ordo* was a text of the aforementioned *breviculum*-type. Broader comparisons not only confirm the borrowing but establish beyond doubt that the drafter of Stage I had before him a *breviculum*-type *ordo* close in form to that in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus or its relative in the “Évreux supplement” to the Egbert Pontifical. The mention of “labels” turns out to be just one link in a chain of near-quotations from the source:

Breviculum-type
 (Ratoldus Sacramentary)

Canterbury *ordo* Stage I

Deinde tres accoliti procedant de sacra- *. . . tres diaconi induti sindonibus cum*
rio induti sindonis cum ampullis tribus et *ampullis tribus et unaqueque earum ha-*
unaqueque habeat breviculum id est cris- *beat breviculum. Id est in una oleum ad*
ma sancta [sic] in uno, in alio oleo [sic] *infirmos. in alia oleum ad baptizandum.*
ad baptizandum, in tercio oleo [sic] ad *in .IIIa. uero crisma sanctum. et canatur*

⁹¹ OR 50.25.21 (= *PRG* 99.222).

⁹² Quoted here from the Stage-II *Do*, with modern punctuation and capitalization added. See r 0.1 and apparatus for variants. Stage III is actually closer to the *PRG* in the final phrase.

⁹³ See Appendix, r 0.1 (Stage III). For the term *breviculum* in Stage I, see r 0.9 and r 7, as well as n. 39 above.

infirmum. Et canatur secreto secundum ordinem usque: Sed ueniae quaesumus largitor admitte. Et tunc subdiaconus . . . humillime subministrat episcopo. Episcopus autem deosculetur ampullam [for deosculetur ampullam Claudius I and CCCC 190 substitute faciat crucem ter super oleum], et sufflet in ea ter et benedicat, ut ipsi circumstantes audire possint.⁹⁴

secreta secundum ordinem. usque sed uenie quesumus largitor admitte. et tunc diaconus cum ampulla ubi est oleum infirmorum accedat. et humillime subministret episcopo; Deinde episcopus faciat super ampullam ter signum crucis. ac sufflet in ea ter et faciat exorcismum pro infirmis ita. ut ipsi circumstantes audire possint. . . .⁹⁵

Even if a text related to the *ordo* in the *PRG*, or that *ordo* itself, inspired the procession of the oils in the Canterbury *ordo*, the presence of labels for the ampoules reflects a different and, evidently, Anglo-Saxon tradition.

Reliance on the *breviculum*-type would also explain why Stages I–III have *all three* oils carried forth in this way, with the consequence that the ministers must begin to process during the *secreta* or from the beginning of the *Te igitur*.⁹⁶ (Again, compare the *PRG*, where only the Chrism and Oil of Catechumens are carried in procession, and only after the blessing of the Oil of the Sick.) A procession with all three oils before or during the *Te igitur* actually associates the Canterbury and *breviculum*-type *ordines* not with the *PRG* but with a somewhat later tradition seen, for example, in the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century. That source contains three distinct *ordines* for the Maundy Thursday Chrism Mass, of which the first (*Ordo* 30A) transmits the text of the *PRG* with only minor additions. But a shorter, alternative form in the same collection, *Ordo* 30C, calls for a procession with all three ampoules, a cross, incense, and torches, to exit the sacristy during the secret.⁹⁷ The

⁹⁴ *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. Orchard, 194–95 (no. 860), modern punctuation and capitalization mine; cf. the Egbert supplement (*Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, 150), which contains most of the same textual errors and variants, against the copies in Claudius I and CCCC 190.

⁹⁵ **r 0.9 + r 1** (*Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. Woolley, 36).

⁹⁶ The manuscripts of the *breviculum*-type display some confusion about the grammar of the word “secret”: cf. the Egbert supplement, *et canatur secreto secundum ordinem* (*Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, 150); Claudius Pontifical I, *et statim ut incohatur* [sic] *missa. cantori secretim ueniant acoliti tres . . .* (*Claudius Pontificals*, ed. Turner, 28); and CCCC 190, *et statim ut inchoatur missa cani ad secreta ueniant acoliti tres . . .* (p. 261). The former two seem to have understood the word adverbially and referring somehow to recitation of the Canon. But CCCC 190 confirms that the original text probably meant (as in Pont.Rom.XII, 30C.6) the “secret,” i.e., the proper prayer concluding the offertory rites. The whole problem has been sidestepped by careful editing in the Ratoldus Sacramentary: *Quibus expletis, incipiatur missa solito ordine . . .* (ed. Orchard, 193 [no. 852]). If taken at face value, the instructions of Ratoldus have the procession begin after the *Hanc igitur* of the Canon.

⁹⁷ Pont.Rom.XII, 30C.6: *Interim autem dum dicuntur secreta per manum diaconorum et subdiaconorum reuerenter cum cruce, incenso et cereis, deportenter* [sic] *a sacrario tam illa*

thirteenth-century successor to this book, the Pontifical of the Roman Curia, also has a procession of all three oils occurring at some point before or during the Canon.⁹⁸

2.2.3. The hymn "O redemptor sume carmen."

The timing of the procession in the Canterbury *ordo* seems a trivial detail, but it caused considerable trouble as future redactors tried to accommodate more and more features of the *PRG*. Most prominent of the new additions would be the eight-stanza rhythmical hymn, known by its refrain "O redemptor sume carmen," or by the incipit of its first verse, "Audi iudex mortuorum." Of unknown authorship and date, the hymn contains many echoes of Prudentius amid newly composed verses proper to the subjects of Chrism and anointing.⁹⁹ The *ordo* in the *PRG*, as we have seen, adopted "O redemptor" as the chant sung by *pueri* in the procession of the oils.¹⁰⁰ If the hymn was composed earlier or circulated independently of the *PRG*, no evidence of the fact survives. Indeed, the earliest known copy of "O redemptor" occurs in a troper from Mainz, dated 955 × 962, and therefore from the same milieu as the *PRG* itself.¹⁰¹

Like the different forms of the introductory rubric, the presence of "O redemptor" helps identify the stages of the Canterbury *ordo*. Originally, the compiler of Stage I seems to have made no allowance for the hymn, though its absence there may also have to do with the vexed matter of timing. As noted

ampulla in qua balsamum positum fuit quam aliae ampullae in quibus est oleum pro catechumenis et infirmis benedicendum. Note the absence of such *PRG*-features as the twelve priests and the particular arrangement of crosses and thuribles. One source of Pont.Rom.XII, 30C may have been a twelfth-century ordinal of the Lateran basilica; see *Bernhardi cardinalis et Lateranensis ecclesiae prioris Ordo officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis*, ed. Ludwig Fischer, *Historische Forschungen und Quellen* 2–3 (Munich, 1916), 51 (but there the procession begins after the *Sanctus*, not during the secret).

⁹⁸ Pont.Rom.Cur. 42.10. The procession is grand and must fetch the oils from a different church; the point of its departure is unclear: *Postquam dominus papa intrat ad sacrificandum*. . . .

⁹⁹ There is no fully critical edition, but see *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1922), 51:80–82 (no. 77, esp. stanzas 3–6); an English prose translation is in Joseph Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy* (Westminster, Md., 1957), 86 and 88 (no. 55). The hymn's debts to Prudentius's *Peristephanon* and *Cathemerinon* are documented in *Early Latin Hymns, With Introduction and Notes*, ed. A. S. Walpole (Cambridge, 1922), 342–44 (no. 106); in Walpole's discussion (343) read "*Peristeph. P*" instead of "*Peristeph. II*."

¹⁰⁰ The hymn appears as OR 50.25.82 (= PRG 99.269).

¹⁰¹ See remarks by Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani* 5:64. This hymn is one of several newly composed and introduced, it seems, by the compilers of the *PRG*. The Mainz troper mentioned is now London, British Library Add. 19768.

above, Stage I does not make entirely clear when the procession should occur. Stages II and III have it start as the celebrant begins the body of the Canon (from *Te igitur*); Stage I may have intended the same arrangement, or it may have agreed with the *breviculum*-type or the twelfth-century analogue (in Pont.Rom.XII, 30C), both of which have the procession begin as the celebrant recites the secret. Whatever the intended arrangement, the Stage-I service then proceeds with the blessing of the Oil of the Sick, the end of the Canon, the Lord's Prayer, and the blessing of the Oil of Catechumens. Then, according to a rubric in Stage I, the bishop, we infer, returns to his seat, and a litany is sung between the blessings of the Oil of Catechumens and of Chrism: "two cantors shall with full voice begin the litany, as contained in the order for dedicating a church, above. When the litany is finished, the bishop shall stand before the altar and the ampoule in which balsam was mixed shall be brought to him by the third deacon. . . ." ¹⁰² In its surviving form, the Canterbury Benedictional contains no service for the dedication of churches, so the phrase "as contained . . . above" must be the vestige of an exemplar. The *litaniae* sung at a church-dedication would have been litanies of the saints, but their use before the blessing of Chrism is not otherwise found in medieval sources—with one exception known to me, namely, another late tenth-century Anglo-Saxon book of Canterbury association: the "Dunstan" or "Sherborne" Pontifical (Paris, BnF lat. 943). ¹⁰³ The relative unusualness of the detail, in any case, prompted a second scribe, very soon after the writing of *CantB*, to copy in the margin of its fol. 71v the refrain and five verses of "O redemptor," with neums. ¹⁰⁴ As the *ordo* contains no other musical cues nearby, it is reasonable to conclude that this correcting scribe wished to insert the proper hymn after or in place of the *litaniae*. ¹⁰⁵ But his doing so had the effect of separating the hymn from the act

¹⁰² r 7 (Stage I): *duo cantores altiboando incipiant letanias. ut supra in dedicatione ecclesie continentur. Qua finita. stet episcopus ante altare et deferatur a tertio diacono ampulla ubi mixtum fuerat balsamum. . . .*

¹⁰³ On litanies in the church-dedication rite, see *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Henry Bradshaw Society 106 (Woodbridge, 1991), 43. The awkward rubric in the "Dunstan" Pontifical occurs at 65v: *Post missam hanc principalem chris-matis benedictionem laetantias praecinens faciat aepiscopus dicens. Dominus uobiscum. . . .* ("Dunstan and Brodie Pontificals," ed. Conn [above, n. 84], 111, but erroneously omitting the word "faciat"). BnF lat. 943 probably dates to the third quarter of the tenth century, but not before 960. Despite some challenges, its associations with Dunstan and Christ Church, Canterbury, abide; see Nelson and Pfaff, "Pontificals and Benedictionals" (above, n. 40), 89–90; also Birgit Ebersperger, *Die angelsächsischen Handschriften in den Pariser Bibliotheken*, Anglistische Forschungen 261 (Heidelberg, 1999), 32–44 (no. 5).

¹⁰⁴ *Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. Woolley, 38 n. 6. See also n. 110 below.

¹⁰⁵ See the complete Latin passage quoted above, n. 102. The words . . . *letanias. ut supra in dedicatione ecclesie continentur* are the last ones on fol. 71r; *Qua finita* begins on fol. 71v.

of procession, which according to Stage I must have already occurred by this point.

The creator of Stage II found this state of affairs unsatisfactory and tried to strike a compromise that would keep the litany and the hymn but at different moments in the service. He attached the original *litaniae* of Stage I to the procession of oils during the Canon: "As the *Te igitur* is begun, two cantors, vested, shall stand in the choir singing the litany with full voice, and once they have begun to sing the litany, the ministers shall immediately and with solemnity make their way from the sacristy. . . ."¹⁰⁶ The hymn is retained at the later point, where the marginal addition to *CantB* implied it should be (that is, sundered from the procession and functioning as an interlude between the last prayer over the Oil of Catechumens and the first over the Chrism): "Afterwards, when the bishop returns to his seat, two cantors shall intone the refrain 'O redemptor summe carmen'; [then follows the] hymn 'Audi iudex mortuorum,' each side of the choir singing the refrain in turn. Then the bishop shall stand. . . ."¹⁰⁷ To one way of thinking, the Stage-II remedy was worse than the problem. Familiarity with the procession described in the *PRG* may explain the desire for music as the ampoules were carried to the altar. But the *PRG* sets neither music nor procession *during* the recitation of the Canon, the way that Stages II–III require. Likewise in the *PRG*, at the appropriate time the celebrant retires to his seat for an obvious reason: to await the arrival of the procession, during which the "O redemptor" usefully fills (so to speak) dead air. The comparable interlude in the Canterbury *ordo* lacks such a motive: there when the bishop takes his seat, the oils have already arrived, and the "processional" hymn, when finally sung, has no procession to accompany. There is, in other words, no practical reason why "O redemptor" was kept at this point rather than moved, like (or instead of) the *litaniae*, back to the moment of the actual procession. Perhaps the content of the hymn was felt to

Perhaps because the reference to litanies occurred at the very bottom of 71r, the hymn is copied from the top, down the left margin, of 71v. Fol. 71v, with the neumed hymn, is reproduced at the beginning of Woolley's edition (plate II).

¹⁰⁶ **r 0.4** (Stage II), here quoted from Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 4.22 (§ 3), "Ordo III" (3:248): *Dum autem inchoatur Te igitur, stent in choro vestiti cantores duo altibando, decantantes letanias, cumque coeperint letanias cantare, subito cum gravitate procedant de sacratio ministri. . . .*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* (3:251). *Post haec <revertente pontifice ad sedem suam> duo cantores dicant ver-sum O redemptor summe [sic] carmen. Hymnus. Audi iudex mortuorum alternantibus choris O redemptor summe et cetera. Tunc stet episcopus. . . .* The words in angled brackets were not in Martène's base manuscript—which was presumably *MartR*—nor are they in other Stage-II copies (*Cp* and *Do*). I supply the phrase on the basis of *MartL* and all the copies of Stage III. Even if the words were not present in the archetype of Stage II, the instruction must have been understood, given the text that does follow (*Tunc stet episcopus. . . etc.*).

pertain specifically to the consecration of Chrism, rather than to the oils in general.¹⁰⁸

Stage III improves the situation by dropping the *litaniae* altogether, so that the procession, though still coincident with the Canon, is at least carried out in silence.¹⁰⁹ Much in the long opening rubric of Stage II passes intact into manuscripts of Stage III, but the latter always omit the instruction from **r 0.4** in Stage II (*stent in choro vestiti cantores duo altiboando, decantantes letanias, cumque coeperint letanias cantare . . .*). The absence of these phrases is in fact a reliable mark of affiliation with Stage III as opposed to Stage II. On the other hand, Stage III retains between the blessings of the latter two oils the interlude, wherein all action pauses and the bishop goes back to his seat for no reason other than to wait out the singing of "O redemptor."

As the Canterbury *ordo* experimented with the placement and function of "O redemptor," it treated the text of the hymn just as freely. A hint of things to come appears already in the marginal addition to *CantB*, containing only five of the eight verses found in manuscripts of the *PRG*. The scribe reordered these five and tinkered with two of the lines.¹¹⁰ The Stage-I revisions appear minor, however, compared to the liberties subsequently taken. For Stage II, the evidence is scanty. The entire hymn is only written out in *Do*, whose Chrism *ordo* bears witness to Stage II after additional editing and some corruption. The strange version of "O redemptor" in *Do* has never been collated, so I transcribe it here (numbers in parentheses indicate the standard order of strophes in the *PRG* and *Analecta hymnica*):

O redemptor sume carnem [*sic*] tibi concinentium.

(1) Audi iudex mortuorum. Vna spes mortalium.

Audi uoces proferentium. Donum pacis preuium.

Cantor [*sic*]. O redemptor.

(2) Cantor. Arbor feta oliuarum. Hoc protulit sacrandum.

Proni quod libamus tibi. Saluator [*sic*] seculi.

Chorus. O redemptor.

¹⁰⁸ Thus, e.g., verse 3 in the common *PRG* tradition: "Stans ad aram immo supplex infulatus pontifex / Debitum persolvit omne consecrato chrismate" (*Analecta hymnica*, ed. Blume and Dreves, 51:80).

¹⁰⁹ Pont.Rom.XII, 30C.7, again offers an analogue: *Et tunc [at the secret] dum veniunt cum ampullis processionaliter, iuxta morem quarundam ecclesiarum, cantantur hii versus: Audi iudex mortuorum. Iuxta morem vero ecclesiae romanae, procedunt cum silentio.*

¹¹⁰ The strophes included are (in order) nos. 1, 2, 4, 3, and 8 in the common tradition (i.e., that printed in the *Analecta hymnica* and modern editions of *OR* 50 / *PRG* 99). Significant variants in the *CantB* copy of the hymn are few, but note: strophe 2 "glorie" (for "patriae") and strophe 8 "sit referta . . . per eterna secula" (ordinarily "sit sacrata . . . nec senescat tempore").

- (4) Cantor. Consecrare tu dignare. Rex perhennis glorię.
[. . .] Contra uires demonum.
Chorus. O redemptor.
- (3) Cantor. Stans ad aram immo supplex. Infulatus pontifex.
Tuo firmetur numine. Consecrate chrismate.
Chorus. O redemptor.
- (new) Cantor. Hoc ęcclesia fundatur. Credentes gloriantur.
Sit hoc crisma benedictum. Cunctis saluberrimum.
Chorus. O redemptor.

It seems the reviser knew an already-edited version of the hymn similar to that in the margin of *CantB*. The two share the reading "perennis glorię" against the more usual "perennis patrię" in verse four.¹¹¹ Likewise, both *CantB* and *Do* contain only five verses, and both show the identical transposition of verses three and four (in the standard numbering). But whereas the marginal addition in *CantB* contains relatively few variants, the hymn in *Do* offers an entirely new final verse and a significant rewriting of verses two, four, and three. For those, the standard text ought to be

- (2) Arbor feta alma luce hoc sacrandum protulit;
Fert hoc prona praesens turba salvatori saeculi.
- (4) Consecrare tu dignare, Rex perennis patrię
Hoc olivum, signum vivum iura contra daemonum[.]
- (3) Stans ad aram immo supplex infulatus pontifex
Debitum persolvit omne consecrato chrismate.¹¹²

By comparison the copy in *Do* is debased and corrupt, missing an entire half-line at verse four. Faulty transmission, however, cannot bear the blame for all the cruces. The alterations to the second half of verse three, for example, suggest utter incomprehension of, or indifference to, the prevailing meter.

¹¹¹ But "glorię" is occasionally recorded elsewhere, as in a copy of the *PRG* Chrim *ordo* added to the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 579) at Exeter in s. xi². That copy of "O redemptor," though it contains none of the major additions/revisions from the Canterbury *ordo*, does share with the text of the hymn in *Do* two variants: the aforementioned "glorię" (for "patrię") in strophe 4, and "arbor feta oliuarum" (for "arbor feta alma luce") in strophe 2. See *The Leofric Missal, as Used in the Cathedral of Exeter During the Episcopate of its First Bishop, A.D. 1050–1072*, ed. F. E. Warren (Oxford, 1873), 256–60, at 258; now also *The Leofric Missal*, ed. Nicholas Orchard, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 113–14 (London, 2002), 2:487 (no. 2795). It has been suggested that the portions of the *PRG* added to the Leofric Missal were copied from the manuscript that is now London, British Library Cotton Vitellius E.xii; see Michael Lapidge, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 55 (1983), 11–25; I cite the reprint in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066* (London and Rio Grande, Ohio, 1993), 453–67 and 492, at 466 n. 67; see also Orchard, *Leofric Missal* 1:228–30.

¹¹² *Analecta hymnica*, ed. Dreves and Blume, 51:80.

It is not certain that the creator of Stage III confronted a text of the hymn as troubled as that in *Do*. If he did, it would explain why all copies of Stage III rein in the creative impulse, reverting for most of the hymn to the standard text found in the *PRG* and later Roman pontificals. Stage III nevertheless continues the tradition of independence, albeit in a more conservative (and competent) way. Its version contains two additional verses inserted between what ordinarily appear as verses one and two ("Audi iudex" and "Arbor feta," respectively). This pair of strophes occurs in no earlier witnesses and may have been newly composed for Stage III:

(1b) Assit nostris pater uotis qui inuisibiliter
pre consortibus unxit te oleo leticie.
O redemptor.

(1c) Assit flamen sacrosanctum olim per diluuium
qui ramum tulit oliue ad archam ecclesie.
O redemptor.¹¹³

The rationale of the new verses is clear enough: they invoke the other two persons of the Trinity, the Father and Spirit, in addition to the Son (*redemptor*) addressed by the refrain. After (1c) the common form of the hymn resumes, with verses two through eight, in their usual order. Minor textual variants intrude here and there, but the new, ten-stanza version appears stable across the manuscripts of Stage III.

The complex fortunes of the hymn "O redemptor" present the development of the whole *ordo* writ small. Successive versions show the grafting of ever more elements from the "new" Romano-German *ordo* onto traditions current in late tenth- and early eleventh-century England. But accommodating "O redemptor" entailed more and greater complications than could have been foreseen by the scribe who first added the hymn to the margin of *CantB*. Attempts to sort out the resulting structural problems led to compromise arrangements in Stages II and III. The wrinkle would not be ironed out completely, it seems, before the thirteenth century. When a form of Stage III became the basis of the "Sarum-Use" blessing of the oils, some redactor finally conceded to the Roman pontificals on the crucial point: the procession of Chrism, accompanied by the hymn, would have to take place in an interlude *after* the prior two oils had been brought forward and blessed individually.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ *Pontifical of Magdalen College*, ed. Wilson, 164–65. The latter of the two new verses survived into the Sarum processional; see *Processionale ad usum insignis ac praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. W. G. Henderson (Leeds, 1882), 59.

¹¹⁴ This concession is eventually seen in the "Sarum" versions, such as the "Consuetudinary" (usage of s. XIII¹) and the Pontifical of Roger de Martivall (s. XIV in.). On these, see pp. 285–86 below.

2.2.4. The order and placement of the blessings.

We have seen that the order of blessings in the overwhelming majority of Roman, Romano-Frankish, and Romano-German sources is Oil of the Sick, Chrism, Oil of Catechumens. The Canterbury *ordo*, in all its stages and all its manuscripts, reverses the latter two, so that Chrism comes last in the series. The reversal is distinctive but not entirely without precedent; a similar rearrangement appears from time to time in *ordines* of other types. Without examining all extant medieval sources, it is impossible to say precisely how rare such a revised sequence is. But it occurs in no English books other than those of the Canterbury-*ordo* and its later "Sarum" reflexes, and in only a tiny fraction of the hundreds of books inventoried in Leroquais's *Les pontificaux manuscrits*.¹¹⁵ The same order also occurs in a pontifical from Sens, whose Chrism *ordo* was printed by Martène,¹¹⁶ and in the *Sacramentarium triplex* of St. Gall, a book apparently compiled for archival purposes and study rather than for use at the altar.¹¹⁷ A far more remote precedent might lurk in the distribution of prayers in the Gelasian Sacramentaries. Chavasse, we recall, believed that the Roman presbyteral liturgy behind the Old Gelasian included blessings for the Oil of the Sick ("Emitte domine") and Oil of Catechumens ("Deus incrementorum . . . qui uirtute"), and that a Frankish redactor tacked onto those a consecration of Chrism. The effort produced, if only temporarily, a sequence identical to that in the Canterbury *ordo*.

Other examples of this transposed order (Oil of the Sick, Oil of Catechumens, Chrism) may come to light, but no analogue thus far identified bears close comparison with the Canterbury *ordo*. The aforementioned comparanda are a far-flung bunch, and in all cases their reordering of the oils has occurred with minimal disruption to the *ordo* as a whole, which otherwise proceeds in

¹¹⁵ Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* 1:252–60 (= Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 144 [121] [Chartres, 1200 × 1236]); 2:1–5 (Paris, BnF lat. 934 [Sens, s. XII² or XII ex.]); 2:15–21 (Paris, BnF lat. 945 [Chartres, s. XII² or XII ex.]); and possibly 2:175 (Paris, BnF lat. 13313 [Treves; Cambrai, s. XI]); and 2:217–19 (Paris, BnF lat. 18038 [s. xv]). The *ordo* from the last-named (BnF lat. 18038) is printed by Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 4.22 (§ 3), "Ordo VII" (3:262–64); on which see Martimort, *La documentation* (above, n. 36), 473 (no. 1017) and 162 (no. 212).

¹¹⁶ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 4.22 (§ 3), "Ordo VI" (3:259–62). Martène worked from a now-lost transcription of the original, which is today London, British Library Egerton 931 (Sens, s. XIV^{2/4} or XIV^{3/4}); see Martimort, *La documentation*, 473 (no. 1016) and 203–4 (no. 298).

¹¹⁷ Zurich, Zentralbibliothek C 43 (St. Gall, s. x), ed. Odilo Heiming, *Corpus Ambrosiano-Liturgicum* 1, *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen* 49 (Münster, 1968), 103–7 (nos. 1211–20). Except for this transposition of the blessings, the Zurich C 43 Chrism *ordo* is based mainly on a Frankish-Gelasian version, supplemented by the Romano-German exorcisms and a few of the Ambrosian prayers also included in some copies of the *PRG*; see n. 27 above.

accord with one of the familiar traditions. From these the Canterbury *ordo* stands apart in many respects. It is assured, first of all, that the revised order of blessings was no *ad hoc* impulse, but a feature intrinsic to the family from its beginning. The new sequence was regarded as so central a characteristic that every rubrical mention of the oils *seriatim* was also updated to the revised arrangement; naturally, the many prayer-texts, old and new, followed suit. Placing Chrism in the last, culminating position may have intended to underscore a perception of it as holiest of the oils. The supremacy of Chrism was, to be sure, implied in the more common forms of the ceremony; and yet those typically placed the Oil of Catechumens last, an effect that may have struck some as anticlimactic. Insofar as the structure of ritual could assume didactic purpose, the revised order of blessings may have aimed to address this perceived indecorum. Historical support for this interpretation of the evidence will require more attention below (part 3).

As for the placement of blessings relative to other parts of the eucharistic ritual, the Canterbury *ordo* joins mainstream tradition by inserting “Emitte domine” (for Oil of the Sick) just before the close of the Canon. We recall that the *PRG*, following the earlier Roman *ordines*, continued with the final doxology of the Canon, the Lord’s Prayer, the episcopal benediction, the *Pax*, and the celebrant’s communion. The Chrism and Oil of Catechumens were then blessed before the communions of the other clergy and people (see fig. 1 above). By contrast, all stages of the Canterbury *ordo* place the blessings of the Oil of Catechumens, then of the Chrism, immediately *before* the bishop’s benediction and communion. For source-critical purposes, this alteration is less telling than might be hoped. Despite general consensus among the Roman *ordines* and manuscripts of the *PRG*, the placement of blessings was less stable than their relative sequence.¹¹⁸ The uncertainty may reflect in part a legacy of the Gelasians, which sometimes placed all three blessings before the bishop’s communion.¹¹⁹ The original text of “OR 51,” ambiguous on this very point, was clarified in the direction of the Gelasians in some Anglo-Saxon copies.¹²⁰ A comparable solution appears in the Chrism Mass of the “Giso

¹¹⁸ E.g., the St. Gall *Sacramentarium triplex*, ed. Heimig, 104–7 (nos. 1216–25b), offering yet another permutation: the latter two oils are blessed immediately after the end of the Canon and before the celebrant says “Praeceptis salutaribus” and the Lord’s Prayer.

¹¹⁹ The Old- and Frankish-Gelasian books do not all agree, however, and their evidence is often unclear; see Maier, 43–47 and 98.

¹²⁰ OR 51.19, as copied in the Lanalet Pontifical and Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, contains an added rubric for the bishop’s communion after the oil-blessings; likewise in the Anderson Pontifical, fol. 57r (“Dunstan and Brodie Pontificals,” ed. Conn [above, n. 84], 264). Maier argues (70 n. 261) that the original “OR 51” intended for the bishop to communicate before the Chrism-blessing, as in the other Roman *ordines*.

Sacramentary" (London, British Library Cotton Vitellius A.xviii; English, s. xi^{3/4}).¹²¹ Its *ordo* depends closely on a *PRG* exemplar but with numerous interventions, including a postponement of the bishop's benediction and communion to a point after the oil-blessings. In strictly formal terms, the result in either of these cases (the revised "OR 51" and the Giso Sacramentary) bears comparison to the Canterbury *ordo*. Whether the movement in any of the three ultimately reflects Gelasian sources cannot be determined.

2.2.5. The commingling of balsam.

Stage I implies, and Stage II confirms, that the adding of balsam to the oil that will become Chrism takes place in the sacristy before Mass. This is, in effect, the provision of the earlier *Ordines Romani*, including "OR 51." Stage III, however, has moved in the direction of the *PRG* by having the bishop add the balsam during the course of the Mass, just before the blessing of the Chrism. Most manuscripts of Stage III do not, however, adopt the prayers that the *PRG* attaches to the commingling of balsam. Of those, evidence appears only in two relatively late copies of Stage III that also expand the ceremony of the *commixtio* to include a second hymn, "Veni creator spiritus."¹²² The latter elaborations would pass into the "Sarum" version as well,¹²³ but the overarching development from Stages I–II to III conforms to a now-familiar pattern of assimilation to the Romano-German *ordo*. The presence or absence of the *commixtio* in the Mass helps much in distinguishing Stages II and III, since in most other respects the two are very close.

2.2.6. The episcopal benediction.

The core of blessings and exorcisms in the *ordo* requires study as a group, below (part 2.2.7). But one prayer, not part of that core, deserves separate no-

¹²¹ Fols. 223r–232r, at 231v (the celebrant's communion is not mentioned specifically, but the episcopal benediction does follow the blessing of the third oil; cf. *OR* 50.25.73–77 = *PRG* 99.264–67). For the date and disputed localization of the Giso Sacramentary, see Richard W. Pfaff, "Massbooks," in *Liturgical Books*, ed. Pfaff (above, n. 42), 7–34, at 19–21.

¹²² See apparatus and liturgical notes in the Appendix, at r 7 (Stage III). Note that the single prayer "Haec commixtio" (but not the hymn) also appears in the unclassifiable version *Sam*₂, and was left unaltered by the stratum *Sam*₃.

¹²³ E.g., the *ordo* of the Pontifical of Roger de Martivall, edited by Henderson as an appendix to the *Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge* (above, n. 3), 262: *misceatur* [scil. *ampullae*] *balsamum ab episcopo, super quae ter episcopus crucis signum faciens et ter sufflans in ea, conversus ad orientem in dextro cornu altaris, ita benedicat chrisma, dicens alta voce, Veni Creator Spiritus, cum genuflexione.* . . . For the text of this hymn, more familiar from its use in the Divine Office at Pentecost, see *Analecta hymnica* 2:93–94 (no. 132) and 50:193–94 (no. 144).

tice, since its variety of forms is also revealing. The *PRG* and all versions of the Canterbury *ordo* provide for an episcopal blessing of the people at the customary point in the Mass (that is, between the Lord's Prayer and the kiss of peace, just before communion). As texts proper to particular holy days, such blessings were gathered into collections known as "benedictionals," arranged according to the ecclesiastical calendar. Two distinct versions of benedictional vied for popularity in post-Carolingian Europe: a "Gallican" collection, assembled in northern France in the late seventh century, and a "Gregorian" one compiled in Charlemagne's circle and transmitted with the "Supplement" to the Gregorian Sacramentary.¹²⁴ Apart from a general similarity of form (usually a prayer of at least three major petitions, each answered by "Amen"), the Gallican and Gregorian blessings for any given day seldom resemble each other, and a bishop who possessed both types of collection might freely choose one or the other.

The compiler of the Romano-German Pontifical adopted the Gregorian blessing of Maundy Thursday, "Benedicat vos Deus, qui per unigeniti sui passionem," for inclusion in his Chrism Mass *ordo*.¹²⁵ As usual, the versions of the Canterbury *ordo* go their own way, but in this rare instance we are well-informed about the traditions available to the compiler. In England, the second half of the tenth century had seen the rise of an unusually full type of benedictional, containing for nearly every holy day both the Gregorian and the Gallican texts, as well as a number of original compositions. Modern scholars have dubbed this compendious type the "Winchester Benedictional" and associated the commissioning of so major a project with Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester (963–84).¹²⁶ The type of collection has for its most famous representative the *de luxe* benedictional made for Æthelwold's own use (London, British Library Add. 49598).¹²⁷ The main part of the often-cited

¹²⁴ See Prescott, "Structure" (above, n. 60), 119–20. Both types are believed to have been influenced, to varying degrees, by similar texts in Visigothic tradition. For a summary of scholarship, see *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*, ed. Moeller (above, n. 29), 3:vii–lxv.

¹²⁵ OR 50.25.76 (= PRG 99.266). For a critical edition, see *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*, ed. Moeller, 1:100–1 (no. 233). For the corresponding Gallican form, see *ibid.* 1:51–52 (no. 113).

¹²⁶ Association of the type with Winchester and Æthelwold's episcopate is most fully argued by Prescott, "Structure," and "Text of the Benedictional" (above, nn. 60 and 41). Dumville has drawn attention to fragmentary evidence, however, that the origin of a combined Gregorian-Gallican benedictional may predate Æthelwold's promotion of the type; see Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History* (above, n. 42), 84–85 and 76–77.

¹²⁷ See *The Benedictional of Saint Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester 963–984*, ed. George Frederic Warner and Henry Austin Wilson (Oxford, 1910), 18–19. Recent major studies are Prescott, "Text of the Benedictional," and Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination* 9 (Princeton, 1995).

Canterbury Benedictional is likewise held to be a descendent, at some remove, of the "Winchester" type.¹²⁸

The episcopal benediction included in the only complete witness to Stage I (*CantB*) draws on both the Gallican and Gregorian blessings, but instead of simply copying them one after another (as typical in the "Winchester" tradition), someone has merged the two into a single form and taken advantage of the opportunity to rewrite passages of the text. The result is a blessing in five sections, based on the first two parts of the (three-part) Gregorian formula, the fourth and fifth of the (six-part) Gallican, plus a final section newly composed, it seems, by the redactor (see **pr 11** and sources cited). Reginald Woolley noted long ago that the compiler of the benedictions throughout Harley 2892 (or its exemplar) took remarkable liberties in modifying received texts—and not only the episcopal blessings, but other pieces, such as the Palm Sunday hymn, "Gloria, laus et honor," which stands eccentrically elaborated in the same codex.¹²⁹ Pending a thorough stylistic analysis of all the revised and new texts in the Canterbury Benedictional, it would be rash to argue that the same person must also have created the Stage-I Canterbury *ordo*.¹³⁰ In the meantime, a more cautious observation must suffice that the Stage-I *ordo* shows, in common with other texts in its manuscript, a highly independent attitude towards materials received (probably) from a "Winchester Benedictional."

Just as the yoking of Gallican and Gregorian benedictions typical of late Anglo-Saxon books accounts for the hybrid blessing in Stage I, only the latter, with variants unique to its rewritten passages, can underlie the form in the Stage-II witness printed by Martène (*Mart*). The blessing in *Mart* represents a further revision of the form in *CantB*, whose five segments have been cut and recombined to yield the more usual three-part structure (see **pr 11**, second column). Puzzlingly, the other occasional witness to Stage II—*Do*—shows no trace of this complex history, but contains only the Gregorian blessing. It bears repeating, however, that the *ordo* in *Do* is a later re-edition of Stage II,

¹²⁸ Prescottt ("Structure," 130–33) maintained that the material of the Canterbury Benedictional is *textually* posterior and closely related to a version of the "Winchester Benedictional" like that transmitted in the early eleventh-century part of the Samson Pontifical (CCCC 146, pp. 159–300). The Maundy Thursday blessing in the latter (pp. 195–96), however, is simply the Gregorian form.

¹²⁹ *Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. Woolley, xix, 27, and 147.

¹³⁰ A thorough stylistic analysis would demand study of other original late Anglo-Saxon benedictions, many of which remain unedited. But an even greater obstacle is the frailty of some long-held assumptions about the significance of features such as internal rhyme and assonance (both common in the Canterbury *ordo*); see Philippe Bernard, "Benoît d'Aniane est-il l'auteur de l'avertissement 'Hucusque' et du Supplément au sacramentaire 'Hadrianum'?", *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 39 (1998): 1–120, at 83–88.

so its Gregorian benediction has perhaps been substituted for the unfamiliar one seen in *Mart*.¹³¹ Likewise, manuscripts of Stage III do not contain a full text of the benediction. The limited evidence nevertheless sheds light where it is needed most—on the poorly documented Stages I and II. To summarize, the blessing in *Mart* depends on a form like that in *CantB*, while the latter points to its own likely origins in some derivative of the “Winchester Benedictional,” with its juxtaposed Gregorian and Gallican texts.

2.2.7. The exorcisms and blessings over the oils.

The euchology of the Canterbury *ordo* stands out by its free treatment of received texts and by the considerable degree of variation from one stage to another. Space allows only an overview of the choice and combination of prayers. For the full documentation, the reader is again referred to the Appendix. It is useful to begin with a simple abstract of the prayers, their functions, and likely sources.

Fig. 3: Exorcisms and blessings

Stage I	Stages II–III
(pr 1) “Exorcizo te immundissime” (exorcism for Oil of the Sick, based on the <i>PRG</i> form)	(pr 1) “Exorcizo te” (revisions of Stage I)
(pr 2) “Emitte quesumus domine spiritum” (Gregorian blessing for Oil of the Sick)	(pr 3) “Deus qui pro infirmorum” (revisions of Stage I)
(pr 3) “Deus qui pro infirmorum necessitate” (additional blessing for Oil of the Sick [new])	(pr 2) “Emitte” (revisions of Stage I)
(pr 4) “Exorcizo te creatura olei” (exorcism for Oil of Catechumens, probably based on the <i>PRG</i> form)	(pr 4) “Exorcizo te” (revisions of Stage I)
(pr 5) “Deus qui in uirtute” (Gregorian blessing for Oil of Catechumens)	(pr 6) “Domine deus pater omnipotens” (revisions of Stage I)
(pr 6) “Deus pater omnipotens” (additional blessing for Oil of Catechumens [new])	(pr 5) “Deus qui in uirtute” (revisions of Stage I)
(pr 7) “Oremus fratres karissimi” (prayer before blessing of Chrism [new])	(pr 7) “Oremus fratres” (revisions of Stage I)

¹³¹ For another instance in which *Do* has (it seems) reverted to a pure Gregorian form, see pr 10a, apparatus and notes.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(pr 8) "Domine deus sabaoth" (second prayer before the blessing of Chrism [new])</p> <p>(pr 9) "Omnipotens et incomprehensibilis pater" (third prayer before the blessing of Chrism [new])</p> <p>(pr 10) "Dominus uobiscum. . . VD. Qui in principio" (consecration of Chrism, influenced by the <i>PRG</i> form)</p> | <p>(pr 8) "Domine deus sabaoth" (revisions of Stage I)</p> <p>(pr 9) "Omnipotens et incomprehensibilis" (revisions of Stage I)</p> <p>(pr 10) "VD. Qui in principio" (revisions of Stage I)</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Already familiar from earlier tradition, the three essential blessing formulas (pr 2, 5, and 10) are all present here. At Stage I, where the three stand closest to their sources, the texts of pr 2 and 5 look to the Gregorian more often than to Gelasian tradition, but a few of their readings hint of mediation through the Romano-German Pontifical. Decisive evidence of the latter occurs in the preface-like blessing over the Chrism (pr 10a), which at Stage I contains the interpolation regularly transmitted by manuscripts of the *PRG*.¹³² Also suggestive of a Romano-German background is the addition of exorcisms before the Oil of the Sick (pr 1) and the Oil of Catechumens (pr 4).¹³³ Through repeated revisions and, usually, expansions at later stages, most of these received prayers would move further and further away from their Gregorian and Romano-German sources (even as the ceremonial in other respects merged ever closer with the *PRG*).¹³⁴

The more arresting aspect of the euchology in the Canterbury *ordo* is the presence of five extra prayers, one apiece added for the Oils of the Sick and of Catechumens, and three added before the consecration of the Chrism. (Note the differing orders, however: at Stage I, the first two prayers come after the corresponding Gregorian blessings; in Stages II and III the new prayers precede the older ones.) These supplementary prayers are lengthy, stylistically ambitious efforts, and their development parallels that of the rubrics from shorter to longer and more elaborate forms. At no stage does any of the five have an identifiable source, and none appears anywhere outside the Canter-

¹³² See p. 227 above, and notes to pr 10a in the Appendix. The interpolation associated with the *PRG* also underlies Stage III, but the evidence for Stage II is problematic; see p. 281 n. 172 below.

¹³³ Such exorcisms occur in none of the *ordines* in late Anglo-Saxon books prior to Stage I, even though an exorcism before the Oil of Catechumens (at least) was typical of the Old- and Frankish-Gelasians. Note, however, that the *PRG* also inserts an exorcism before the blessing of Chrism; this prayer (*OR* 50.25.91 = *PRG* 99.274) has no counterpart in any stage of the Canterbury *ordo*.

¹³⁴ The exception is pr 10a, for which see the notes in the Appendix, pp. 309–11.

bury *ordo* or the later “Sarum” forms of this ritual. The plausible inferences are that, like much else in the *ordo*, these prayers were newly drafted for the assembly of Stage I, and that they remained works in progress for some time over the eleventh century.

The relation of new prayers to old is uncertain. The rubrics of Stage I introduce some of the new texts (pr 3, 6, and 9) with (*Item*) *alia*, leaving open the possibility that some were originally included as optional or alternative. Yet in manuscripts of Stages II and III, with their further revisions of order, it is the rewritten Gregorian prayers “Emitte” and “Deus qui in uirtute” that are occasionally introduced by *alia*, whereas the newer items (pr 3 and 6) are manifestly required. The three prayers added before the blessing of Chrism (pr 7, 8, and 9) raise similar questions. Even at Stage I (the shortest forms) these three supplements would, if all recited, take longer than the blessing of Chrism proper (pr 10); by Stage III the disproportion has only increased. Curious, too, is the fact that the three new preparatory (?) prayers accompany no identifiable action. The first two, “Oremus fratres karissimi” (pr 7) and “Domine deus sabaoth” (pr 8), contain elements of “apology” prayers (that is, a celebrant’s confession of unworthiness, followed by petitions for God’s mercy and aid in the celebration ahead). In Stages II and III, both prayers make explicit reference to the special qualities of balsam. It is therefore tempting to associate pr 7 and pr 8 with the celebrant’s adding of balsam to the ampoule for Chrism, except that these prayers, with their references to balsam, already appear at this point in Stage II, which has already required the mixing of oil and balsam at a point earlier in the Mass.¹³⁵

The third new prayer, just before the salutation “Dominus uobiscum” and the ancient formula “VD. Qui in principio,” is “Omnipotens et incomprehensibilis” (pr 9), which invokes God’s blessing so that all anointed with Chrism would receive the Holy Spirit and win protection from enemies visible and invisible. The prayer seems redundant in view of the major blessing yet to come; though clearly not an exorcism in form, it occurs at the point where an exorcism would appear in the *PRG*. The original compiler of the Canterbury *ordo* may have known any number of precedents for using a series of anticipatory prayers instead of an exorcism at this point. The Old- and Frankish-Gelasian Sacramentaries accepted for that purpose what had originally been a blessing for the Oil of Catechumens,¹³⁶ but another inspiration lay closer to hand. One of the major sources for the Stage-I *ordo*—the often-mentioned *breviculum*-type text—inserted a pair of blessings for a *chrismale* (a general term used of vessels for carrying the eucharist or the holy oils) just prior to the

¹³⁵ See p. 259 above.

¹³⁶ See pp. 225–26 above.

major prayer over the Chrism.¹³⁷ It is not clear whether this development arose from a misunderstood rubric (the two prayers are sometimes labeled *Praefatio chrismalis* and *Alia*) or a knowing attempt to make a blessing of the Chrism-vessel into a preparatory rite. While the two brief *chrismale* prayers hardly compare with the new items in the Canterbury *ordo* in length or complexity, one of the two formulas included in *breviculum*-type documents has exactly the same incipit as **pr 7**: "Oremus fratres carissimi." Beyond that the two have little in common, but the similarities of incipit and placement are hard to dismiss as coincidence.¹³⁸

3. PATTERNS OF EMPHASIS IN THE NEW *ORDO* AT CANTERBURY

Liturgies may develop through processes vast and imperceptibly slow, suggesting the metaphor of evolution on natural principles.¹³⁹ But change may also arise from discrete historical causes, with effects abrupt and profound—a catastrophic model, as it were, countering the evolutionary. Both analogies, though imperfect, help make sense of the data just surveyed. The Canterbury *ordo* demonstrates well the general tendency of liturgical ceremonies to veer from lesser to greater complexity and from shorter to more prolix forms of expression. It is equally the case, however, that most of the innovations of this *ordo* enter the manuscript record without warning, and that they pertain to all parts of the ceremony. Their effects, far from appearing haphazard, suggest cogent purposes through series of revisions. The object of the final portion of this study is to argue that one of those purposes, at least, is fairly evident, namely the intent to distinguish more clearly the three types of oil from one another, and to describe their functions in more precise language. Such aims correlate with wider currents in ecclesiastical history, by which the Chrism was coming to occupy a crucial place in politics and canon law, no less than in sacramental theology.

3.1. Technical Distinctions Introduced in the Rubrics and Prayers.

The traditional core of blessings common since the eighth century evoked the biblical precedents for holy oil and the typological significance of anoint-

¹³⁷ See p. 236 above.

¹³⁸ Another distant analogue is the prayer over the *commixtio* at this point in Pont.Rom.XII, 30A.50: "Oremus dominum nostrum omnipotentem," which compares the union of oil and balsam to that of the persons of the Trinity.

¹³⁹ For a summary and critique of these models, see Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (London, 1992), esp. 56–79.

ing. And yet the language of those prayers remained so general that, from their content alone, it is rarely self-evident for which of the oils a given formula may have first been composed. The term *chrisma* itself originally had a more general sense, vestiges of which lingered in Latin usage down through the Middle Ages.¹⁴⁰ By the time of the Canterbury *ordo*, rubrics usually left much less to chance, but there had been no corresponding movement towards greater technical precision in the euchology. The venerable but vague blessings passed with only slight changes into the Romano-German and later pontificals. In marked contrast, the Canterbury *ordo* reveals an unusual effort to make the prayers respond to then-current practical and theoretical concerns about the oils. To begin, its revised texts frequently describe in more explicit, updated terms the functions of each type. The new prayer for the Oil of the Sick (**pr 3**), for example, opens with an invocation of God's power to act as medicine for the afflicted against every pain and illness; the prayer continues with a remembrance of the leper Naaman, healed by the waters of the Jordan, after Elisha's instruction (2 Samuel 5:10, 14). At Stages II and III elaborations of the basic Gregorian blessing for this oil (**pr 2**) include a quotation of the foremost New Testament proof-text, James 5:14—the second appearance of this verse in the *ordo* (an earlier instance having occurred at the description of the *oleum infirmorum* in the introductory rubric, at **r 0.10**).

The specifying trend continues for the other two oils, mainly between Stages II and III. The exorcism over the Oil of Catechumens at Stage I, for example, agrees almost verbatim with the same prayer in the *PRG* drawn, in turn, from the Old Gelasian Sacramentary. The original prayer (**pr 4**) asks that the oil, once purified, would bless the anointed in body and soul, for the forgiveness of sins and reception of grace. The later two stages retain most of the earlier form but make the petition more concrete: "... to the end that, just as the chests and shoulders of all are sealed [*confirmantur*] externally, so, too, their minds and souls would be sanctified internally ... for receiving the grace of the Holy Spirit in baptism." Almost identical phrasing occurs in the opening rubric (at **r 0.11**, Stages II–III): "The second [ampoule] is for the holy oil, a spiritual unguent for sealing [*ad confirmandos*] on the breast and between the shoulder-blades, prior to baptism, those persons who are to be reborn in that sacrament." This literal description of prebaptismal anointing is entirely new in both instances, as is a third reference in revisions to the new blessing for this oil, **pr 6**: "we beseech you to sanctify and bless this oil, so that all who, as catechumens, are anointed with its liquid essence. . . ."

¹⁴⁰ See Maier, 39–47 (on the ambiguities of prayers in the Old Gelasian) and 50–51 (on the word *chrisma*).

It is the references to Chrism, however, that attract the most explicit amplification. The ancient prayer "VD. Qui in principio" had invoked Old Testament types of ministry and kingship as foreshadowings of both Christ's unique office and that of all believers as the new, royal priesthood.¹⁴¹ By such terms, Chrism was first and foremost the seal of baptism—and naturally so, since the formula dates to a period before anointing with Chrism had become the central act in clerical ordinations and royal inaugurations. The Canterbury *ordo* has added or rewritten numerous passages to reflect those latter, conspicuous changes. Part of the introductory rubric at Stages II and III (r 0.12) enumerates the uses of the principal oil: "for ecclesiastical consecrations, for the advancing of ranks [*ad promouendas dignitates*], and to be a thing salutary and beneficial to all those about to cross over into living hope and the newness of blessed rebirth." A comparable list occurs in one of the new prayers (pr 7) inserted before the actual blessing of the Chrism: "And let this Chrism be blessed to seal the honors of ecclesiastical grade, to advance rank, to sanctify the laver of baptism, and to mark with the sign of the holy cross the offspring of a second birth."¹⁴² The following prayer (pr 8), also new to the ceremony, includes at Stages II and III even more particular references: "Lord God of hosts . . . you who have ordained to consecrate the estate of holy orders [*catholici ordinis statum*] and that of kingly rank [*regie dignitatis*] with the oil of gladness and Chrism of salvation. . . ."¹⁴³ Later, the same prayer (in all three stages) makes equally explicit references to the benefits of Chrism conferred on all baptized believers, and at yet another point the celebrant alludes to the special function of Chrism in constituting holy orders.¹⁴⁴

The care shown to itemize the functions of Chrism recalls other changes, such as the consistent reordering that makes it the climax of the series, or its attraction of not one but three new prayers. In a less obvious way, a desire to exalt the status of Chrism may account for the most unusual feature of the entire *ordo*, namely, the allegorical commentary woven into the opening rubrics.

¹⁴¹ On theological themes in the prayer, see Chavasse, "La bénédiction" (above, n. 10), and Jean Rogues, "La préface consécrationnaire du chrême," *La maison-dieu* 49 (1957): 35–49.

¹⁴² The reference not found in the previous list—that to "sanctifying the laver of baptism"—must refer to the custom of adding Chrism to the water of the baptismal font; see, e.g., *OR* 11.94. Note that this list occurs in full only at Stage III. The evidence of Stage II is inconclusive: *Mart* omits it entirely; *Do* mentions ordinations but none of the other uses specifically (see pr 7, second column and apparatus).

¹⁴³ Cf. Stage I of the same prayer, where the types of rank (*dignitas*) are not yet enumerated: "Domine deus . . . omnium dignitatum prouidus dispensator et largitor. . . ."

¹⁴⁴ This occurs only in Stages II–III of pr 8: "Dumque ecclesiastici gradus honorem et ordinem. chrismatis oleo summus in æternum pontifex consecrasti. . . ."

3.2. Exegetical Comment on the Procession of the Holy Oils.

The form and timing of the procession have already drawn notice (part 2.2.1–3), but the allegorical exposition of the act, variously present in all three stages, remains to be considered. The intrusion of exegetical matter directly into the rubrics of a service book is not unprecedented. What is unusual about this instance are the originality of its content and pointedness of its effect. In most other cases, the expository comments woven into *ordines* are drawn verbatim from one of the standard medieval handbooks, such as Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* or Amalarius's *Liber officialis*. Such comments typically function as tangential didactic matter with no larger purpose in view.¹⁴⁵ The expository passages in the Canterbury *ordo* look, by contrast, to no identifiable sources, and their content (especially at Stages II and III) adumbrates a few of the very emphases detected among the new rubrics and prayers. By the latter tendency, the commentary seems to have an atypically deliberate end, namely to justify some of the departures taken by this novel Chrism Mass.

A synopsis of the original and revised passages (in translation, as fig. 4) exposes the differences between the relatively restrained allegory at Stage I and the elaborated version common to Stages II–III. The list begins with the head of the procession and moves towards the back. Where Stages II and III differ, only the latter is given:

Fig. 4: The spiritual exegesis of the oil-procession

Stage I	Stage (II–)III
(r 0.4) the ministers, clothed in their sacred vestments, shall proceed from the sacristy;	(r 0.4) During the recitation of the <i>Te igitur</i> , the ministers, clothed in their sacred vestments, shall proceed from the sacristy in six ranks [<i>ordines</i>], because the mysteries celebrated on this day were prefigured through the six ages of the world.
(r 0.5) of their number, two shall carry a pair of banners, as if about to do battle against the devil's	(r 0.5) In the first rank, two deacons shall go forth carrying a pair of banners, as if, purified by the Lenten fast and triumphant in the victory of Christ, they are about to do battle against the devil's treacherous stratagems, in

¹⁴⁵ On didactic material in *ordines* of the PRG, see *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, ed. Vogel and Elze, 3:35–36. For such material in Chrism Mass rubrics, there is a well-attested *ordo* combining prayers and rubrics of the PRG with exposition culled from Amalarius's *Liber officialis* 1.12.5–7 (perhaps via Pont.Rom.XII, 30A.37) and 1.12.29–31. A copy perhaps from Rouen was printed by Menard and thence reprinted at PL 78:327–31; more or less the same *ordo* was printed by Martène from a pontifical of Beauvais (*De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 4.22 [3:309–16]; cf. Martimort, *La documentation* (above, n. 36), 478 [no. 1032]) and is also extant in at least one unedited manuscript, Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 222 [212], fols. 140–73. The Chrism Mass in Durand's pontifical also contains didactic matter; see Pont.Durand 3.2.25.

treacherous vices, relying on Christ's unconquerable aid.

(r 0.6) After them follow those who carry the torches, so that, having gained the victory through Christ's strength, they may be seen to blaze with heavenly light.

(r 0.7) Next, following in their footsteps, come two who carry a pair of thuribles, so that just as they shed the warmth of godly illumination, they may be found redolent with the pleasant fragrance of Christ.

(r 0.8) Then, accompanying them shall go those who bear twin gospel books, so that, having already been filled with the pleasant fragrance of Christ, they may strive to study the Lord's sayings, and keep them with a pure heart.

(r 0.9) After those shall come three deacons girded in sindons, with the three ampoules; and each of the ampoules shall have a small label, to the effect that in one is the Oil of the Sick, in the second the Oil for Baptism, and in the third the holy Chrism.

return for his deception of their first parent, Adam; or as if about to enter heaven by force, in place of the fallen legion.

(r 0.6) Also two torchbearers shall follow in the second rank, who, as if pouring forth a heavenly radiance, show that the church has been established on solid rock, just as the ark of Noah was rescued in the flood; or that the gentiles have now been illumined with the true light of day, just as the nations were then immersed in horrible darkness.

(r 0.7) And in the third rank, the same number of thuribles [*i.e.*, two] shall be carried, as if the burnt sacrifices of a humble and contrite heart, prepared to make an incense offering to the Lord, just as Abraham did through his offering of Isaac, as a type of Christ;¹⁴⁶ and just as we know that the patriarchs were pleasing to God "in the fragrance of sweetness" through their faith and obedience.

(r 0.8) And in the fourth rank shall proceed from the treasury of divine scripture two copies of the gospel of peace, declaring that the ark of the old law has been shut in the Lord's passion, and that, with the rending of the veil, the testaments of the lawgiver Moses have been laid bare; and that, at the same time, the gospel of new grace and truth through Jesus Christ has shed its light everywhere, more brightly than the sun.

(r 0.9) In their company proceed, in the fifth rank, three most beauteous heralds of the holy gospel, girded about with sindons and carrying before their faces, in the name of the holy Trinity, those three ampoules of which we have already spoken.

[*here follow r 0.10–12, with only literal descriptions of the three types of oil and their uses*]

¹⁴⁶ Taken on its own terms, the Latin seems to claim that it is Abraham who acts *in typo christi* (see r 0.7, Stages II–III, in the Appendix), but the word-order may simply be careless. I translate above assuming the more usual association between Isaac and Christ.

(r 0.13) And in the sixth rank shall proceed the victorious and worshiped cross of the Lord (or two such crosses), as if the mystical prefigurement of all the preceding mysteries—the cross that, in the sixth age, he who was God and born the Son of God suffered upon and sanctified with the laver of his holy blood; the cross, by whose victory the banners of our redeemer go forth, by whose radiance the holy church is illumined; the cross, whose fragrant bark is everywhere redolent, exhaling its life-giving nectar; the cross, by whose power the gifts of peace and gladness are joyfully proclaimed; with whose sign the mystery of baptism is made, and the ointment of holy Chrism; and through which the ineffable sacraments of the universal church are consecrated.

The commentary at Stage I depends on obvious symbolic associations, assigned one-to-one for each of the first four ranks. By purely rhetorical means the author has tried to give his explanations a pattern, wherein the each rank recalls then supersedes the meaning of the one before it: victory over the devil (= banners) leads to illumination (= torches), which fires the fragrance of Christ's sacrifice (= thuribles), which, by its purifying or expiatory virtue, prepares the heart for contemplation of scripture (= gospel books).¹⁴⁷ The effect, however superficial, is a simple order of ascent by degrees. Although no figurative commentary attaches to the oils that follow in the fifth and (in Stage I) final rank, their placement suggests that they are the culmination of what has gone before.

When we turn to texts of Stage II or III, the simple allegory has seen a wholesale transformation, swelling to more than double its size in Stage I. The addition of the processional cross(es) yields a total of six ranks, now likened to the six ages of the world. This expanded teaching depends on no obvious source. Amalarius of Metz, the chief promoter of liturgical exegesis in the early medieval West, referred to Christ's coming at [the end of] the fifth age as the reason why the reconciliation of penitents and blessing of oils take place on the fifth feria in Holy Week (Maundy Thursday).¹⁴⁸ But in this

¹⁴⁷ For a distant analogue, see Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sacramentarium* 34 (PL 172:764D), relating thurifers to torchbearers to subdeacons (and so on) in the procession at any pontifical Mass.

¹⁴⁸ *Liber officialis* 1.12.41 and 46, in *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, ed. Ioannes Michael Hanssens, 3 vols., *Studi e Testi* 138–40 (Vatican City, 1948–50), 2:84 and 86. Amalarius's point was restated many times by later commentators, but was significantly clarified and improved by the Norman liturgist John of Avranches (later archbishop of Rouen from 1067 to 1079) in a work probably contemporary with our Stages II–III. See *Le "De officiis eccle-*

connection Amalarius never alluded to any of the ages other than the fifth and sixth, and he certainly never applied such a reading to the structure of the Chrism Mass or to its special procession (which may not have figured in the ceremony as Amalarius knew it).

Not only does the Canterbury *ordo* adapt the general motif to a highly specific purpose; it multiplies the typological associations for every single rank, giving to each a depth, or "vertical" movement, to balance the predominantly linear pattern of the six ages. Encoded in the commentary are therefore two complementary ways of dividing salvation history. When abstracted from the unwieldy Latin, the teaching asserts these basic equivalents: (1) the banners with the age of Adam; (2) the torches with that of Noah; (3) the thuribles with Abraham and the sacrifice of Isaac; (4) the gospel books with Moses, the law and the Ark of the Covenant; and (6) the processional cross with the last Age, that of Christ and the New Covenant until the end of time. The heaping up of extra allusions at each rank or "age" does not seem to follow any strict plan, such as the traditional three or four "levels" of medieval exegesis. But there is in general a balancing of appeals to the "then" of Old Testament types and the "now" of their fulfillment, be it in the life of Christ or practices of the church. Each of the Old Testament types mentioned is given an explicitly Christian interpretation, so that (1) the banners also signify the entry of the saints into heaven, and their filling of the void left by the fallen angels; (2) the torches represent the enlightenment of the gentiles and foundation of the church; (3) the incense betokens a spiritual sacrifice of Christian humility; and (4) the two gospel books signify the two covenants, and the ceding of the old to the new.

Various medieval sources offer comparable exegeses of processions in general,¹⁴⁹ and a few discuss the procession of the oils in particular. None of the analogues, however, presents anything so complex as this in the latter stages of the Canterbury *ordo*. The most interesting analogue occurs in the writings of Honorius Augustodunensis (fl. s. XI¹), whose popular *Gemma animae* describes a Chrism-procession led by torches, followed by two priests, one carrying a cross and the other a thurible, and between them a deacon carrying the gospel book; the Chrism-ampoule itself is wrapped in a sindon and carried beneath a canopy (*pallium*), behind which follow two cantors singing "O redemptor." Honorius's teaching merits quotation, both as a passage of engag-

siasticis" de Jean d'Avranches, archevêque de Rouen (1067-1079), ed. R. Delamare (Paris, 1923), 31.

¹⁴⁹ For a survey and references, see Rudolf Suntrup, *Die Bedeutung der liturgischen Gebärden und Bewegungen in lateinischen und deutschen Auslegungen des 9. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 37 (Munich, 1978), 79-81 (the introit as battle march), 183-88 (the introit as Christ's entry into history), and 245-55 (various other types of procession).

ing originality and as an instructive contrast with the nearly contemporary Canterbury *ordo*:

Hereby [*scil.* in the procession of the Chrism] the ministers imitate the progress of God's people, who as a type of Christ and the church made their way through the desert. He who carries the light represents the angel who bore the pillar of fire before the people. The priest with the incense is Aaron with his priestly censer. The deacon with the gospel book is Moses with the book of the law. The [other] priest with the cross is Jesus, that is Joshua, with his scepter. The pure sindon is the ark. The ampoule of Chrism is the urn with the manna. The carrying of the canopy over them represents the tabernacle, or the shadow cast by the cloud. All of this was as shadow, and it forecast the truth, [whereby:] he who carries the light at the front is John the Baptist, who was the lantern burning and shedding light before Christ. The deacon who walks between the two is Christ, who appeared between Moses and Elijah. The canopy that covers the ministers is the radiant cloud that overshadowed [Christ, Moses, and Elijah]. The oil of Chrism in the ampoule is [Christ's] divinity in human flesh. The pure sindon is [his] holy way of life.¹⁵⁰

Quite apart from its simple prose or the different makeup of its ranks, the basic strategy of Honorius's account is also more transparent than that in Stages II–III of the Canterbury text. The balancing of type and fulfillment follows a much simpler correspondence between details of two scenes: the Exodus and (mainly) the Transfiguration. Neither the *Gemma animae* nor any other commentary makes the progress from old to new, from Israel to the Church, or Adam to Christ, figure over the whole succession of ranks. In that

¹⁵⁰ Honorius, *Gemma animae* 3.83: "per hoc progressionem populi Dei imitantur, qui in figura Christi et Ecclesiae per desertum gradiebantur. Qui lumen portat exprimit angelum qui columnam ignis ante populum ferebat. Presbyter cum incenso est Aaron cum sacerdotali thuribulo. Diaconus cum Evangelio est Moyses cum legis libro. Presbyter cum cruce est Jesus, qui et Josue cum scripto. Sindon munda est arca. Chrismatis ampulla est urna cum manna. Quod super eos portatur pallium est tabernaculum vel nubis obumbraculum. Hoc totum umbra fuit, et veritatem prae-notuit. Qui lumen ante portat, Joannes Baptista, qui lucerna lucens et ardens ante Christum erat. Diaconus, qui inter duos incedit, est Christus, qui in medio Moysis et Eliae apparuit. Pallium, quod eos operit, est nubes lucida, quae illos obumbravit. Oleum chrismatis in ampulla est divinitas in carne humana. Sindon munda conversatio sancta" (PL 172:664C–D, translation mine but reading "Josue cum sceptro" for Migne's "cum scripto"). Earlier in the same work (1.68–69: PL 172:565B–D) Honorius developed a reading of the typical Mass procession as an antitype of the Exodus, along with Joshua's encircling of Jericho. Honorius's ideas were taken over and extended by a later and equally popular work, Sicard of Cremona's *Mitrale seu Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 3.9 (on the Mass procession) and 6.12 (on the procession of the oils); see PL 213:145A–B and 306B–307A, respectively. Sicard's work in turn served as a major source for the treatment of the Chrism-procession in Durand's *Rationale divinarum officiorum* 6.74.14–16 (ed. A. Davril and T. Thibodeau, CCCM 140A [Turnhout, 1998], 356–57).

respect, the teaching in the Canterbury *ordo* bears less resemblance to any analogues in liturgical commentary than to the stringing together of highlights from salvation history in Mystery Play-cycles or, from the same milieu, the quasi-dramatic "procession of the prophets" (*ordo prophetarum*).¹⁵¹

At a deeper level, the commentary repays scrutiny for what it hints about the rationale of the whole *ordo* as a planned innovation. The clues begin with a seeming paradox, for at the crucial point—namely, the description of the fifth rank, in which the deacons carry the oils—the author suspended his elaborate typology. The descriptions of the three oils employ the same verbose style as the surrounding rubrics, and certain key phrases either echo or supply similar wording later, among the exorcisms and blessings. By every indicator, then, the same expert(s) who adorned much else in the ritual deliberately chose not to provide any overt allegory at the very point where we might expect it most. Perhaps the choice was a concession to didactic purpose, if one aim in revising the rite was indeed to clarify differences among the oils. A redactor may have decided that a non-literal, densely associative commentary at this point would only cloud issues that the *ordo* as a whole was attempting to clarify.

On the other hand, the very omission of commentary at so key a point calls attention to itself and allows that we are meant to infer a "reading" of the fifth rank on the basis of patterns already in place. The literal description of the three oils does follow the same revised sequence that recurs through the body of the rite, with the result that the Chrism stands in the most emphatic position. Placing the Chrism near the end also continues the overarching pattern of hierarchical ascent, to which the motif of the ages of the world gives another kind of expression. The latter scheme is so commonplace, and its present appearance so obscured by competing allusions, that a minor oddity of detail is easy to miss. The division of the ages implied by this author differs slightly from the most typical one proposed by Augustine, Isidore, Bede, and others (see fig. 5 below). The Augustinian model, in its most common form, proceeds: (age 1) from Adam to Noah; (age 2) from Noah to Abraham; (age 3) from Abraham to David; (age 4) from David to the Babylonian Captivity; (age 5) the Babylonian Captivity to the advent of Christ; (age 6) from Christ to the end times.¹⁵² The scheme underlying the commentary in Stages II and

¹⁵¹ See Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1933), 2:165–66, discussing an *ordo prophetarum* from fourteenth-century Rouen.

¹⁵² This is a reductive summary of traditions surveyed in detail by Hildegard L. C. Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi: Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren: Untersuchungen und Texte*, Anglistische Forschungen 165 (Heidelberg, 1985), esp. tables at 35–49. The chief primary sources she cites (*ibid.*, 22–30) are Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, *De civitate Dei*, and *De diversis quaestionibus*, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and Bede's *De*

III is unclear because it lacks an account for the crucial fifth age. But, by its equation of the third age with the period from Abraham to Moses, and the sixth with the time of Christ to the end of days, its pattern resembles a variant tradition of the six ages witnessed by a group of predominantly Anglo-Saxon and Welsh texts of the eleventh century.¹⁵³ One representative of this minority tradition was in fact copied at Christ Church, Canterbury, shortly after 1073.¹⁵⁴ On the evidence of these closest analogues, then, it may be conjectured that the reviser of the commentary for Stages II–III understood the fifth age to be that beginning with King David and lasting until the birth of Christ.¹⁵⁵

Fig. 5, Traditions of the ages of the world

Age	Augustinian/Isidorean	"Bedan"	Insular variant
1	Adam to Noah	← same	← same
2	Noah to Abraham	← same	← same
3	Abraham to David	← same	Abraham to Moses
4	David to Babylonian captivity	David to Daniel	Moses to David
5	Babylonian captivity to birth of Christ	Daniel to Christ	David to Christ
6	birth of Christ to Last Days	← same	← same

With the missing elements thus in place, the question follows: can it be entirely coincidental that the Chrism and other oils fall in that rank of the procession that would, to all appearances, have corresponded to an age with David as its beginning and Christ as its culmination? Every knowledgeable reader would have known that "Chrism" literally first appeared in the fourth age (with God's instructions to Moses in Exodus). But in the present scheme, as in medieval views of salvation history generally, the controlling idea is that

temporum ratione. Most of Tristram's Anglo-Saxon examples belong to the Bedan type (her Group 1.b) or its variations, some of which add a seventh and eighth age (*Sex aetates*, 37–42).

¹⁵³ See Tristram, *Sex aetates*, 42–43 (Group 1.c) or *ibid.*, 44 (Group 1.d).

¹⁵⁴ London, British Library Cotton Caligula A.xv, fol. 139v (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xi²), containing mostly computistic texts. For the date "soon after 1073," see Ker, *Catalogue* (above, n. 42), no. 139, Part A, item [s]. The other members of Tristram's "Group 1.c" are: an addition, dated 1099, to a Winchester psalter (British Library Arundel 60: Ker no. 134, item 3); random notes, dated 1031, entered in the *Liber vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (British Library Stowe 944; Ker no. 274, item c). For editions of these and other relevant texts, see Max Förster, "Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen," in *Neusprachliche Studien: Festgabe Karl Luick*, Die Neueren Sprachen, Beiheft 6 (Marburg, 1925), 183–203. An additional witness that seems to correspond to Tristram's "Group 1.c" belongs to the probably earlier and culturally distinct *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae*, ed. and trans. Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 14 (Dublin, 1998), 180 (no. 377) and 272–73.

¹⁵⁵ According to the pattern of Tristram's Group 1.c. Alternatively, if her Group 1.d was our redactor's model, the fifth age would begin with Solomon or the building of the Temple.

of progress from the less to the more perfect, from type to fulfillment. David's anointing as king and prophet made him the mediator for God's people. In those respects, David as *christus Domini*, the Lord's anointed, most richly foreshadowed the Christ of God who would inaugurate the sixth age, and whose symbol (the cross) is so poetically described as the ultimate rank of the Canterbury procession. The culmination of kingly and prophetic offices in *figura* by David was most celebrated in the late eighth- and early ninth-century Carolingian *specula principum*. Charlemagne enjoyed being known as a new David, and Charles the Bald encouraged the same association for himself.¹⁵⁶ As the instrument of royal, prophetic, and (if only by analogy) priestly anointing, the Chrism is fittingly associated with David and the era of Israel's earthly kings. At the same time, the structure of the allegory points always forward, to the union of perfect kingship and priesthood in Christ, and beyond, to the realization of those offices in Christian society, with its "royal priesthood" of all baptized believers (1 Peter 2:9), but also with its special orders of monarchy and clergy.

If the lessons of the allegory do resonate with other changes in the *ordo*, the only task remaining is to consider how such attitudes towards the Chrism may have manifested themselves otherwise in the Anglo-Saxon church. There, evidence from the later tenth and early eleventh centuries points to a growing intensity of interest in the implications of anointing with Chrism

3.3. Anointing and Perceptions of the Chrism in Late Anglo-Saxon England.

Pastoral and ideological motives may have joined in these complicated experiments with the Mass of the Holy Oils. In theory at least, all minsters and lesser churches had to receive their yearly supply of the oils directly from the bishop, an arrangement that reserved for the latter a measure of control that must have seemed increasingly important as the number of small local and manorial churches grew in the later tenth and eleventh centuries. As it happens, some of the best-recorded evidence of an elaborate chain-of-command for distributing Chrism to lesser churches survives from the diocese of Kent itself in the eleventh century, a fact that suggests revived or jealously guarded

¹⁵⁶ On David as royal exemplar, see Hans Hubert Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, Bonner historische Forschungen 32 (Bonn, 1968), 419–30. On the corresponding art-historical tradition, see Hugo Steger, *David Rex et Propheta: König David als vorbildliche Verkörperung des Herrschers und Dichters im Mittelalter, nach Bilddarstellungen des achten bis zwölften Jahrhunderts*, Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft 6 (Nuremberg, 1961), 33 and 125–32. The significance of the medieval David's priestly (as opposed to merely prophetic) trappings has at times been much exaggerated; see Karl Frederick Morrison, *The Two Kingdoms: Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought* (Princeton, 1964), 26–28 and n. 1.

traditions about the receipt of holy oils from the archbishops.¹⁵⁷ But such extensive revisions to the oil-blessing rituals are hard to explain from pastoral and administrative motives alone. The redactors also clearly intended to shape a ceremony more befitting, in medieval eyes, the unique functions of Chrism in ordering Christian society. That status was by no means new in the eleventh century but had waxed through the ninth and tenth as functions of Chrism proliferated. Anointing entered the liturgies of ordination and royal inauguration in most regions of Europe well before the turn of the millennium. Inspired by earlier Gallican sources, the Frankish Gelasian Sacramentaries required the anointing of a priest's hands at ordination and extended the same practice to the consecration of bishops. At the end of the eighth century comes evidence that a new bishop was anointed on the head as well. Though briefly permitted to lapse, these uses of oil at ordinations were revived in later-ninth-century Frankish texts and spread widely in the tenth century, finally affecting ordination rites at Rome itself.¹⁵⁸

The early history of royal sacring is likewise obscure down to the later ninth century. Thereafter West Frankish coronation *ordines* and narrative sources survive in numbers sufficient to verify that chrismation was regarded as an essential part of king-making rites. Promoted most famously by Archbishop Hincmar of Reims, the revival of royal anointing intended to sanctify the kingly office, but also (arguably) to draw it closer into the orbit of canonical jurisdiction.¹⁵⁹ The makers of ritual tended to associate any single appearance of Chrism with a larger complex of occasions in which the oils played a part.¹⁶⁰ Thus ninth-century Frankish coronation *ordines* incorporated into their anointing prayers phrases drawn directly from the blessing of the Chrism on Maundy Thursday and from the episcopal ordination ceremony.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ On this evidence, see Jones, "Chrism Mass," 130–31; and now also John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 69 and 495. The remainder of the present discussion (in part 3) is an expansion of my briefer remarks in "Chrism Mass," 132–38, and with broader attention to historical conditions at Canterbury.

¹⁵⁸ This summary is based on Gerald Ellard, *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A.D.*, Medieval Academy Monographs 16 (Cambridge, Mass., 1933); Michel Andrieu, "Le sacre épiscopal d'après Hincmar de Reims," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 48 (1953): 22–73, at 40–53; and Conn, "Dunstan and Brodie Pontificals," 429–41.

¹⁵⁹ For the present point about Hincmar, see Janet Nelson, "Kingship, Law and Liturgy in the Political Thought of Hincmar of Rheims," *English Historical Review* 92 (1977): 241–79; I cite the reprint in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London and Ronceverte, W. Va., 1986), 133–71, at 142. As a helpful contrast, Morrison (*Two Kingdoms*, 178–215) emphasizes differences between the anointing rituals for kings and clergy.

¹⁶⁰ See Janet Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages," *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976): 97–119; I cite the reprint in her *Politics and Ritual*, 259–81, esp. 274–75.

¹⁶¹ See Cornelius Adrianus Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning: The Development of the Latin*

If the content of the Chrism Mass informed the creation of more recent anointing ceremonies, it is easy to imagine a reciprocity—namely, that the employment of Chrism at the elevation of priests and kings would change perceptions of the Chrism Mass and, eventually, its constituent forms.

The proliferation of anointing-rituals is well attested in tenth- and eleventh-century England, as is a rising concern to define different types of anointing. Canon law collections, pastoral letters, and sermons carry over the broader European concern for distinguishing the types of holy oil and for extolling the Chrism. Some English sources imply that, as late as the early eleventh century, confusion about the different oils persisted among lower and perhaps some higher clergy.¹⁶² As for liturgical evidence proper, ordination ceremonies in Anglo-Saxon pontificals feature more anointings, with more complicated instructions, than do their Frankish counterparts. Chrism and Holy Oil (i.e., the Oil of Catechumens) were applied to the hands not only of the bishop and priest, but of the deacon. This anointing thereby united all three grades of higher clergy. As a further innovation, the Anglo-Saxon ordinals usually require an anointing of the head for the priest as well as the usual one for the bishop; and at least three Anglo-Saxon forms of the ritual require that the bishop's head be anointed twice.¹⁶³ Likewise, the anointing of kings may have been practiced in England as early as the eighth century, but only from the tenth onwards does sufficient evidence survive of the exact liturgical forms or their immediate context. It is well known that the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon monastic reformers placed great emphasis on the motif of Christ's kingship and the christological dimension of earthly kingship, and that the chrismation of monarchs was a feature of Anglo-Saxon coronation rites that survived tenaciously into the (arguably) post-Conquest Third Coronation Order.¹⁶⁴ For a

Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor Before the Eleventh Century (Groningen, 1957), 109–14 and 119–20.

¹⁶² Ælfric's second Latin and second Old English pastoral letters (ca. 1005) written for Archbishop Wulfstan describe the three oils, and the Old English version warns against confusion of the different types; see *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. Bernhard Fehr, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 9 (Hamburg, 1914; rpt. Darmstadt, 1966), 58–89 and 146–48. Wulfstan's writings on baptism included a short discussion of the Chrism, printed in *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), 170 and apparatus. There are hints that Wulfstan himself may have elided the functions of Chrism and the Oil of Catechumens; see Jones, "Chrism Mass," 134–37.

¹⁶³ For detailed but still not definitive accounts of Anglo-Saxon episcopal ordination rites, see Conn, "Dunstan and Brodie Pontificals," 441–53; Ellard, *Ordination Anointings*, 78–82. The double-anointing of the bishop's head (in the Robert Benedictional, the Dunstan Pontifical, and the Anderson Pontifical) may simply result from an imperfect fusion of sources; see Andrieu, "Le sacre épiscopal," pp. 50–52; Conn, "Dunstan and Brodie Pontificals," 451.

¹⁶⁴ Deshman, *Benedictional of Æthelwold*, 192–214; Garnett, "Third Recension" (above, n. 38), 58–59. Also relevant is evidence of the Old English gloss "cýning" [king] for the lemma

graphic realization of this ideological link, we need only look to the Epiphany-miniature in the Benedictional of Æthelwold which portrays Christ's baptism as a kind of imperial sacring, perhaps with overtones of King Edgar's "imperial" coronation at Bath on Pentecost in 973.¹⁶⁵

The English reformers Dunstan and Æthelwold must have understood, as Hincmar had a century before, how anointing made kingship an office bestowed by and, to some degree, tethered by the episcopate. The strength of cooperation between Edgar and his bishops encouraged a belief, however short-lived, that a united will could govern both *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. In the rite of particular anointing shared by both clergy and kings, and in the writings of Carolingian authorities who equated kingship and monasticism with the *via regia*, the Anglo-Saxon reformers had every means to envision themselves as partners in a *regnum ecclesiae*.¹⁶⁶ Such circumstances would explain a heightened sensitivity to every appearance of the Chrism, rebounding, eventually, to the rituals of its confection on Maundy Thursday. In this light, the Canterbury *ordo* stands as only one symptom of much larger political and liturgical preoccupations. What is first glimpsed in the revised prayers and order of Stage I, then seen more clearly in the allegory and further changes at Stages II–III, is the late result of a long process by which Chrism emerged as the most conspicuous shared symbol of royal and sacerdotal dignity. Both types of anointing probably found their way to England long before, but scrutiny of their implications would have been most opportune during and shortly after the close partnership between the king and his reforming monk-bishops in the later tenth century, and then again, perhaps, as that partnership entered a more precarious phase in the mid- and late eleventh.

Beyond such impressions it is hardly safe to venture. As a cautionary tale stands an earlier tendency of scholars to read coronation *ordines* as programs of medieval political thought. Janet Nelson has put succinctly the more skeptical view of liturgical documents as sources of intellectual or political history:

christus in the Royal Psalter (London, British Library Royal 2.B.v); see Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 25 (Cambridge, 1999), 73–79 and 304–10.

¹⁶⁵ Deshman, *Benedictional of Æthelwold*, 45–48 and 212–13.

¹⁶⁶ The political theology of the reformers has been often treated; the present discussion owes much to Deshman, *Benedictional of Æthelwold*, 209–14, and idem., "Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus: Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988): 204–40. Dorothy Bethurum Loomis has argued that Archbishop Wulfstan of York (1002–23) went further than his reformist colleagues in championing the rights of the episcopate; see her "Regnum and Sacerdotium in the Early Eleventh Century," in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), 129–45.

... successive recensions of ordines ought not to be treated like set texts in a Political Ideas course. Liturgy is not the place to look for polemic, and though political ideas can be found in the ordines, they are of the most general, uncontentious and normative kind. To say that many of the prayer texts are catenae of clichés, scriptural or liturgical, is not perhaps a very helpful observation: nevertheless, the would-be seeker-out of new claims or theories in these formulae will find it disappointingly often true.¹⁶⁷

The warning serves equally in the present context. However suggestive the combined features of the Canterbury *ordo* may be, I cannot see that such moves to exalt the Chrism converge on a specific historical moment, or on any distinct crisis in the relations of bishops and kings. Beyond the topos of the "two powers," the references to royal and priestly anointing in Stages II–III bespeak no precise philosophy of rule, much less a polemical stance (inevitably, from our perspective) to Gregorian reforms of the later eleventh century.

4. CONCLUSION

The group of texts here distinguished as the "Canterbury *ordo*" takes truly exceptional liberties with the more familiar forms of the medieval Chrism Mass. The differences on the whole cannot be explained as vestiges of an ancient, non-Roman tradition; on the contrary, they betray themselves at many points as novel reflexes of identifiable and then-current Romano-Frankish, Romano-German, and Anglo-Saxon materials. The loss of anterior evidence may exaggerate the appearance of abruptness about the earliest witnesses to the *ordo* (namely, the copy in the Canterbury Benedictional, plus its near-twin, now bound at the head of the same codex). When all factors are weighed, however, the simplest explanation is that the origins of the *ordo* do not much antedate ca. 1025. Passages of the prayers and rubrics in *CantB* and *CantB₂* are still textually close to their diverse sources. And to judge from the available evidence of Canterbury and Winchester usages, a much simpler form of the Chrism Mass—essentially variants on the Romano-Frankish pattern, with not much more than the simple core of Hadrianic prayers—prevailed at both centers around the turn of the millennium. Barring the discovery of earlier copies or major new analogues, indications are that in the mid-eleventh century the Canterbury *ordo* was a still-recent and very much in-progress creation.

¹⁶⁷ Janet Nelson, "The Rites of the Conqueror," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 4 (1982): 117–32 and 210–21; I cite the reprint in her *Politics and Ritual* (above, n. 159), 375–401, at 383. See also comments by Garnett, "Third Recension," 43.

Even that general statement depends on a correct determination of how the different versions of the Canterbury *ordo* relate one to another. Because demonstration of the “three-stage” hypothesis remained largely implicit in the preceding discussion (in part 2), it may be worthwhile to abstract and summarize the major arguments. The mere facts that the forms in the Canterbury Benedictional are shortest and palaeographically earliest do not mean that they are *textually* anterior to the rest. Nothing forbids *a priori* that both *CantB* and *CantB*₂ are copies of an abridgment based on some version of Stage II.¹⁶⁸ A minute comparison reveals, however, the extreme implausibility of that scenario. The most compelling evidence is, as mentioned already, the relative proximity of formulas in *CantB* to their sources. Where parallels exist between the various stages and other identifiable texts, Stage I is almost always verbally closest to the source. One example of many would be the description of *brevicula* affixed to the ampoules. In Stage I (at **r 0.9**) that rubric agrees almost verbatim with manuscripts of the *breviculum*-type; the same detail, though present as **r 0.1** in Stages II–III, has acquired fancier dress (*Unaquęque autem ampullarum. discretionis titulum super se teneat inscriptum*). Any alternative view of the textual relationships would have to explain many instances of this kind.¹⁶⁹ To claim, for example, that Stage II was abridged to create Stage I would posit a medieval editor who did not simply shorten what he found but revised many of the rubrics and prayers in the general direction of—but never to the point of outright conformity with—the traditional sources (the *breviculum*-type *ordo* and the Hadrianic prayers). The more economical explanation is that Stage I stands closest to the sources because it is textually the earliest. The hypothesis that Stages II and III moved gradually in the direction of the *PRG*, on the other hand, accords well with other patterns of liturgical innovation in eleventh-century England.¹⁷⁰ For an obvious analogue, we need only consider the so-called Third Coronation Order, which exists in a number of versions that, like the Canterbury *ordo* for the Chrism Mass, show

¹⁶⁸ This view—hereby withdrawn—was my own expressed in “The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Speculum* 73 (1998): 659–702, at 690–92.

¹⁶⁹ In addition to **r 0.9**, see: **r 1**, **r 4**, **r 7**, and **r 11–13** (all from *breviculum*-type rubrics); likewise **pr 2**, **pr 5** (close to the Hadrianic forms); **pr 1**, **pr 4**, **pr 10a** (close to the *PRG* forms); see also **pr 11** (perhaps close to the “Winchester Benedictional” combination of formulas). Note, finally, that Stage I keeps the “old” blessing-prayers first, to which the new, supplementary prayers are appended; at Stages II–III the new prayers have been moved to precede the older ones; see fig. 3 above.

¹⁷⁰ See the remarks above, pp. 246–49, 259, and 262–65, on later tenth- and early eleventh-century traces of *PRG* influences including, perhaps, a few elements of the Stage-I Chrism *ordo*, such as the liberal use of exorcisms, the hints of a procession of the oils and—if the marginal addition in *CantB* is early—use of the hymn “O redeptor.”

a gradual accommodation of older, Anglo-Saxon forms to the "new" Romano-German ceremony of royal inauguration. The analogy does not end there, moreover, for the Third Coronation Order happens to survive in a number of the same manuscripts as our Stage-III Canterbury *ordo*.¹⁷¹

If this reconstruction of the textual relationships is sound,¹⁷² there remains the prospect of identifying more precisely the circumstances that encouraged such a flurry of activity around the Chrism Mass. First, naturally, arise questions about the place of origin (as opposed to provenance). The label "Canterbury *ordo*" serves to the extent that several of the manuscripts had ties to Christ Church Cathedral or to Canterbury province. To attribute the *origin* of the tradition to eleventh-century Christ Church is a plausible but by no means inevitable step. Liturgical evidence does support that the major part of Harley 2892 (the Canterbury Benedictional) was written to serve at Christ Church, but a few scholars remain open to the possibility that its copying may have taken place elsewhere.¹⁷³ And even if the book did come from a Canterbury scriptorium, the genesis of the *ordo* remains a separate question. A stark reminder of that fact is the second, fragmentary copy of Stage I (*CantB*₂), now bound with Harley 2892 but clearly of independent origin. Introducing his edition of the Canterbury Benedictional, Woolley suggested that the distinct gathering (*CantB*₂) is slightly older than the rest of Harley 2892 and could have served as the immediate exemplar of the same *ordo* copied in the main part of the manuscript.¹⁷⁴ If that is true, the origin of the earliest copy (*CantB*₂) remains utterly unknowable, as does any prior circulation it perchance had as an independent *libellus*. The fact that a *breviculum*-type *ordo* underlies Stage I might also seem, on first glance, not to favor a Canterbury

¹⁷¹ The Third Coronation Order is found in seven pontificals, four of which also contain our Stage-III Chrism *ordo*, namely manuscripts *B*, *D*, *E*, and *M*. An example is also found in the early fourteenth-century de Martivall Pontifical (see n. 190 below), which contains a "Sarum" Chrism Mass based on the Stage-III Canterbury *ordo*. The much-disputed date of the Third Coronation Order is less important to the present argument than is the gradual "Germanization" of the rite in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries; see Nelson, "Rites of the Conqueror," 382–84, and now especially Garnett's "Third Recension."

¹⁷² Some textual questions remain open: (1) the curious affiliations of *Sam*₂ (see p. 245 above); (2) the unstable evidence for "Stage II," which should perhaps be broken down into "IIa," "IIb" etc (see esp. textual notes to **pr 10a** and **pr 11** in the Appendix). A further subdivision would not overturn the finding that *Cp*, *Do*, and *Mart(R?)* represent forms between I and III, on the basis of facts discussed in part 2.2.3, 5, and 6 above.

¹⁷³ See Gameson, "Manuscript Art at Christ Church" (above, n. 60), 211 n. 102, who notes in passing the smaller format and relative lack of ornament in Harley 2892, compared to Christ Church productions of the same period. On the book's origins, see further references at nn. 60–61 above.

¹⁷⁴ See n. 64 above.

origin, since the manuscripts of that *ordo* point to the axis of Worcester/York, or to France via now-lost exemplars. It pays to recall at this point, however, Orchard's recent argument that the English pontifical underlying one of those French sources (Ratoldus) came from mid-tenth-century Christ Church.¹⁷⁵

As an added complication, the three stages need not all have issued from the same place. At some point this *ordo* reached a number of Norman and northern French churches; how certain is it that all the forms were English products in the first place? Because the prehistory of Stage I lurks unknowable behind the unattributed *CantB*₂, any positive argument for a French contribution would have to focus on the now-lost manuscript that, we infer, served as the basis of Martène's printed text.¹⁷⁶ He claimed as his source a book from Saint-Remi, Reims, that was in his estimation then (at the close of the seventeenth century) "about 500 years old."¹⁷⁷ No argument should hinge on Martène's unconfirmable dating, which may have been off the mark. Given the textual priority of Stage I and the largely English manuscript tradition of Stage III, the theory of a continental origin for Stage II would require that Stage I crossed the Channel, was transformed there into Stage II, then quickly exported back to England (hence the witnesses *Cp* and *Do*), where it underwent further changes into Stage III. Such back-and-forth is not unthinkable in the first decades of the Anglo-Norman church, but a simpler explanation locates the rise of all three stages in England, probably at Canterbury itself.

Admitting Canterbury as a likely place of origin makes the question of chronology more urgent, since the fortunes of Christ Church fluctuated dramatically in the eleventh century. The watershed is inevitably the Norman Conquest and, of greater local impact, William's promotion of Lanfranc as archbishop in 1070. But the earlier part of the century had seen its share of crises too, some more devastating to the life of Christ Church than the Conquest would be: the sacking and burning of the cathedral by Vikings in 1011, followed by the murder of Archbishop Ælfheah in 1012; the festering relations between the see and Cnut's son, Harold Harefoot (1035–40), made worse by loss of estates to Earl Godwine; the spasm of revolt against Edward the Confessor's Norman appointee to the archbishopric, Robert of Jumièges (1051–52); and the long, demoralizing tenure of Stigand.¹⁷⁸ On the other side

¹⁷⁵ See p. 234 above.

¹⁷⁶ See p. 242 above. The other manuscript that he appears to have collated, a now-lost book from Lyre, may have belonged to Stage III but we cannot be certain. His third manuscript, now Paris, BnF lat. 14832 (see p. 243 above), is without question of the Stage-III type.

¹⁷⁷ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 4.22 (§ 3), "*Ordo III*" (3:248): "Ex tribus mss. Pontificalibus, Lyrensis monasterii annorum 600. Remensi S. Remigii et Victorino annorum 500."

¹⁷⁸ On the eleventh-century background, see Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), 277, 283–85, and

of the Conquest, Lanfranc almost immediately faced challenges over the primacy of Canterbury. The problem of trying to set changes in the Chrism Mass against the backdrop of such a period is the superabundance rather than lack of possible scenarios. Here follows one reconstruction of the *ordo*'s external history; others are certainly possible, and all will inevitably depend on speculation.

The pre-Conquest cathedral priory can at least lay claim to Stage I. Its inchoate emphases on canonical distinctions among the three types of oil and on the singular prestige of the Chrism are plausibly associated with the liturgical and political spirit of reforms in the Anglo-Saxon Church of the later tenth century. What scant evidence of liturgical usages survives from the reformers' cathedrals at Canterbury, Winchester, and Worcester/York fails to associate the new Chrism Mass with Dunstan, Æthelwold, or Oswald. That poses no serious problem if, as I have argued, the Canterbury *ordo* emerged only as a secondary or tertiary reaction to attitudes formed gradually, over a period of heightened interest in defining the character and functions of the oils. Regarding the new ritual as a "trickle-down" effect of the reformers' activities would explain why the evidence dates no earlier than the second quarter of the eleventh century (in *CantB* and *CantB₂*). The other faint echo of tenth-century attitudes occurs in the repeated references to the joint-prestige of episcopal and royal anointing. The more explicit associations of Chrism with conferred *dignitas* do not appear until Stages II and III, though one of the prayers at Stage I already forecasts the trend.¹⁷⁹ The politics of the tenth-century movement centered on Winchester, but their effects were no doubt felt at Canterbury, not least because the anointing of kings would ordinarily belong to archbishops. To the extent that the talk of *dignitates* in the *ordo* recalls a rhetoric, it is closer to that of the tenth century than to the increasingly polemical terms of the later eleventh.¹⁸⁰ In the teeth of experience, the politi-

296–310. On the primacy dispute, see Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), 116–31.

¹⁷⁹ See **pr 8** (Stage I): "Domine deus . . . omnium dignitatum prouidus dispensator . . . Emitte piissime domine spiritum . . . qui me plebis tuę famulum. ab omnibus inquinamentis delibutum . . . perfundat. quatinus pontificalis dignitatis toga infulatus. huius sacrosancti ministerii officium . . . exequi ualeam."

¹⁸⁰ The obvious point of comparison would be the extreme view of christological kingship advanced by the so-called Norman Anonymous, "De consecratione pontificum et regum et de regimine eorum in ecclesia sancta" = text "J 24" in *Die Texte des Normannischen Anonymus*, ed. Karl Pellens, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz 42 (Wiesbaden, 1966), 129–80. The significance of anointing in the arguments of the Anonymous has been variously interpreted; see especially George Huntston Williams, *The Norman Anonymous of 1100 A.D.: Toward the Identification and Evaluation of the So-Called Anonymous of York*, Harvard Theological Studies 18 (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), 157–82; and Karl Pellens, *Das*

cal ideals of the earlier reformers endured, in word and image at least, until the very eve of the Conquest. We recall that the famous frontispiece to the tenth-century reformers' *Regularis concordia*, depicting as idealized *synthronoi* King Edgar, Dunstan, and Æthelwold, was attentively reproduced at Canterbury in the mid-eleventh century.¹⁸¹

It is harder to suggest dates, or even a likely timespan, for the interventions that produced Stages II and III, but the process must have been completed by the turn of the eleventh to twelfth centuries (the date of the earliest known copy of Stage III, in Dublin, Trinity College 98). Some of the expansions among the prayers and rubrics follow trajectories of increasing emphasis, as we have seen. But many other changes appear motivated by stylistic as much as theological concerns, typically resulting in a more verbose expression of the same sentiments. Sometimes it is not clear what the redactor thought wrong with the prior version of his material. The quality of the rewriting hardly differs from one stage to the next, and its florid manner bears comparison with that of the new prayers already added at Stage I.¹⁸² The continuities are so strong as to allow that new compositions and, indeed, many of the revisions at Stages II and III, were the work either of a single person, or of a single workshop whose members shared an ongoing interest in the Chrism Mass and similar, florid tastes in the composition of new liturgica. In either event, it is easier to imagine the production of all three stages during a comparatively short period of intense activity rather than decades apart.

There still appears, unfortunately, no way to determine how far this busy process had advanced by the time of the Normans' arrival. Lanfranc played a forceful role in reforming the Christ Church liturgy, though the records of his activity do not single out the Chrism Mass. The only question possible, then, is whether or not the latter stages of the Canterbury *ordo* in any way bear Lanfranc's stamp. However complex the circumstances of his much-discussed treatment of Canterbury saints, I see no reason to doubt that one of his sincere intentions was to refocus the liturgy of Christ Church on its namesake and thereby restore a sense of balance and catholicity befitting the primatial church of the kingdom.¹⁸³ His purism finds no better correlate than the re-

Kirchendenken des Normannischen Anonymus, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz 69 (Wiesbaden, 1973), 226–36.

¹⁸¹ London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 2v. On the ideology of the portrayal, see recent summaries by Deshman, "*Benedictus Monarcha*," 207–11, and Lucia Kornexl, *Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie 17 (Munich, 1993), cxxxviii–cxli.

¹⁸² On the problems of stylistic features as evidence, see n. 130 above.

¹⁸³ Much that follows is based on Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 162–77; on Lanfranc's christocentric focus, see also Rubenstein, "Liturgy Against History" (above, n. 62), 294–95. On emphases

straint of his Latin style, worlds away from the bombast of the "hermeneuticism" popular in the late Anglo-Saxon church. And yet the tastes of Lanfranc the monk, theologian, and stylist coexisted with a sense of obligation, as archbishop, to advance the prestige of his cathedral. On that front, Lanfranc eagerly pursued a program of adorning the churches in his care and elaborating their rituals. He spared no expense in rebuilding and refurnishing his new cathedral (the old had suffered heavy damage from fire in 1067). The liturgy outlined in his "Monastic Constitutions" shows a determination to import the most up-to-date customs of Cluny and elsewhere. Beyond his natural concern for monastic ritual, he evidently became a careful student of pontifical rites. In a letter to John, archbishop of Rouen and a major authority on the liturgy, Lanfranc asked about minute details of the ordination and church-dedication services. His questions are those of a man who has not only performed these functions often, but has closely compared the texts in pontificals, "of which," he writes, "we have many from divers regions."¹⁸⁴ From other quarters come plausible arguments that the aforementioned Third Coronation Order and a major revision of the church-dedication rite are products of Canterbury during Lanfranc's tenure.¹⁸⁵ The elaborations of the Chrism Mass would easily square with Kozachek's hypothesis "that a general revision of pontifical services was executed at Christ Church under the direct supervision of Lanfranc."¹⁸⁶

Whether or not Stages II–III belong to the post-Conquest era, they certainly won approval from the Anglo-Norman custodians of Christ Church—and not, it would seem, from Lanfranc only, but from Anselm and his successors. Outside their circle, the *ordo* found a welcome reception among bishops elsewhere as a custom now validated by the primatial see. The twelfth- or early thirteenth-century recipients of this variant Chrism Mass must have included the cathedral of Salisbury. Records for the emergence of the Sarum liturgy are

implied by the layout of his rebuilt cathedral, see Arnold William Klukas, "The Architectural Implications of the *Decreta Lanfranci*," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1984): 136–71, at 145–51.

¹⁸⁴ Letter 14, in *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1979), 82–89, at 86: "In nostris episcopalis ordinis codicibus, quos ex diuersis regionibus multos habemus. . . ." I have modified the translation of Clover and Gibson, who render *ex diuersis regionibus* as "from different parts of the world." For John of Avranches on the Chrism Mass, see n. 148 above.

¹⁸⁵ See *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. Turner, lxi–lxii, and Kozachek, "Repertory of Chant" (above, n. 38), 332–34 (concerning the origin of the church dedication *ordo* he identifies as "Anglo-Norman Stage IIA"). Against Lanfranc's possible influence on the Third Coronation Order, the objections of Gibson (*Lanfranc*, 243) and Nelson ("Rites of the Conqueror," 384–85) depend on doubtful assumptions about, respectively, the practical use of such *ordines* and the general scope of Lanfranc's liturgical interests. But cf. Garnett, "Third Recension," 67.

¹⁸⁶ Kozachek, "Repertory of Chant," 334.

scarce,¹⁸⁷ but the “Consuetudinary,” believed to represent the Salisbury liturgy of the earlier thirteenth century, contains an outline of the Chrism Mass that obviously descends from a version of the Stage-III Canterbury *ordo*. The ritual in the Sarum Consuetudinary has the tell-tale sequence of blessings (Oil of the Sick—Oil of Catechumens—Chrism), all placed before the episcopal benediction; its instructions require labels for the ampoules (described as *discretionis tituli*, the phrase used by Stages II–III), and its Chrism-procession is constituted in almost exactly the same way (*vexilla*, torches, two thuribles, two gospel books, etc.).¹⁸⁸ The specific dependence on Stage III and, it seems, on a relatively late version of that form (like the one in Cambridge, University Library Ee 2.3) is confirmed by the presence of the commingling of balsam and its associated prayer just before the Chrism-blessing, and by the insertion shortly thereafter of the second hymn, “Veni creator.”¹⁸⁹ The Consuetudinary does not quote the prayers, but for those we have the good (if fragmentary) witness of the Pontifical of Roger de Martivall, from the early fourteenth century.¹⁹⁰ The allegorical commentary that prefaced the ritual in Stages II–III has been excised from the “Sarum” and other later derivatives. If the purpose

¹⁸⁷ For a descriptive bibliography of major Sarum-Use sources, see John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), 202–16. The actual spread of Sarum Use remains very imperfectly understood, but see the important article, with extensive references, by Nigel Morgan, “The Introduction of the Sarum Calendar into the Dioceses of England in the Thirteenth Century,” *Thirteenth-Century England* 8 (2001): 179–206.

¹⁸⁸ The Chrism Mass does not figure at all in Bailey’s study of processions in the Sarum Rite (above, n. 89), but the sources are extensive. See *The Use of Sarum*, ed. Walter Howard Frere, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898), 1:201–5; and the detailed description from the fifteenth-century Salisbury processional in *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, ed. Christopher Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1901), 73. The Sarum procession differs from Canterbury *ordo*, Stage III, in requiring a canopy to be carried over the Chrism (an addition already seen in the comments of Honorius; cf. n. 150 above). Only the Chrism-ampoule is carried with such pomp, accompanied by the hymn “O redemptor.” The other two oils are presented singly before each is blessed (on the probable backgrounds of this compromise, see above, pp. 250–51 and 253–76). For the text of “O redemptor,” some Sarum-Rite processionalists included new verses found in copies of Stage III (see n. 113 above). Other new features in the Chrism Mass described by the Salisbury Consuetudinary are of purely local interest, such as the assignment of particular duties to named diocesan clergy (the archdeacons of Wiltshire, Dorchester, and Berkshire).

¹⁸⁹ See n. 123 above.

¹⁹⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.400 (S.C. 12254). Its Chrism Mass *ordo*, now incomplete at the end, is printed by Henderson, *Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge* (above, n. 3), 261–63. Its blessing of oils is identical to the Canterbury *ordo* both in the sequence and choice of prayers, though the traditional and “new” prayers have been fused into single long blocks (with no options implied by *alia*), and there are other minor adjustments of wording throughout.

of such material was to justify the novelties in the Canterbury *ordo*, it seems that later generations saw no need to go on defending their preference.

The later-medieval history of the new Chrism Mass would require a study of its own. Most of the examples known to me at present hint at mediation through the "Sarum" form rather than by direct descent from Stages I, II, or III. A notably early case of spread as the "Sarum" Chrism Mass may be the blessing of oils in the mid-thirteenth-century Customary of Norwich Cathedral.¹⁹¹ Still later pontificals leave no doubt that their users proudly attributed the tradition of their Chrism Mass to Salisbury. An early fifteenth-century pontifical of Exeter provenance begins its form of the ceremony with the heading: "Qualiter chrisma conficitur in Ecclesia Sarum." A kindred *ordo* in a late fifteenth-century book from Lincoln bears the notice: "Isto modo consecratur oleum et chrisma secundum usum Sarum."¹⁹² A closer examination of these and other English books of the later Middle Ages would no doubt reveal more about local reception of the "Sarum" Chrism Mass. In its most distinctive features, however, the ceremony shows a strong continuity from its probable origin at Anglo-Saxon Christ Church, Canterbury, through the whole of the Middle Ages, down to the abolishment of the ritual by the Protestant Reformers.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 465 (Norwich, ca. 1260); see *The Customary of the Cathedral Priory Church of Norwich*, ed. J. B. L. Tolhurst, Henry Bradshaw Society 82 (London, 1948), 82–84; on the import of Sarum Use to Norwich, see Morgan, "The Introduction of the Sarum Calendar," 189 and 199. Henderson (*Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, 251) associates another book of roughly the same era (Cambridge, University Library Ff 6.9 [Coventry, s. XIII]) with the "Sarum" blessing of oils. I have not yet seen this manuscript to confirm his statement.

¹⁹² These two manuscripts are: (1) Exeter, Cathedral Library 3513, "Pontifical of Edmund Lacy" (s. XIV/XV, Exeter provenance)—where the Chrism *ordo* (beginning on fol. 102) is, however, an addition, the body of the book containing another, different Chrism Mass: see Brückmann, "Latin Manuscripts Pontificals" (above, n. 33), 418–19; Henderson, *Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, xlii, 251, and 258–60 (edition). (2) Cambridge, University Library Mm 3.21 (Lincoln, s. XV ex.); the rubric is reported by Henderson, *ibid.*, 251.

¹⁹³ This project began life several years ago when I was fortunate to enjoy membership in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. A preliminary version of parts 2 and 3, above, was delivered as a lecture at a symposium jointly sponsored in 1999 by the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence and by Douglass College in Rutgers University. Many colleagues then and since have generously responded to various parts of the argument or provided me with copies of important secondary materials, sometimes in advance of publication. For these and other kinds of help, thanks to Richard Pfaff, Mildred Budney, Brian Golding, Barbara English, Helen Gittos, Nicholas Orchard, and especially Giles Constable. More recent is my debt to the editor of *Mediaeval Studies* for his eagle-eyed reading of a long and typographically challenging submission. Needless to say, responsibility for the particular arguments or lingering errors in these pages rests entirely with me.

APPENDIX: TEXTS

To support the preceding arguments about the history of the Canterbury Chrism Mass *ordo*, I provide here working texts of its Stages I–III side by side (using sigla for the various manuscripts and printed editions as given above, pp. 239–46.) By default, Woolley’s edition of the Canterbury Benedictional (*CantB*) provides Stage I, Wilson’s of the Madgalen Pontifical Stage III. The usual representative of Stage II is Martène’s edition (except for *r* 0.1, where *Do* preserves a better text). Quite a few passages do not require separate columns since their texts agree in all but negligible points. In such instances I have combined them into two, or even one. For combined “Stages II–III” the reader may assume that the default is the Magdalen Pontifical, for “Stages I–II” or “I/III” the Canterbury Benedictional. Likewise, where a given version departs briefly from its usual family and adheres to one of the others, this is noted at the head of the relevant column (e.g., “Stage I (+ *Do*)”). When quoting printed editions, I have not standardized capitalization, punctuation, or spellings with *u/v*, *i/j*, though I have silently adjusted some of the eighteenth-century typography of Martène’s work (mainly ampersands, ligatures *æ* and *œ*, and some erratic use of capitals) and regularized the use of italics (for rubrics) and Roman type (for prayers and other recited or sung text) across all the sources. The division and numbering of rubrics (*r*) and prayers (*pr*) throughout are my own.

An apparatus follows each section along with brief notes on sources or liturgical points. There are few critical variants to report for Stage I, since the only other witness, the incomplete *CantB*₂, is a near-twin of *CantB*. I have collated all witnesses of Stage II known to me at present, plus those of Stage III that Wilson either did not know (*P* and *Sam*₃) or did not attend closely for their Chrism Masses (*C* and *E*). The unclassifiable versions in *Sam*₂ and *And*₃ have also been consulted. The apparatus as it stands, however, is necessarily selective, recording mainly variants that demonstrate (or, as at *pr* 10a and 11, resist) my hypotheses about the textual history. Only in the case of Stage II, the most elusive, have I tended to give a fuller account of minor but defensible readings. Otherwise, most orthographic variants, simple transpositions, and many unique scribal and printing errors are not included. Scribal alterations are likewise excluded, save where they strongly suggest use of an exemplar of one “Stage” to correct another. (And even here, I do not attempt to enter all the corrections to *Sam*₂ that converted it to the Stage-III text, *Sam*₃: where only minor differences were at stake, such as word order, the corrector often did not bother to make changes, and it would be highly misleading to report those unadapted passages as “variants” of Stage III.) For reasons of space, finally, I have also not reported in the apparatus variants for the hymn “O redemptor,” though their evidence is also significant (see *r* 7 below and pp. 254–56 above).

	STAGE I	STAGE II (<i>Do</i>)	STAGE III
	(r 0.1) <i>Feria .V. cene domini conficitur crisma in ultimo ad missam.</i>	(r 0.1) <i>Feria .V. cene domini primo mane custodes ecclesie ordinent omnia que ad consecrationes oleorum sunt necessaria. tres uidelicet ampullas de oleo mundissimo plenas. unam de oleo infirmorum. alteram ad catecuminos unguendos. terciam uero ad consecrandum chrisma preparatam. Preuideatque pontifex ut sit chrismatis oleum balsamo commixtum. Unaqueque autem ampullarum discretionis titulum super se teneat inscriptum. hoc est oleum infirmorum. oleum ad baptismum. oleum chrismatis.</i>	(r 0.1) <i>Ipsa die primo mane custodes ecclesie ordinent omnia que ad consecrationes oleorum sunt necessaria. tres uidelicet ampullas de oleo mundissimo plenas. unam de oleo infirmorum. alteram ad catecuminos unguendos. Terciam uero ad consecrandum chrisma preparatam. Prouideatque pontifex de balsamo. Unaqueque autem ampullarum discretionis titulum super se teneat inscriptum. Hoc est. oleum infirmorum. oleum ad baptismum. oleum chrismatis.</i>
5			
10			
15			
20			
25			
		STAGES II–III	
		(r 0.2) <i>Tunc una tantum sonetur campana. conueniantque ad ecclesiam populi gratia promerendę absolutionis siue consecrandi olei et chrismatis. Moxque se presbyteri induant uestibus sacerdotalibus ad deducen-</i>	

(r 0.1) II 1 cene] Coena Mart 6–8 de oleo¹ . . . infirmorum] de oleo mundissimo plenas Cp : de oleo mundissimo plenas unam de oleo infirmorum with mundissimo through oleo marked for del. Sam₂ 9 alteram] alteram autem Mart 12–13 Preuideatque] provideatque Mart (cf. Stage III) 13 sit om. Cp 13–15 sit . . . commixtum] chrismatis oleum balsamo sit compositum Mart 15 Unaqueque] unaquaque Mart III 1 Ipso] Ipsa Sam₂ 12–13 Prouideatque] preuideatque C E | Sam₂ (cf. Stage II)

(r 0.2–3) 22–29 Tunc . . . episcopus om. Do 22 sonetur] sonet Mart 24 olei et chrismatis] oleum chrismatis Mart 24–25 se . . . induant] archidiaconi uel presbyteri induant se E

(r 0.1) Sources. Stage I: cf. GrH 333; *In hoc ipso die conficitur chrisma in ultimo ad missa* [var. *missam*]. . . Stages II–III: cf. OR 50.25.21 (= PRG 99.222), quoted above, pp. 248–49.

Liturgical notes. (1) Mixing of balsam and oil precedes Mass in Stages I–II, as in OR and GrH; cf. r 7 (Stage III). (2) Note *discretionis tituli* in Stages II–III, indicating descent from *breviculum-type ordo*, for which see sources quoted at r 0.9.

- 30 *dum pontificem. Similiter et (.vii.) diaconi. totidemque subdiaconi ad peragenda sibi iniuncta officia. Stentque in ordine suo singuli preparati. expectantes donec ueniat episcopus. Cantor uero nichilominus in medio choro uestitus. incipiat introitum. Nos autem gloriari. quem prosequantur uniuersi cum psalmo et gloria patri.*
- 35 *(r 0.3) Procedatque episcopus ad altare cum processione festiua; precedentibus ministris cum cereis. cum turibulis. et euangeliis. Decantatoque kyrrieleison; inchoet pontifex gloria in excelsis deo. Sequatur collecta. Deus a quo. Tunc legatur epistola. Deinde gradale. Procedente quoque ad euangelizandum diacono; preferantur luminaria et incensum more solito. Pronuntiatoque euangelio inferat episcopus Dominus uobiscum. et Oremus. Hic sequatur offertorium. et offerant qui uoluerint. Post hec secreta agatur. et prefatio. ac Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus.*
- 40

STAGE I	STAGE II (<i>Mart</i>)	STAGE III
<i>(r 0.4) procedant de sacrario ministris [sic] sa-</i>	<i>(r 0.4) Dum autem inchoatur Te igitur, stent in</i>	<i>(r 0.4) Dum dicitur te igitur; procedant de sa-</i>

26 Similiter et] simulque *Mart* .vii.] .v. *M*: septem *Cp*: .vii. *Sam*₂, *Mart* and all *Stage-III* mss. 30 uestitus] uestitur *Do* 31 prosequantur] prosequantur et *Cp* 35 Sequatur] Sequaturque *Mart* 36 Tunc legatur] Et tunc *Mart* 39–40 Dominus uobiscum] Pax uobis *Stage II* (*Cp*, *Do*, *Mart*) 41 uoluerint] uoluerint. Hostie uero sufficientes offerantur quibus ipso die et crastino clerus et populus communicetur *E*

(r 0.2–3) Sources. Cf. *OR* 50.25.60–9 (= *PRG* 99.252–7): *Ipsa die sonentur campanae ad missam . . . ut omnes veniant ad ecclesiam, in qua chrisma mos est consecrari. . . Presbyteri vero et caeteri clerici hora tertia induant se vestimentis sollemnibus et diaconi dalmaticis atque subdiaconi albis sericis induantur et stent in ordine suo, singuli in ecclesia expectantes usque dum veniat dominus pontifex cum processione plenaria ad missam . . . cum septem diaconibus et totidem subdiaconibus et ceroferariis et septem cereostatis et duobus turibulis cum incenso. Cantor autem et scola . . . imponant introitum ad missam Nos autem gloriari, cum psalmo et Gloria et versu et Kyrie eleison. Tunc dicat pontifex Gloria in excelsis Deo. Quo finito, dicat orationem . . . Deus a quo et Iudas . . . Tunc legatur epistola. . . Sequitur graduale. . . Ante euangelium portentur candelae et incensum, sicut mos est. . . Perlecto euangelio . . . dicat pontifex: Dominus vobiscum. . . Oremus. . . Tunc dicatur secreta. . . Sequitur praefatio. . .*

Textual notes. At *r 0.3–4*, *Do* has rewritten and condensed the outline of the Mass-propers. This is not included in the apparatus, but the substance agrees entirely with *Mart* and *Stage III*; the only added detail of *Do* is that the introit-psalm shall be *Deus misereatur* (Ps. 66).

(r 0.4) Sources. *Stage I*: *breviculum*-type *ordo* (see quotation below, after *r 0.9*)

Liturgical notes. The beginning of the procession at the start of the Canon is a hallmark of the early Canterbury *ordo*; on this and other aspects of the procession, see pp. 250–51 above.

- 45 *cris uestibus induti.* *choro vestiti cantores duo altiboando, decantantes letanias (quae supra in dedicatione aecclesiae continentur), cumque coeperint letanias cantare, subito cum gravitate procedant de sacrario ministri sacris vestibus induti, bini et bini, per sex ordines, quia per sex aetates saeculi hoderina sunt mysteria praefigurata.*
- 50
- 55

STAGE I

STAGES II–III

- (r 0.5) *e quibus duo bina uexilla deferant quasi contra diaboli uersutas nequitias christi inuicto auxilio pugnaturi.*
- 60
- (r 0.6) *Post hæc ceroferraria baiolantes subsequentes. ut christi uirtute uictores. celesti lumine flagrare dinoscantur;*
- 65
- (r 0.7) *Deinde duo bina thimiamateria deportantes pedum illorum uestigia persequantur. ut deifico lumine calentes. christi bono odore fraglare conprobentur;*
- 70
- 75
- (r 0.5) *In primo quidem ordine diaconi duo præcedentes bina efferant uexilla. quasi sacro quadragesimali ieiunio expiati. contra uersutas diaboli insidias pro deceptione primi parentis ad christi uictoria triumphantes pugnaturi; uel cælum prolapsa [pro lapsa ?] legione uiolenter intraturi.*
- (r 0.6) *In secundo quoque duo subsequantur ceroferrarii. qui uelut celestem proferentes splendorem sanctam demonstrant ecclesiam supra firmam petram stabilitam. sicut arcam noe in diluio saluatam. uel populum gentium uero diei lumine nunc illuminatum. uti tunc hominum nationem tetra caligine absortam.*
- (r 0.7) *In tercio etiam equa asportentur thimiamateria ac si holocausta cordis contriti. et humiliati domino thurificaturi. sicut abraham in typo christi per oblationem ysaac ac ut patriarchas per fidem et deuotionem deo in odorem suauitatis placuisse cognoscimus.*

(r 0.4) II 45 vestiti] inuestiti Do 47–49 quae . . . continentur om. Mart, suppl. from Cp
Do 49–50 coeperint] inceperint Cp: inciperint Do 54 bini et bini om. Cp
55 quia] eo quod Do

(r 0.5–13 [om. Do]) II–III 58 præcedentes] procedentes Mart 59 efferant] efferent
Mart 60–61 deceptione] redemptione Mart 64 subsequantur] subsequenter Mart
67 stabilitam] solidatam C saluatam] fabricatam Mart 68 illuminatum] illuminatam
Cp 69 uti corr. from ita M 70 tercio] tertia Cp equa] aqua Mart 74 deo]
Dominum Mart placuisse om. Mart

(r 0.8) *Deinc [sic] gemi-
nos christi euangeliorum
80 libros uehentes comiten-
tur ut iam christi bono
odore referti dominica
dicta scrutari conseruare
corde puro conentur.*

(r 0.9) *Hos subsequantur
85 tres diaconi induti sindo-
nibus cum ampullis tribus
et unaqueque earum ha-
beat breuiculum. Id est in
una oleum ad infirmos. in
90 alia oleum ad baptizan-
dum. in .III^a. uero crisma
sanctum.*

(r 0.8) *In quarto etenim de sacrario diuinę scripture
pares libri euangelicę pacis prodeant; denuntiantes ar-
cham ueteris legis in passione domini clausam ac legis-
latoris moysi testamenta scisso uelo patuisse. simul et
nouę gratię ac ueritatis euangelium lucidius sole per
ihesum christum ubique claruisse.*

(r 0.9) *In quinto siquidem tres quam speciosi pronun-
tiatores sancti euangelii comitentur. sindonibus circum-
amicti. ternas in nomine sanctę trinitatis ante facies
suas baiulantes quas supra retulimus ampullas. Qua-
rum duę purissimi olei liquore erunt refertę singulatim
ad singula mysteria benedictione pontificali conse-
crandę.*

(r 0.10) *Prima uero ad oleum infirmorum perfecta
95 medicina. ad effugandas quoque egritudines et ad re-
missionem peccatorum. ut per apostolum instruimur.
Infirmatur quis ex uobis. unguatur oleo salutari in
nomine domini et alleuabit eum dominus. Et si in
peccatis sit. dimittentur ei.*

(r 0.11) *Secunda autem ad oleum sanctum unctio spi-
ritualis ad confirmandos quoque in pectore et inter sca-
pulas antequam baptizentur homines in sacramento
100 baptismatis regenerandos.*

(r 0.12) *Tercia siquidem liquidum similiter continebit
oleum. quod balsami commixtione diuinis sacramentis*

II–III 77 de] ex Cp Mart | C E | Sam₂ sacrario] aerario C | Sam₂ 79 ueteris] uetere
Cp 82 ubique] ubi Cp : ibi Mart 85 sancti] sacri Mart 86 ternas] ternis Mart
88 singulatim] sigillatim Mart 94 effugandas quoque] defugandas quasque Mart 99
sanctum] secundum C 100 quoque] quosque Mart 101 homines] omnes Cp Mart

(r 0.9) **Sources.** Stage I: *breviculum*-type ordo; see pp. 249–51 above, and cf. r 0.1 (Stages II–III). Cf. the “Évreux supplement” to the Egbert Pontifical (ed. Banting, 150): *Deinde tres accoliti procedant de sacrario induti sindonis. cum ampullis tribus. et unaquaque habeat breuiculum. id est crisma sancta [sic] in uno. in alio oleo [sic] ad baptizandum. in tercio oleo [sic] ad infirmum.* See also the version from Ratoldus, quoted at pp. 249–50 above

(r 0.10) **Sources.** James 5:14: *Infirmatur quis . . . etc.* Cf. also pr 2.

(r 0.12) **Sources.** Cf. phrases in pr 7 (Stages II–III).

- 105 *purificatum chrisma efficitur sanctificatum ad conse-*
crationes ecclesiasticas. ad promouendas dignitates
omnibus etiam ad spem uiuam et beatę regenerationis
nouitatem transituris salubre et proficuum.
- 110 *(r 0.13) In sexto uidelicet uictoriosa et adoranda pro-*
cedat crux domini una aut duę. quasi precedentium
mystica misteriorum prefiguratrix. quam in sexta etate
deus dei filius natus et in ea passus sacri sanguinis la-
uacro sanctificauit. Cuius uictoria redemptoris nostri
115 *uexilla prodeunt. cuius splendore ecclesia sancta illu-*
minatur. cuius aroma corticis uitali spirans nectare
ubique fragratur. cuius uirtute pacis et gaudii karis-
mata euangelizantur. cuius signaculo baptismi miste-
120 *rium et sacri chrismatis conficitur unguentum. per*
quam etiam ineffabilia uniuersalis ecclesię sacramenta
consecrantur.

STAGE I

- (r 1) et canatur secreta secundum ordi-*
nem. usque sed uenie quesumus largitor
admitte. et tunc diaconus cum ampulla
125 *ubi est oleum infirmorum accedat. et hu-*
millime subministret episcopo; Deinde
episcopus faciat super ampullam ter sig-
num crucis. ac sufflet in ea ter et faciat

STAGES II–III

- (r 1) Percantato quoque te igitur secun-*
dum ordinem usque sed uenie quesumus
largitor admitte; antequam dicatur per
quem hec omnia domine semper bona
creas; appropinquans cum reuerentia
diaconus ampullam cum oleo infirmorum
subministret episcopo. super quam ter

II–III 108 transituris] transeundis Cp 110 domini] dominica Cp Mart | C E | Sam₂
 110 una aut duę om. Cp 116 fragratur] fragilat Cp : flagratur Mart 118 unguentum]
 unguendum Cp 119 quam] quae Mart 120 consecrantur] consecrandum Cp

(r 1) II–III 121 Percantato quoque] Percantatoque Mart | E 125 appropinquans]
 appropinquat Mart 126 infirmorum] infirmorum humiliter Stage II (Cp Do Mart)

(r 0.13) Sources. ? cf. Venantius Fortunatus (†601), *Carmina* 2.6, "Hymnus in honore sanctae crucis," ll. 1 and 29–30 (ed. Marc Reydellet, *Venance Fortunat: Poèmes I (Livres I–IV)* [Paris, 1994], 57–58): "Vexilla regis prodeunt"; "Fundis aroma cortice, uincis sapore nectare."

(r 1) Sources. Stage I: *breviculum*-type *ordo*. Cf. the "Évreux supplement" to the Egbert Pontifical (ed. Banting, 150): *et canatur secreto secundum ordinem. usque sed ueniae quesumus largitor admitte. Et tunc subdiaconus accipiens sindonem ab accolito ubi est oleo [sic] ad infirmum . . . offerat diacono. diaconus. autem accipiens iterum sindonem et inuoluens se accipiensque ampullam de manu subdiacono. et humillime subministrat episcopo. episcopus autem deosculetur ampulla. et sufflet in ea .iii. et benedicat. ut ipsi circumstantes audire possint.*

Textual notes. Note the Stage-II variant "humiliter subministret," closer than Stage III to the ultimate source. This rubric is also the last item in CCCC 265 before the text breaks off in mid-page.

- 130 *exorcismum pro infirmis ita. ut ipsi circumstantes audire possint. et non dicat dominus uobiscum. nec oremus. Sed tantum.*
- crucis signum faciat episcopus ac ter sufflet in ea. Perficiatque exorcismum audientibus tantum qui secus altare stant ministris. minime dicens. Dominus uobiscum. neque oremus. sed ita directe.*

	STAGE I	STAGE II (<i>Mart</i>)	STAGE III (+ <i>Do</i>)
	(<i>pr</i> 1) Exorcizo te im-	(<i>pr</i> 1) Exorcizo te, im-	(<i>pr</i> 1) Exorcizo te im-
135	mundissime et refuge spi-	mundissime et refuga spi-	mundissime spiritus et
	ritus. omnisque incursio	ritus, omnisque incursio	refuga. teque omnis in-
	satane. ac omne fantasma	satanae, ac omne phantas-	cursio satane. ac omne
	nefandi inimici. per dei	ma nefandorum inimico-	phantasma nefandorum
	omnipotentis patris maies-	rum, per Dei omnipotentis	inimicorum. per omni-
140	tatem. qui celum terram	Patris maiestatem, qui	potentis dei patris maies-
	mare. et omnia quę in eis	coelum, terram, mare et	tatem. qui celum terram.
	continentur ammirabili	omnia quae in eis con-	mare. et omnia quę in eis
	condidit potentia. ut cum	tinentur admirabili sua	continentur. admirabili
	omni fallacia tua procul	condidit potentia, ut cum	sua condidit potentia. ut
145	recedas ab huius olei	omni falsitatis tuae ve-	cum omni falsitatis tuę
	creatione. ut fiat omnibus	neno procul recedas ab	ueneno procul recedas ab
	qui ex eo unguendi sunt.	hujus olei creatura ad	huius olei creatura. ad
	perfecta medicina et unctio	superuenturam benedic-	superuenturam benedic-
	spiritualis. ad corroboran-	tionem in nomine Patris et	tionem in nomine patris et
	dum humanę conditionis	Filii et Spiritus sancti, ut	filius et spiritus sancti. ut
150	templum. ut perpetualiter	fiat omnibus qui ex eo	fiat hoc oleum omnibus
	in eo spiritus sanctus ha-	unguendi sunt spiritualis	qui ex eo unguendi sunt
	bitare dignetur. In nomine	unctio et perfecta medi-	unctio spiritualis. et per-
	dei patris omnipotentis. et	cina ad corroborandum	fecta medicina. ad cor-
155	ihsu christi filii eius do-	humanae conditionis tem-	roborandum in domino
	mini nostri. quibus iugiter	plum quatenus in eo per-	humanę conditionis tem-

II-III 128 episcopus] antistes *Do* 129 sufflet *corr. to* anelet *Sam₂* ea] eam *Mart*
 132 neque] nec *Mart* directe] discrete *Mart*

(*pr* 1) III 147 superuenturam] superueniendam *Do*

(*pr* 1) *Sources.* Cf. *OR* 50.25.71 (= *PRG* 99.260): "Exorcizo te, inmundissime spiritus, omnisque incursio Satanae et omne fantasma, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, ut recedas ab hoc oleo, ut possit effici unctio spiritualis, ad corroborandum templum Dei vivi, ut in eo possit spiritus sanctus habitare, per nomen Dei patris omnipotentis et per nomen dilectissimi filii eius domini nostri Iesu Christi."

Textual notes. Stage I is closest to the documentable source. Stage II is best explained as an intermediate form between I and III. Martène reported that his manuscript from Lyre (*MartL*) contained a Stage-III ending (from "cooperante in eo . . ."). The Stage-II manuscript *Do* also follows the Stage-III conclusion. *Sam₂* follows Stage III for the whole prayer.

manet laus et perpetuitas
per cuncta seculorum se-
cula. amen.

petualiter Spiritus sanctus
inhabitare dignetur, in
nomine Dei Patris et Jesu
Christi Filii ejusdem Do-
mini nostri, quibus laus et
perpetua manet jubilatio
per cuncta saecula saecu-
lorum. Amen.

plum. cooperante in eo
gratia et uirtute spiritus
sancti. per ihesum chris-
tum redemptorem nos-
trum. cui cum patre in
unitate ejusdem spiritus
sancti laus et perpetua
manet iubilatio per cuncta
secula seculorum.

160

STAGE I (+Do)

- 165 (r 2) *Postea benedicat oleum infirmorum
dimittens dominus uobiscum et oremus.
ut supra.*

STAGE I

- (pr 2) Emitte quesumus domine spiritum
sanctum tuum paraclytum de celis in
170 hanc pinguedinem oliue. quam de uiridi
ligno producere dignatus es ad refectio-
nem corporis. ut tua sancta benedictione
sit omni unguenti et tangenti tutamen
mentis et corporis. ad euacuandos omnes
175 dolores. omnesque infirmitates. et om-
nem egritudinem corporis. unde unxisti

STAGES II-III

- (r 2) *Benedictio olei infirmorum. absque
dominus uobiscum et oremus.
(here follows pr 3, below)*

STAGES II-III (+Do)

(pr 2) Emitte quesumus sancte pater om-
nipotens eterne deus spiritum sanctum
paraclytum tuum de celis in hanc pingue-
dinem oliue. quam de uiridi dignatus es
producere ligno. ac spiritus sancti pre-
sentia influente. celesti impinguetur be-
nedictione. ad refectionem corporum et
saluationem animarum. Rogamus te do-
mine qui es uera salus ac medicina. qui

I 150-58 ut perpetualiter . . . amen] Cooperante in eo gratia . . . per cuncta saecula *MartL*,
as in *Stage III*, q.v.

III 163 per cuncta] in *Do*

(r 2) I 167 ut supra *om. Do*

(pr 2) I 168 domine] sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus *Sam₂* 173 tutamen] tuta-
mentum *Sam₂ (GrH)* 175 et *om. Sam₂ (GrH)*

(pr 2) **Sources.** Cf. GrH 334: "Emitte domine spiritum sanctum tuum paraclytum de caelis, in hanc pinguedinem oliuae quam de uiridi ligno producere dignatus es ad refectionem corporis ut tua sancta benedictione sit omni unguenti tangenti tutamentum mentis et corporis ad euacuandos omnes dolores, omnesque infirmitates, omnem aegritudinem corporis, unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, prophetas, et martyres, chrisma tuum perfectum domine a te benedictum permanens in uisceribus nostris, in nomine domini nostri iesu christi. Per."

Textual notes. The insertion of "quesumus" in the opening clause is more typical of the Gelasian tradition (see Maier, 50), but in most other respects pr 2 is closer to GrH (especially in *CantB* and *Sam₂*). Here and throughout, *CantB* gives the Gregorian prayer first, followed by the new and supplementary prayers. *Do*, which is here the only Stage-II witness (since Martène printed only an incipit) agrees with Stage III. No readings, in any of the versions, betray mediation through the PRG.

- sacerdotes. reges. prophetas. et martyres;
 Chrisma tuum perfectum domine que-
 sumus ut a te benedictum permaneat in
 180 uisceribus nostris. per dominum nostrum
 ihesum christum. qui cum coeterno patre
 et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat deus per
 immortalia secula seculorum.
- 185
- 190
- 195
- et medicum dixisti non opus esse ualen-
 tibus. sed male habentibus. ut pro nobis
 infirmis. et diuinę curationis tuę egenti-
 bus. super hoc oleum infundas medica-
 lem tua benedictione uirtutem. ut sit om-
 nibus hoc tangentibus et ex eo unguendis
 salus animarum. tutamen corporum. sit
 euacuatio passionum. et salutarium resti-
 tutio sanitarum. Sit omnipotens pater hoc
 oleum sanctificatum sicut locutus es per
 apostolum. infirmatur quis ex uobis. un-
 guatur oleo consecrato in nomine do-
 mini. et alleuabit eum dominus. et si in
 peccatis est dimittentur ei. quatinus hac
 tua domine confisi promissione omnes
 illud excipiamus in sacrata perunctione
 spiritualis medicinę ad effugandas infir-
 mitates. atque ad omnium promerendam
 remissionem peccatorum. in nomine ihe-
 su christi filii tui domini nostri. Per quem
 hæc omnia domine semper bona creas.

STAGE I

STAGE II (*Mart*)STAGE III (+*Do*)(r 3) *Item alia.*

- 200 (pr 3) Deus qui pro infir-
 morum necessitate. poten-
 tie tuę medicinam osten-
 surus mundum uisitasti. et
 salutari presentia tua om-
 nem dolorem et infirmita-
- (pr 3) Omnipotens Deus,
 qui pro infirmorum neces-
 sitate potentiae tuæ medi-
 cinam ostensurus mundum
 visitasti, et praesentia tua
 salutari omnem languo-
- (pr 3) Omnipotens deus
 qui pro infirmorum neces-
 sitate medicinam potentie
 tuę ostensurus mundum
 uisitasti. et tua salutari
 presentia omnem languo-

I 178–79 quesumus ut *om. Sam₂ (GrH)* 182–83 per . . . seculorum] in nomine domini
 nostri iesu christi. Qui tecum. *Sam₂*

II–III 177 medicum dixisti *marked for transp. M*: dixisti medicum *Sam₃* 183 sit *om.*
Sam₃

(r 3) 198 *Item alia*] Oratio in cena domini super oleum infirmorum *And₃*

(pr 3) I 199 Deus] Omnipotens deus *Sam₂* 203 salutari *om. Sam₂ And₃*

(pr 3) **Sources.** Unidentified.

Textual notes. The shorter form appears in *CantB*, *And₃*, and *Sam₂*, the latter two showing extremely close agreements against the first (cf. pr 9, below, and possibly pr 6). Stage II printed above rests on *Mart* only, which again is textually between I and III. *MartL*, however, shows a Stage-III interpolation, and *Do* follows Stage III almost exactly.

205 tem effugasti. respice super nos famulos tuos. ut quod hodie in commemoratione sacre cene tue nostro gerendum est officio. tua perficiatur uirtute. nec tibi mei peccatoris displiceat benedictio. quia tu sacerdotum omnium es purificatio. et delictorum
215 remissio;

rem a fidelibus tuis effugasti respice benigno intuitu ad ministerii nostri devotionem; ut quod hodie in commemoratione sacrae Coenae tuae nostro gerendum est officio, tua sancta perficiatur uirtute; nec tibi, Domine, mei peccatoris displiceat executio, in diuinitatis tuae sacramento quia tu sacerdotum omnium es purificatio, et coelestium mysteriorum sanctificatio.

rem a fidelibus tuis effugasti. respice quesumus benigno intuitu ad ministerii nostri deuotionem. Nec tibi domine mei peccatoris displiceat prosecutio in diuinitatis tue sacramento. sed quod hodie ad reparationem salutis humane super hoc oleo uisibili nostre precationis gerendum est officio. inuisibili sanctissime benedictionis tue perficiatur misterio. quia tu domine sacerdotum omnium es purificatio et celestium mysteriorum sanctificatio.

Tu quoque domine qui naaman sirum in iordane
225 iuxta prophetę helisei sermonem septies tinctum ita sanasti. ut caro eius sicut caro pueri restitueretur. et a lepra mundaretur. omnes quesumus hoc oleo
230 perungendos ab omni lepra tam spiritali quam et corporali sana et emunda. presta etiam domine ut corpora sancta et immaculata permaneant. qui olei huius liquore tanguntur. et septemplici gratia spiritus sancti semper exuberent.
235 In nomine domini nostri

Te, Domine, qui Naaman Syrum in Jordane iuxta Elisaei prophetae sermonem, septies tinctum ita a lepra sanasti, ut caro ejus sicut caro restitueretur pueri: quaesumus, ut hoc benedicendo sanctifices oleum, et omnes per hoc unguendos ab omni lepra purifies peccatorum, fiatque omnibus spiritualis unctio ad purificationem mentis et corporis, ad munimen et defensionem contra jacula immundorum spirituum. Praesta etiam, quaesumus

Te domine qui naaman syrum in iordane iuxta helisei prophetę sermonem septies tinctum ita a lepra sanasti. ut caro eius sicut caro restitueretur pueri; quesumus ut hoc benedicendo sanctifices oleum. ut sit perfecta medicina infirmorum. et plena omnibus ex hoc unguendis remissio peccatorum. Fiat domine hoc oleum te benedicente omnibus unctio spiritualis. ad purificationem mentis et corporis. ad depellendos languores. ad munimen

I 209-10 officio] ministerio *Sam₂ And₃* 211 mei *om. Sam₂ And₃* 214 delictorum *om. Sam₂ And₃* 228 pueri] pueri paruuli *Sam₂ And₃* 230 quesumus *om. Sam₂ And₃* 231 perungendos] perunctos *Sam₂ And₃* 235 corpora] uasa *Sam₂ And₃*

II 216 sacramento] sacramento. Sed quod hodie ad reparationem salutis humane super hoc oleo visibili nostrae precationis gerendum est officio, invisibili sanctissimae tuae benedictionis perficiatur misterio *MartL*; cf. *Stage III*

III 215 precationis] predicationis *Sam₃*

ihesu christi. per quem
hec omnia domine semper
bona creas.

245

250

255

Domine, ut corpora sancta
et immaculata permaneant,
qui ejusdem olei liquore
tanguntur, et septemplici
gratia Spiritus sancti sem-
per repleantur. Per te Jesu
Christe Salvator et Re-
demptor saeculorum qui
cum Patre et Spiritu sanc-
to vivis et regnas.

quoque et defensionem
contra iacula et insidias
immundorum spirituum.
atque omnium corpora
huius olei liquore in tuo
nomine peruncta. a ter-
renę corruptionis con-
tagione immaculata. cum
animabus uiuificari mere-
antur consortiis sancto-
rum socianda. Per te chris-
te ihesu saluator mundi.
qui uenturus es iudicare
uiuos et mortuos ac secu-
lum per ignem. Amen.

(then follows r 3 as
Item alia benedictio,
then pr 2 as above)

(then follows r 3 as
Alia benedictio ut supra,
then pr 2 as above)

STAGE I

STAGES II–III

(r 4) *Post deferatur iam dicatum oleum
ab altari a predicto diacono. et pera-
gatur missa in ordine suo. usquequo
perueniatur ad locum sacre benedictio-
nis. Tunc accedat secundus diaconus
oleum ad baptizandum deferens. ipsoque
aportato faciat episcopus super illud ter
crucis signum. suffletque in eo ter et fa-*

260

(r 4) *Hic remoueat ab altari dicatum
oleum infirmorum a diacono. et per-
agatur missa usquequo perueniatur ad
benedictionem super populum. Tunc
secundus accedat diaconus. ampullam
cum oleo ad baptizandum deferens.
super quam ter crucis signum faciat
episcopus. Terque in ea sufflans exor-*

I 240–41 In . . . christi] qui cum deo coeterno patre et eodem spiritu sancto. trinus et unus
uiuis et regnas in secula deus. Amen. *Sam₂ And₃*

III 249 animabus] animabus iustorum *Do*

(r 4) II–III 263 sufflans *corr. to* anhelans *Sam₂*

(r 4) *Sources.* Stage I: *breviculum*-type *ordo*. Cf. the “Évreux supplement” to the Egbert Pontifical (ed. Banting, 150 and 152): *Tollitur iamdictum oleum* [i.e. of the Sick] *a diacono ab altari . . . et tunc ad ultimum peragatur secreta missa in ordine suo. usque pax domini dicatur. . . Quo benedicto* [scil., the Chrism] *remoueat ab altari a iam sepe facto diaconus* [sic] *. . . deinde accipiat subdiaconus ad alio accolito oleum ad baptizandum . . . et quod accepit diaconus . . . deferat illud ante altare. ipsoque aportato faciat super illud ter. crucis signum. suffletque in eo ter. ac tunc benedicat illud tacite episcopus.* Cf. also *OR* 50.25.70 (= *PRG* 99.259), describing the exorcism of the Oil of the Sick: *exorcizet et benedicat illud . . . ut tantum possit a circumstantibus audiri, ita. . .*

265 *ciat exorcismum olei ad baptizandum ita
dicens. ut circumstantes audire possint.*

STAGE I

(pr 4) Exorcizo te creatura olei in nomine dei patris omnipotentis. et in nomine ihesu christi et spiritus sancti. ut in hac inuocatione trinę potestatis atque
270 uirtute deitatis. omnis nequissima uirtus aduersarii. omnis inueterata malitia diaboli. omnisque uiolenta incursio. phantasmatum eradicetur et effugetur et discedat a creatura huius olei ad utilitatem
275 hominum constituti. ut fiat hæc unctio diuinis sacramentis purificata. in sanctificationem carnis et spiritus. eis qui ex eo ungi debent. et in remissionem omnium peccatorum. ut efficiantur eorum
280 corpora ad omnem gratiam spiritalem accipiendam sanctificata. per eundem dominum nostrum. qui uentu[rus est . . .]

*cismum olei ad baptizandum perficiat.
qui circumstant tantum audientibus.*

STAGES II(?)–III

(pr 4) Exorcizo te creatura olei in nomine dei patris omnipotentis. ac inuocatione ihesu christi. et uirtute spiritus sancti. ut hac adiuratione summę trinitatis et unicę deitatis. omnis nequissima uirtus et malicia diaboli. omnisque uiolenta incursio et nocium phantasma
[sic] inimicorum a te eradicetur et effugetur. ac penitus discedat a creatura tua ad utilitatem hominum preparata. ut in nomine domini fias oleum sanctum. unctio salutaris. purificata quoque diuinis sacramentis in sanctificationem carnis ac spiritus et in remissionem omnium peccatorum uniuersis. qui ex te unguendi sunt; Quatinus ad percipiendam in baptismo gratiam spiritus sancti sicut omnium exterius pectora et scapulę confirmantur. ita et interius per te mentes et animę cęlesti benedictione sanctificentur; in nomine patris et filii et amborum spiritus sancti. Per omnia secula seculorum. amen.

II–III 265 audientibus] audientibus, Libera nos quaesumus, Domine, usque per omnia et istud similiter suaviter, tres cruces et sufflet ter. Exorcismus *MartR*

(pr 4) **Sources.** This exorcism exists in numerous versions, the oldest being GeV 389. But the text at Stage I is closer to the adaptation of the same prayer at *OR* 50.25.95 (= *PRG* 99.278), departing in just two readings: "incursio. phantasmatum" (for "incursio, omne confusum et caecum phantasma" in *PRG* and all examples of Bartsch's Type III.3 [see n. 18 above]); "sanctificationem carnis" (for "adoptionem carnis" in *PRG* and Type III.3 generally).

Textual notes. There is no evidence for an independent Stage II, since Martène gives only an incipit and *Do* follows Stage III. Stage III does show the important variant "sanctificationem carnis" (instead of "adoptionem carnis") which is found only in Stage I. *Sam*₂ follows Stage III for *r* 4 and *pr* 4 with no substantial variants.

Liturgical notes. Stage I inherits from its source the enjambment of two different types of address—beginning as an adjuration directly to the creature (second person), then shifting to a prayer to expel the devil from "this" oil; the creature is no longer addressed. The reviser of Stages II–III has made the second-person address consistent throughout.

STAGE I (+Do)

STAGES II–III

- 290 (r 5) *Deinde benedicat illud et dicat. Dominus uobiscum. et oremus. Sequitur oratio.* (r 5) *Deinde episcopus benedicat oleum et dicat. Dominus uobiscum. et Oremus.*

STAGE I

STAGE II (*Mart*)
(here follows pr 6)STAGE III (+Do)
(here follows pr 6)

- 295 (pr 5) Deus qui in uirtute sancti spiritus tui imbecillarum mentium rudimenta confirmas. te oramus domine ut sanctificando benedicas hoc oleum. et uenturis ad beatę regenerationis lauacrum tribuas
- 300 per unctionem istius creature purgationem mentis et corporis. ut si que illis aduersantium spirituum inherere reliquię. ad tactum huius sanctificati olei abscedant. nullus spiritalibus nequitiis locus. nulla refugis uirtutibus sit facultas nulla insidiantibus malis latendi licentia relinquatur. sed uenientibus ad fidem seruis tuis. et sancti spiritus tui operatione mundandis; Sit unc-
- 305 (pr 5) Deus qui in uirtute Sancti Spiritus imbecillarum mentium rudimenta confirmas, et beatificando uiuificas, te oramus, Domine, sanctificando benedicas hoc oleum, et uenturis ad beatę regenerationis lauacrum tribuas per unctionem istius creature purgationem mentis et corporis, et si quę illis aduersantium spirituum adhaesere reliquię, ad tactum huius sanctificati olei tua uirtute abscedant. Nullus, Domine, huius unctione spiritalibus nequitiis locus, nulla refugis uirtutibus sit nocendi facultas, nulla insidiantibus aduersariis per hoc oleum decipiendi relin-
- (pr 5) Deus qui in uirtute sancti spiritus tui imbecillarum mentium rudimenta confirmas. et beatificando uiuificas; Te oramus domine ut sanctificando benedicas hoc oleum. et uenturis ad beatę regenerationis lauacrum per istius creature unctionem mentis et corporis tribuas purgationem. Et si quę illis aduersantium spirituum reliquię impediunt; ad tactum huius sancti olei. uirtutis tuę pręsentia abscedant. Nullus domine quesumus per huius olei unctionem locus sit nequiciis spiritalibus. Nulla sit facultas nocendi refugis spiritibus. Nulla insidiantibus aduersariis

(r 5) I 290–91 et oremus Sequitur oratio *om. Do*

II–III 289 episcopus] Pontifex *Mart* 290 et Oremus] Et cum. OREMUS *Mart*

(pr 5) I 296–97 sanctificando benedicas hoc oleum et *om. Sam₂ (as GrH) but add. Sam₃ 305 huius sanctificati olei]* s. o. h. *transp. Sam₂ (as GrH)*

(pr 5) **Sources.** Stage I: identical to GrH 336, the form of the blessing of Oil of Catechumens, save that the Gregorian prayer lacks the interpolation near the beginning of Stage I: “sanctificando benedicas hoc oleum et”: The variant argues that Stages II–III depend on Stage I rather than on GrH (or PRG).

Textual notes. Unexpectedly, at points *Sam₂* is even *closer* than Stage I to the Hadrianic source; cf. the also startling coincidence of *Sam₂* and GrH at pr 10a, below. These may be instances of “restoration” to a purely Hadrianic form.

315	tionis huius preparatio utilis ad salutem. quam etiam celestis regenerationis natiuitate. in sacramento sunt baptismatis adepturi.	quatur licentia, sed omnibus ad agnitionem verae fidei convertendis, et Spiritus sancti tui cooperatione, qui in Sacramento baptismatis sunt regenerandi, sit unctionis huius sanctificatio utilis et salubris ad percipiendam gratiam coelestium carismatum, et ad obtinendam supernorum civium beatæ felicitatis communionem. Per Dominum nostrum in unitate ejusdem Spiritus sancti. Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.	ad istius olei inuentionem decipiendi relinquatur licentia. Sed omnibus ad agnitionem uerę fidei conuertendis. et in sacramento baptismatis regenerandis. sit oleum sanctum. sit unctio eius sanctificatio utilis et salubris ad percipiendam gratiam celestium karismatum. et ad obtinendam supernorum ciuium beatę felicitatis communionem. Per dominum nostrum ihesum christum filium tuum qui cum spiritu sancto tecum omnia operatur in omnibus. in quibus uiuis et dominaris trinus et unus deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.
320	per dominum nostrum. In unitate.		
325			
330			
335			

STAGE I

STAGE II (*Mart*)

STAGE III

(r 6) *Item alia oratio*

340	(pr 6) Deus pater omnipotens. Cuius unigenitus ut deum se ostenderet. signa quorum non est numerus in iudeis faciens.	(pr 6) Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, cuius unigenitus, ut Deum ostenderet se, coelestibus signis Deus et homo inter	(pr 6) Domine deus pater omnipotens cuius unigenitus ut deum se ostenderet. deus et homo inter homines magnus et mira-
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I 321 nostrum. In unitate] nostrum Innuni *sic CantB* | *om. Sam₂*; *cf. per d. n. I. C. qui uenturus . . . GrH*

III 315 inuentionem] inuentionem *Do* 322–23 unctio . . . salubris] unctio sanctificationis et salutis *Do* 328 communionem] gaudium *Sam₃* 330–33 qui cum . . . omnibus in] cum *Do*

(r 6) 337 *Item alia oratio*] *Alia oratio Sam₂, followed by pr 6 as in Stage I*

(pr 6) I 338 *Deus*] *Domine deus Sam₂*; *cf. Stages II–III*

(pr 6) Sources. Unidentified.

Textual notes. *Do* omits this prayer, so *Mart* is the only witness to Stage II, which again seems to be intermediate between I and III. *Sam₂* is closer to Stage I but has unique additions (*cf. pr 3*, above, and *pr 9*, below).

345 nos sue miserationis pro-
uidencia. ad presens diuinę
prosecutionis incitauit
exemplum. qui et pro
nobis crucifigi uoluit. ut
demonēs crucifigeret. et
350 mortuos mortuos uiuifica-
ret. Hoc oleum quesumus
sanctifica. ut omnes qui
ipsius liquore delibuti fu-
erint. sanctificationis ęter-
ne gratia ditentur. omni-
355 que pinguedine terre. et
rore cęli fecundentur. An-
nue ętiam domine deus. ut
benedictio nostra firma et
potens in nomine eius
360 perseueret. cui omnis cre-
atura seruit. Quem cheru-
bin seraphim. omnesque
ordines celorum conlau-
dant. In te patre et spiritu
365 sancto indesinenti sanctę
trinitatis confessione sub-
sistentem. per omnia se-
cula seculorum.

370

homines magnus et ad-
mirabilis claruit. et nos
suae miserationis provi-
dencia ad praesens diuinę
persecutionis incitauit mi-
nisterium; qui et pro nobis
crucifigi uoluit. ut daemo-
nēs crucifigeret. et mor-
tuos mortuos uiuificaret;
per ipsum te. omnipotens
quaesumus. ut hoc oleum
sanctifices et benedicas.
ut omnes qui ipsius li-
quore delibuti fuerint be-
nedictionis aeternę tua
gratia ditentur. omni-
que pinguedine terrę et rore
360 coeli tua gratia foecun-
dentur. Annue etiam om-
nipotens Pater. ut haec
benedictio nostra per te
firma et potens omnibus
ad salutem perseueret. in
nomine filii tui Domini
Jesu Christi.

bilis claruit. et nos sue
miserationis prouidencia
ad pręsens diuinę prose-
cutionis incitauit ministe-
rium. qui et pro nobis
crucifigi uoluit. ut demo-
nēs crucifigeret et mor-
tuos mortuos uiuificaret;
per ipsum te patrem om-
nipotentem quesumus. ut
hoc oleum sanctifices et
benedicas; ut omnes qui
ipsius liquore delibuti
fuerint catecumini. bene-
dictione sanctificationis
ęterne in sacramento bap-
tismatis ditentur. omni-
que pinguedine terrę et rore
celestis abundantię fecun-
dentur. Annue pręcamur
omnipotens pater. ut hęc
deprecatio et benedictio
nostra per te firma et
potens omnibus perseue-
ret ad salutem; in nomine
filii tui ihesu christi et
spiritus sancti. cum qui-
bus in unitate deitatis glo-
riaris et regnas per omnia
secula seculorum. Amen.

(then follows r 6 as Oratio, then pr 5 as above)

STAGE I

(r 7) *Postmodum duo can-
tores altiboando incipiant*

STAGE II

(r 7) *Post haec duo can-
tores dicant uersum O re-*

STAGE III

(r 7) *Post hęc reuertente
pontifice ad sedem suam*

I 343-47 nos . . . uoluit] paraliticos sanauit. leprosos purgauit. demonia effugauit. mortuos
suscitauit. et ad ultimum crucifixus est *Sam*₂ 350 quesumus *om. Sam*₂ 351 ut *om.*
*Sam*₂ 357 ętiam] quoque *Sam*₂ 362 seraphim] et seraphim *Sam*₂ 364-68 In te . . .
seculorum] dicentes. Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus. dominus deus exercituum. qui etiam regnas et
dominaris unus in sancta trinitate deus. per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. *Sam*₂

II 356-58 fuerint . . . ditentur] fuerint Cateumeni, benedictione sanctificationis aeternę in
sacramento baptismatis ditentur. *MartL*; cf. *Stage III*

(r 7) II 373-79 Post haec . . . et cetera *om. Do*, but a unique form of the hymn is copied out
in full 373 haec] haec reuertente pontifice ad sedem suam *MartL*; cf. *Stage III*

- 375 *letanias. ut supra in dedicatione ecclesie continentur.* demptor summe [sic] carmen. Hymnus. Audi iudex mortuorum alternantibus choris O redemptor summe et cetera. duo cantores decantent ymnum. Audi iudex . . . O redemptor . . . etc.
(includes full text of the hymn)
- 380 *Qua finita. stet episcopus ante altare et deferatur a tertio diacono ampulla ubi mixtum fuerat balsamum cum oleo que* Tunc stet episcopus ante altare et deferatur a tertio dacono ampulla cum oleo mixtum balsamo, quae habet chrismatis inscriptionem, super quam episcopus ter crucis signum faciens terque in ea sufflans, ita benedicat chrisma dicens Dominus vobiscum. Oratio. Hoc dicto reuertatur episcopus ad altare et deferatur a tercio diacono ampulla cum oleo que habet chrismatis inscriptionem. et misceatur in ea balsamum. super quam episcopus ter crucis signum faciens terque in ea sufflans. Conuersus ad orientem; ita benedicat chrisma. dicens. Dominus vobiscum. Oratio:
- 385 *habet breuiculum crismatis. Qua allata faciat super eum [sic] episcopus ter signum crucis suffletque in ea ter et benedicat crisma sicuti mos est ita dicens. Dominus uobiscum. Oratio:*
- 390

I 376–77 continentur] five verses of O redemptor copied in margin by contemporary hand

II 380 Tunc] Quibus finitis Do

III 375 cantores] h[un]c claris uocibus add. marg. Sam₂ 386 balsamum] balsamum dicendo: Haec commixtio liquoris fiat omnibus perunctis propitiatio. et custodia salutaris. in secula seculorum. Amen. Sam₂: balsamum dicens hec commixtio liquoris . . . amen. Veni creator. marg. addition (twice!) C: conuersus ad orientem ita benedicat crisma dicens hec commixtio . . . hoc dicto uertat se episcopus ad altare et incipiat festiue Veni creator E 386–90 super . . . orientem] et conuersus ad orientem. ter crucis signum faciat super ea. terque in ea sufflans Sam₂ (with last word subsequently corr. to anhelans) 390–91 benedicat chrisma] marked for del., exorcizet written above Sam₂

(r 7) Sources. Stage I: *breviculum*-type ordo. Cf. the "Évreux supplement" to the Egbert Pontifical (ed. Banting, 151): *stetque iterum episcopus ante altare . . . accipiat subdiaconus ab acolito ampullam ubi mixtum fuerat balsamum cum oleo. que habet breuiculum chrismatis . . . et deferatur ab eadem [sic] diacono. eadem ampulla ante altare qua allata faciat super eam ter signum crucis. suffletque in ea ter. et tunc benedicat chrisma sicuti mos est.*

Stages II–III: for the hymn, cf. OR 50.25.82 (= PRG 99.269).

Stage III: for the commingling of balsam, cf. OR 50.25.87 (= PRG 99.271) and liturgical notes, below.

Textual notes. A text of the hymn is partially copied in *CantB*, *Do*, and fully in all manuscripts of Stage III. Note that r 7 of Stage I, with its rare term "altiboando," appears to have become r 0.4 in Stage II. Important variants in the several versions of the hymn "O redemptor" have been printed and discussed above, pp. 254–56.

Liturgical notes. Stage I: On the "litany" and the rubric, see pp. 251–54 and cf. r 0.4.

Stage III: The ceremony of mixing the balsam, adopted from the *PRG*, has been added between II and III, but the first evidence of the accompanying prayer "Haec commixtio" (OR 50.25.273 = PRG 99.273) is only in marginal additions to *C*. The prayer and instructions are

STAGE I

STAGE II (*Mart*)STAGE III (+ *Do*)

	(pr 7) Oremus fratres karissimi deum patrem omnipotentem celi terreque conditorem. qui in unigeniti filii sui per quem delictorum omnium remissio tribuitur et pax	(pr 7) Oremus, fratres charissimi, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, coeli terraeque conditorem, qui in unigenito Filio suo, per quem delictorum omnium tribuitur remissio, et pax	(pr 7) Oremus fratres karissimi deum patrem omnipotentem. celi terreque conditorem. qui in unigeniti filii sui admirabili patientia mirabiliter pereunti subuenit mundo. ut
395	omni seculo nuntiatur admirabili patientia mirabiliter pereunti mundo subuenit. ut nobis indignis et absque merito sanctum	omni nunciatur saeculo, et misericordissime pereunti subuenit mundo; ut nobis indignis et absque merito sanctum nomen illius in-	nobis indignis et absque merito sanctum nomen illius inuocantibus opem celestis misericordiae dignetur conferre. ac septiformis spiritus sancti
400	nomen illius inuocantibus opem suae misericordiae dignetur conferre dignetur. et septiformis spiritus sancti munere nutantia corda fo-	uocantibus opem coelestis misericordiae dignetur conferre, et septiformis Spiritus sancti munere corda nostra purificare,	munere corda nostra purificare. quatinus omni uitiorum sorde emundati. ad conficiendum chrisma salutare efficiamur idonei.
405	uere. quo nos omni sorde uitiorum emundatos. strenue deuotaeque sacrosancti ministerii huius celebrationem concedat implere.	quo nos omni sorde vitiorum emundatos ad conficiendum salutare chrisma per infusionem sacrati olei efficiat idoneos. Sub-	Subueniat nobis in hac celebratione omnipotentis dei gratia. et quod nostro nunc gerendum est obsequio. sanctissima ipsius
410	et quod nostro gerendum est obsequio. sua sanctissima prosequatur benedictione. ut fiat hoc a deo	ueniat in hac celebratione nobis gratia Dei omnipotentis, et quod nostro nunc gerendum est obse-	atque per diuinam spiritus sancti cooperationem hoc
415			

fully integrated into the main text of *E* and *Sam*₂. *C* and *E* similarly augment the ceremony by adding the hymn "Veni creator spiritus."

(pr 7) I 396 in above line *CantB*

III 397 filii *om. Do* 409–10 salutare] salutare per infusionem sacrati olei *Do*; cf. *Stage II* 414 nunc *om. but add. above line Sam*₃; cf. *Stage I* 414–14 obsequio *corr. to officio Sam*₃

(pr 7) **Sources.** Cf. phrasing at pr 3, above. Note also the poeticism "sanctoque flamine" (Stage I), and cf. the second of two new verses for the hymn "O redemptor" at Stage III ("Assit flamen sacrosanctum . . ."; see p. 256, above). Note finally the list of uses for chrism in Stage III, almost identical to that in r 0.12.

Textual notes. Here, unusually, Stage I is the more encumbered text (the "per quem . . . nuntiatur" clause seems awkwardly intruded). Except for the few vars. noted, *Sam*₂ follows Stage III closely. The form of the text at Stage II is indeterminate; *Mart* (the basis of the version above) is as usual between I and III, but for this prayer we have the additional witness of *Do*, which mainly follows III while concluding as II.

420 sanctificatum oleum et
omnibus qui ex eo un-
guendi sunt crisma salutis
aeterne et propitiatio salu-
tatis. quatinus oleo exul-
tationis muniti perhennia
425 saluationis perpetuę capi-
ant sacramenta. ipso largi-
ente qui cum patre sancto-
que flamine perpetualiter
unus uiuit et gloriatur
430 deus. per omnia.

435

440

quo, sua sanctissima pro-
sequatur benedictione, at-
que per divinam Spiritus
sancti praesentiam hoc
sanctificatum a Deo reno-
vetur oleum vitali stilli-
cidio aromatizantis bal-
sami, et omnibus qui ex
eo ungendi sunt fiat chris-
ma et propitiatio salutis
aeternae in saluationem
perpetuam animarum, et
ad beatae felicitatis glo-
riam sine fine perfruen-
dam, ipso largiente qui
cum Patre, sanctoque Fla-
mine perpetualiter unus
vivit et gloriatur Deus per
omnia.

a deo sanctificatum reno-
uetur oleum. uitali stillici-
dio aromatizantis balsami.
Fiatque crisma benedic-
tum ad confirmandos ec-
clesiastici gradus honores.
ad promouendas dignita-
tes. ad sanctificandum
baptismatis lauacrum. ad
consignandas quoque no-
uę regenerationis proles
stigmatē sanctę crucis; sit
etiam crisma et propitia-
tio salutis eterne omnibus
ex eo unguendis in per-
petuam animarum salua-
tionem. annuente et auxi-
liante eiusdem unigenito
domino nostro ihesu chris-
to et amborum spiritu
sancto. qui in trinitate
sancta unus et uerus uiuit
et gloriatur deus. Per
omnia secula seculorum.
Amen.

STAGE I

(r 8) *Sequitur oratio.*

445 (pr 8) Domine deus sa-
baoth. uiuida spes morta-
lium. omnium dignitatum
prouidus dispensator at-
que largitor. te humillimis
450 exoramus precibus. ut
opem tuę benignissime
clementię nobis accomo-

STAGE II (*Mart*)(r 8) *Item oratio.*

(pr 8) Domine Deus Sa-
baoth, uuida spes morta-
lium, salus et uita om-
nium pie viventium, qui
per mysticam glorifi-
cationis tuę laudem ca-
tholici ordinis et regiae
dignitatis stratum [*sic*]

STAGE III

(r 8) *Alia oratio.*

(pr 8) Domine deus sa-
baoth. uiuida spes morta-
lium. salus et uita om-
nium pie uiuentium. qui
per mysticam glorifi-
cationis tuę laudem ca-
tholici ordinis statum et
regię dignitatis consecrare

III 424 honores] ordines. in saluationem perpetuam animarum et ad beate felicitatis glo-
riam sine fine perfruebam. Ipso annuente et auxiliante qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et
regnat deus per omnia *Do*; cf. *Stage II* 425–26 ad promouendas dignitates *om. Do*

(pr 8) *Sources.* Unidentified.

Textual notes. This prayer is omitted in *Do*, hence *Mart* is the only evidence of Stage II.
Mart is between I and III, but generally closer to III. *Sam*₂ agrees with Stage III closely.

das. [sic] et ad te claman-
 455 tium pia uota. celestium
 benedictionum amplitu-
 dine prosequaris. Emitte
 piissime domine spiritum
 sanctum tuum de alto ce-
 460 lorum fastigio. qui me
 plebis tuę famulum. ab
 omnibus inquinamentis
 delibutum. diuini roris
 inlustratione perfundat.
 quatinus pontificalis dig-
 465 nitatis toga infulatus.
 huius sacrosancti misterii
 officium. congrua condig-
 naque administratione ex-
 equi ualeam. Tu ergo
 470 domine tuę benedictionis
 ubertate. huius fetę arbo-
 ris saluiferum fructum
 sanctificare dignare quo
 diuinitus crisma salutis
 475 effectum. adoptionis filios
 in spem uiuam tibi re-
 natos. in nouitate faciat
 exurgere caelestis genera-
 tionis. Cunctorum quoque
 480 una adsistentium mentes.
 quorum tibi fides nota est
 et patet deuotio. eiusdem
 sancti spiritus largiflua
 karismatis infusione que-
 485 sumus domine ut sanctifi-
 cando purifies. ut diuino
 fonte loti. sacrique nectaris
 unctione delibuti. atria
 supernę ciuitatis gratanter
 490 cum omnibus sanctis sine
 fine possideant. ipso fa-
 uente et largiente. cui te-
 cum et cum eodem sancto
 spiritu a fidelibus iugiter
 495 laudum cumulantur pre-

consecrare disposuisti
 oleo exultationis et chris-
 mate salutis; tuam cernui
 deprecamur clementiam,
 ut diuinę claritatis tuę
 dulcedine, sensus et corda
 nostra purifies, et in his
 sacris caeremoniis coeles-
 tium benedictionum nos
 amplitudine prosequaris
 ad conficienda animarum
 nostrarum medicamenta
 in huius salutiferę unctionis
 sanctificatione. Tu,
 Domine, usui hominum
 cuncta terrę nascentia
 providisti, sed praesertim
 olivarum fructum in
 utriusque hominis salva-
 tionem decreuisti, dum
 consecrati olei unctione
 nos a peccatis expiari per
 Prophetam promisisti,
 dumque Ecclesiastici gra-
 dus honorem et ordinem
 summus in aeternum Pon-
 tifex huius olei attactu
 consecrasti. Adesto, quae-
 sumus Domine, prae-
 sentia spiritali, et te con-
 fitentibus in una trium
 personarum natura et sub-
 stantia Spiritum sanctum
 de alto coelorum emitte
 fastigio, qui nostrae ope-
 rationis mysterio mel-
 liflua vitalium odorum
 conficiat balsama, et ea
 oleo sanctificationis bene-
 dicendo perfundat, ac
 utriusque elementi coope-
 ratione salutari in salutem
 credentium chrisma per-

disposuisti oleo exultatio-
 nis et chrismate salutis.
 Te cernui deprecamur cle-
 mentissime. ut diuinę cla-
 ritatis tuę dulcedine sen-
 sus et conscientias nostras
 illustres. et nos in sacris
 his cerimoniais celestium
 benedictionum amplitudi-
 ne prosequaris; ad con-
 ficienda animarum nost-
 rarum medicamenta in
 huius salutiferę unctionis
 sanctificatione. Tu domi-
 ne usui hominum cuncta
 terrę nascentia prouidisti.
 sed praesertim oliuarum
 fructum in utriusque ho-
 minis saluationem decre-
 uisti; dum consecrati olei
 unctione nos a peccatis
 expiari per prophetam
 promisisti. Dumque ec-
 clesiastici gradus hono-
 rem et ordinem. chris-
 matis oleo summus in
 eternum pontifex conse-
 crasti. Adesto quesumus
 domine inuisibilis tuę ui-
 sionis praesentia. ac nobis
 te confitentibus in una
 trium personarum natura
 et substantia. spiritum
 sanctum tuum de alto
 celorum emitte fastigio;
 qui nostrę operationis mi-
 nisterio. melliflua uita-
 lium odorum conficiat
 balsama. et ea oleo sancti-
 ficationis benedicendo
 perfundat. ac utriusque
 elementi commixtione sa-
 luiferum perficiat chrisma

	conia. per omnia secula seculorum.	ficiat. Sanctifica etiam, Domine, hanc confectio- nem caelesti benedictio- ne, quo divinitus chrisma salutis effectum in spem vivam renatos tibi filios adoptionis exurgere faciat in novitate coelestis gene- rationis. Redoleat hoc, Do- mine, sanctificatum chris- ma in conspectu tuo nec- tareo angelicae dulcedinis oblectamento; sitque me- dicina spiritualis, repara- tio mentis et corporis, sanctique Spiritus largi- flua charismatum infusio- ne omnibus gratia salu- bris, cunctique hujus sacra unctione delibuti, coelestibus interesse an- gelorum choris, te donante, digni efficiantur, Per eum- dem Spiritum sanctum, cui tecum a fidelibus laudum cumulantur praeconia. Per omnia saecula saeculo- rum.	in credentium saluatio- nem. Sanctifica quesumus domine deus hanc olei et balsami confectionem dei- tatis tuę benedictionibus. quo diuinitus chrisma sa- lutis effectum. tibi renatos in spem uiuam filios ad- optionis exurgere faciat in novitate celestis regenera- tionis. Redoleat hoc do- mine sanctificatum chris- ma in diuinitatis tuę con- spectu. nectareo angelice dulcedinis oblectamento. Sitque medicina spiritua- lis. reparatio anime et cor- poris. ac spiritus sancti largiflua karismatum infu- sione omnibus salubris. cunctique hac sacra unc- tione delibuti. digni eterne iocunditatis participes ef- ficientur. Per eundem spi- ritum sanctum qui in te et in patre manens. in utro- que uiuit et regnat deus. Per omnia secula seculo- rum. amen.
500			
505			
510			
515			
520			

STAGE I

STAGES II-III

525 (r 9) *Alia.*

(pr 9) Omnipotens et incomprehensibilis
pater deus. qui dum unigenitum tuum
ante secula tibi coeternum existentem. ad
terras destinasti. et amplissimam gratiam
530 mundo donasti. quem etiam oleo sancto.
oleo regali. oleo crismatis. pre consorti-
bus suis digni/us perunxisti. ut in pro-

(pr 9) Omnipotens et inconprehensibilis
pater deus. Qui unigenitum tuum ante
secula tibi coeternum ad terras destinasti
et amplissimam per ipsum mundo gra-
tiam contulisti. quem etiam oleo sancto.
oleo regali. oleo chrismatis. pre consor-
tibus suis dignius perunxisti. ut in pro-

(r 9) I 525 *Alia*] Oratio super crisma *And*₃II-III 525 *Rubric* Oratio *Mart* : *Alia Sam*₂(pr 9) II-III 526-27 *Qui*] qui dum *Mart*; cf. *Stage I*

535 phetis omnibus et regibus et sacerdotibus
nullum habens coequalem. solus sanc-
tior. solus perfectior in carne appareret.
et ut pateret neminem celeste regnum
ascensurum. nisi sancti crismatis unc-
tione sanctificetur. Tu domine per eun-
dem ihesum christum dominum nostrum
540 super hoc crisma sanctificationem ef-
funde celestem. omnesque liquore ipsius
adsignatos. sancti spiritus gratia per-
funde. ut ab omni uisibilibus et inuisi-
bilibus in pugnatione defensi. celestis
545 regni gaudiis mereantur coniungi. ipso
largiente qui deus et dominus in dextera
tua sedens. tibi et spiritu[i] sancto uiuit et
regnat coequalis.

phetis omnibus et regibus atque sacerdo-
tibus neminem haberet coequalem. sed
solus sanctior. solus perfectior pre filiis
hominum subsisteret. a quo et huic mate-
riei nomen indidisti. dum a christo tuo
domino nostro chrisma consecrasti. et
chrismatis unctione nos celesti uita parti-
cipari demonstrasti. per eundem ihesum
christum dominum nostrum tu domine
pater omnipotens super hoc chrisma su-
pernam diuinitatis tue effunde benedic-
tionem. omnesque ipsius sacro liquore
consignandos. salutari carismate paracliti
spiritus sancti undique perfunde. quatin-
us ab omni uisibilibus et inuisibilibus
in pugnatione defensi. beatę immortali-

I 534 nullum habens coequalem] n. c. h. *transp. Sam₂ And₃* 537–38 unctione] im-
positione *Sam₂ And₃* 538–39 Tu domine . . . nostrum] tu per eundem nazarenum christum
iesum quem iohannes in iordane ad salutem nostram baptizauit *Sam₂* 540–41 sancti-
ficationem . . . celestem] sanctificationem tuam effunde *Sam₂ And₃* 541 liquore] pin-
guedine *Sam₂ And₃* 542 gratia] rore *Sam₂ And₃* 543–45 ut . . . coniungi] et ab eterni
hostis uirtute maligna et carcere inferni defende. et celestis regni gaudiis coniunge *Sam₂ And₃*
548 coequalis] coequalis. per omnia seculorum secula. Amen. *Sam₂ And₃*

II–III 536 subsisteret] persisteret *Mart* 539–40 nos . . . participari] coelesti participari
vita *Mart* 542 pater omnipotens *om. Mart* 542–44 supernam . . . benedictionem]
benedictionem effunde coelestem *Mart* 544–47 ipsius . . . quatinus] liquore ipsius
assignatos sancti Spiritus gratia perfunde ut *Mart*; cf. *Stage I* 548–53 beatę . . . sancti]
aeternae vitae gaudiis mereantur adiungi, ipso annuente, qui Deus et Dominus in dextera tua
sedens tibi Patri et Spiritui sancto uiuit et regnat coequalis *Mart*; cf. *Stage I*

(pr 9) **Sources.** Unidentified, but note vague correspondence of incipit with a prayer over the balsam that appears for the first time at Pont.Rom.XII, 30A.50: “Oremus dominum nostrum omnipotentem, qui incomprehensibilem unigeniti filii sibi que coaeterni diuinitatem mirabili dispositione verae humanitati inseparabiliter coniunxit et, gratia cooperante sancti spiritus, oleo exultationis prae participibus suis linivit, ut homo fraude diaboli perditus, gemina et singulari constans materia, perenni redderetur de qua exciderat hereditati, quatenus hos ex diversis creaturarum speciebus liquores creatos sanctae trinitatis perfectione benedicat, benedicendo sanctificet, concedatque ut simul permixti unum fiant et quicumque exterius inde perunctus fuerit, ita interiorius liniatur, quo omnibus sordibus corporalis materiae carens, se participem regni coelestis effici gratuletur. Per. In unitate eiusdem.”

Textual notes. The prayer is omitted from *Do*; *Mart* follows Stage III while retaining some significant Stage-I readings. The most peculiar thing is the independence, not only of Stages II–III from *CantB*, but of the variant of Stage I witnessed by *Sam₂* and *And₃* (cf. a similar relation at pr 3, above; we might expect the same at pr 6, were not the relevant folio of Anderson missing).

550

tatis felicitate uestiri. et eterne glorie
gaudiis mereantur adiungi; in nomine et
amore ihesu christi filii tui. qui deus et
dominus noster tecum uiuit et regnat in
unitate eiusdem spiritus sancti.

STAGE I–III

(pr 10) Per omnia secula seculorum. [Amen]. Dominus uobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.
555 Sursum corda. Habemus ad dominum. Gratias agamus domino deo nostro. Dignum et
iustum est.

STAGE I

(r 10) *Tunc dicat sonora uoce.*

STAGE I/III (text from *CantB*)

560

(pr 10a) VD. aeterne deus; Qui in prin-
cipio inter cetera bonitatis et pietatis tue
munera terram producere fructifera ligna
iussisti. inter que huius pinguissimi lig-
quoris [*sic*] ministrę oliue nascerentur.
quarum fructus sacro crismati derserui-
ret; Nam et dauid prophetico spiritu gra-

STAGES II–III

(r 10) *Tunc dicat altiori uoce.*

STAGE II (*Mart*)

(pr 10a) VD. aeterne deus; Qui in prin-
cipio inter ceteras bonitatis et pietatis
tuę largitiones salutiferum fructum oli-
uę redolentis benignus condonasti usibus
humanis, cujus liquoris stilla sacrosanc-
tum perficeret chrisma Spiritus sancti co-
operante gratia. Nam cum mundi crimina

(r 10) 557 altiori] alta *Mart* (no rubric in *Do*) | *CE* | *Sam*₂

(r 10) Sources. Cf. OR 50.25.92 (= PRG 99.275): *Tunc dicat alta uoce.*

(pr 10a) Sources. The consecration in the majority of manuscripts is essentially the tradi-
tional one (GeV 386–8, GrH 335a–b, and so on; see also *Corpus praefationum*, ed. Edmond
Moeller, CCL 161 and 161A–D [Turnhout, 1980], 5:316–17 [no. 1024]). *CantB* (Stage I) has
the three-clause interpolation after . . . *et martyres*, ultimately derived from GeV 378 and a
distinguishing marker of this prayer as transmitted through the PRG (OR 50.25.92 = PRG
99.275); see p. 217 above.

Textual notes: (1) common error: “crimina diluuii quondam expiaret effusio” (all manu-
scripts of the Canterbury *ordo*) against “crimina diluvio quondam expiarentur effuso” (GeV,
GrH, PRG et al., although “effusio” by itself is an occasionally attested variant).

(2) separative errors: *CantB* presents the interpolated or PRG-form of this prayer with only
trivial departures, while the manuscripts of Stage III (including *Sam*₃) show further editing; i.e.,
the interpolation has been pruned down to (approximately) the last of its three clauses, and a
new petitionary phrase leads back to the source-text (“ut qui renati . . .”) which now stands as a
revised, independent clause (see apparatus). But note that *Sam*₂ and *Do* follow the *uninterpo-*
lated original text of GeV or GrH (cf. a parallel conservatism above, textual notes to pr 5).

(3) The text of *Mart* for pr 10a is unparalleled. In style it resembles the expansions of
Stages II–III throughout, but for this prayer Stage III typically reverts to something much closer
to the common form.

(4) *CantB*₂ breaks off near the end of this prayer (after “propheticoque honore”).

- 565 tię tuę sacramenta prenoscens. uultus nos-
tros in oleo exhilarandos esse cantauit;
Et cum mundi crimina diluuii quondam
expiaret effusio. similitudinem futuri mu-
neris columba demonstrans. per oliuę ra-
570 mum pacem terris redditam nuntiauit;
Quod in nouissimis temporibus manifes-
tis est effectibus declaratum. cum bap-
tismatis aquis omnium criminum com-
missa delentibus. hęc olei unctio uultus
575 nostros iocundos efficit ac serenos; Inde
etiam moysi famulo tuo mandatum de-
disti. ut aaron fratrem suum salutari mis-
terio. per infusionem huius unguenti con-
stitueret sacerdotem; Accessit ad hoc
580 amplior honor. cum filius tuus ihesus
christus dominus noster lauari \a/ io-
hanne undis iordanicis exegisset. ut spi-
ritu sancto in columbe similitudinem de-
super misso. unigenitum tuum in quo tibi
585 optime complacuisset testimonio subse-
quentis uocis ostenderes. et hoc illud
esse manifestissime comprobares. quod
eum oleo leticię pre consortibus suis un-
guendum. Dauid propheta cecinisset; Te
590 igitur deprecamur domine sancte pater
omnipotens ęterne deus. per eundem ihe-
sum christum filium tuum dominum
nostrum. ut huius creature pinguedinem
sanctificare tua benedictione digneris. et
595 sancti spiritus ei admiscere uirtutem co-
operante potentia christi tui. a cuius sancto
nomine crisma nomen accepit; Unde
unxisti sacerdotes. reges. prophetas. et
martires. ut spiritalis lauacri baptismo
600 renouandis. creaturam crismatis in sacra-
mentum perfecte salutis uitęque con-
firmes. ut sanctificatione unctionis infu-
sa. corruptioneque primę parentis absorpta
diluvii quondam expiaret effusio, mys-
terium futuri muneris columba ad arcam
reversa demonstrans per defectionem in-
unandantium aquarum in sacramento
baptismatis remissionem peccatorum, at-
que per virentis olivę ramum, unguentis
olei pręfiguravit purgationem. Inde et
Moysi famulo tuo mandatum dedisti, ut
frater suus Aaron per infusionem huius
unguenti fungeretur veteris testamenti
sacerdotio, omnis ecclesiastici ordinis
pastores hoc tempore huius chrismatis
consecrari dignans officio. Accessit et
hinc amplioris gratia honoris, cum filius
tuus Dominus noster a Joanne lavari exe-
gisset undis Jordanicis, ut Spiritu sancto
in specie columbę caelitus misso, di-
lectum unigenitum tuum paternę vocis
comprobares testimonio, et eundem chris-
mali perunctione perungendum exulta-
tionis in gaudio hoc et in novissimis
temporibus manifestis declarasti effec-
tibus; atque sanctę regenerationis lava-
cro mundatos eiusdem sacri liquoris stig-
mate sanctę crucis consignari signaculo,
huius tu Domine stillicidio sanctitatis in-
visibili claritate divinitatis unxisti pro-
phetas et reges, sacerdotes et martyres,
atque prophetico spiritu sacramenta gra-
tię tuę pręnoscens, David oleato chris-
mate vultus nostros cecinit exhilarandos:
unde per eundem Jesum Christum Fi-
lium tuum te deprecamur, sancte Pater
omnipotens, ut huius sancti olei et fra-
grantis balsami materiem sanctifices,
eamque potentia Christi tui consecres, a
cujus nomine sancto sanctum crisma
nomen accepit. Item supplices te roga-
mus, aeternę Deus, ut hanc pinguedinem

(pr 10a) I 577-78 salutari misterio] prius aqua lotum Do | all mss. of Stage III | Sam₂ (GeV GrH PRG) 581 lauari] lauari se M C: lauacri Do 583 in columbe similitudinem] in specie columbę Stage III; cf. Mart 597 crisma] sanctum crisma Stage III; cf. Mart

605 sanctum uniuscuiusque templum accep-
tabilis uitę innocens odor redolescat. et
secundum constitutionis tuę sacramen-
tum regio. et sacerdotali propheticoque
honore perfusi. uestimento incorrupti
610 muneris induantur; Ut sit his qui renati
fuerint ex aqua et spiritu sancto chrisma
salutis. eosque ęterne uitę participes. et
celestis glorie facias esse consortes. Per
eundem dominum nostrum ihesum chris-
tum filium tuum. qui tecum uiuit et reg-
615 nat deus. in unitate spiritus sancti. per
omnia secula seculorum.

Spiritus sancti virtute impingues, eam-
que diuinę caritatis dulcedine exuberare
facias, et omni benedictione confirmes:
hoc, Domine, benedictum chrisma in
sanctificatione unctionis effloreat, et in
odore suauitatis et glorię redolescat. Sit
hoc, confectio sanctitatis, sit chrisma sa-
lutis, sit unctio spiritualis, sit omnibus ex
aqua et Spiritu sancto renatis vexillum
victorię invincibilis, sit unguentum ex-
ultationis, spes iucunditatis, expiatio ini-
quitatis, sit vita vitalis, et via patrię coe-
lestis. Praesta, Domine, ut hoc salutari
coelestis gratię medicamento omnium
peccatorum per Spiritum sanctum nobis
perueniat remissio, ut in coelestis para-
disi mereamur amoenitate cum sanctis
perfrui gloria claritatis aeternę, qui in
Trinitate coaeternę maiestatis Deus om-
nipotens vivis et glorificaris per im-
mortalia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

	STAGE I	STAGE II	STAGE III
625	(r 11) <i>Quo benedicto re- moueatur ab altari ab eo- dem diacono. et ipse per- gat et stet in dextera parte</i>	(r 11) <i>Quo benedicto, re- portetur eadem ampulla continens oleum ad bap- tizandum ab altari, et dia-</i>	(r 11) <i>Post has benedic- tiones idem diaconus ean- dem chrismatis ampullam sindone qua indutus est</i>

I 599–609 ut spiritalis lauacri . . . induantur; Ut] ut his gradibus secundum constitutionis tuę sacramentum sullimati. huiusque unctionis sanctificatione perfusi. uestimento incorruptionis induerentur. Ergo tuam domine obsecramus omnipotentiam; ut sacri huius creatura chrismatis *all mss. of Stage III | the entire PRG interp. omitted in Do Sam₂ (GrH)* 615 per] tunc dicat *add. above line before per Do*

(r 11) II 626–28 eadem . . . ad baptizandum *om. Do*

(r 11) Sources. Stage I: *breviculum-type ordo*. Cf. the “Évreux supplement” to the Egbert Pontifical (ed. Banting, 152): *Quo benedicto. remoueatur ab altari a iam sepe facto diaconus [sic] . . . et pergat stare in dexteram partem altaris. habens eandem ampullam coopertam de sindone ex quo est inuolutus*; (ibid., 151) *dicat diaconus Humiliate uos ad benedictionem*.

Stage II: cf. ibid. (ed. Banting, 152): *Quo benedicto [scil., the Oil of Catechumens!]. reportetur a diacono ab altari . . .*; for the final vars. in *Do*, cf. additional copies of the *breviculum-type*, in Claudius Pontifical I (ed. Turner, 28), and CCCC 190, pp. 261–62: *quibus humiliatis. tradatur sancta benedictio ab episcopo cunctis*.

Textual notes. As usual, Stage I is very close to the probable source, but here Stage III contains material owed to Stage I that does not appear in extant copies of Stage II (i.e., the refer-

- 630 *altaris. habens eandem ampullam coopertam de sindone ex qua est indutus. Deinde diaconus qui euangelium legit dicat.* Humiliate uos ad benedictionem.
- 635 *conus dicat: Humiliate vos ad benedictionem. Deinde sequatur benedictio ad Missam dicendam ab episcopo feria quinta Coenae Domini. Benedictio.*
- cooperiat. eamque in dextera parte altaris quousque agnus dei canatur. stans cum reuerentia teneat. Hic uertat se episcopus ad altare. et dicat alta uoce. Per omnia secula seculorum. Tunc diaconus qui euangelium legit dicat. Humiliate uos ad benedictionem.*

STAGE I

STAGE II (*Mart*)

- 640 (pr 11) Benedicat uos omnipotens deus. qui per unigeniti filii sui passionem. uetus pascha in nouum uoluit conuerti. concedatque
- 645 uobis ut expurgato ueteris redemptionem, eosque ad

II 630–34 Deinde . . . Domini] Quibus humiliatis tradatur sancta benedictio ab episcopo cunctis ibidem adstantibus *Do*

ences to the sindon, and to the deacon *qui euangelium legit*). The instruction of Stage II (in *Mart* but not *Do*) mentioning the Oil of Catechumens rather than the Chrism, which has just been blessed, would seem to be mistake caused by careless editing of the source. Since the error does not appear in our only text of Stage I, either the scribe of *CantB* corrected it or the redactor of Stage II had access to a different *breviculum*-type source.

(pr 11). Sources. Stage I: cf. *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*, ed. Moeller, 1:100–101 and 51–52 (nos. 233 and 113). I quote below only the relevant sections from Moeller:

no. 233 (Gregorian), (a) Benedicat vos Deus, qui per unigeniti filii sui passionem uetus pascha in novum uoluit converti; concedatque vobis ut expurgato veteris fermenti contagio, nova in vobis perseveret conspersio. Amen. (b) Et qui ad celebrandum redemptoris nostri coenam menta devota convenistis, aeternarum dapium vobiscum epulas reportetis. Amen. . . .

no. 113 (Gallican), . . . (d) Benedicat vos Deus omnipotens, qui in hac die cum discipulis suis coenans panem in corpus suum calicemque benedicens consecravit in sanguinem. Amen. (e) Ipseque vos faciat pura conscientia mundaque ab omni sorde peccati imminente paschae sollemnitate cum exultatione placita sibi celebrare, qui cum discipulis discumbens desiderium, inquit, desideravi hoc pascha manudcare vobiscum. Amen. . . .

Stage II: in *Mart* a further revision and merger of Stage-I text. *Do* gives an ordinary Gregorian form (see p. 261 above).

Textual notes. A full text of the benediction is found only in *CantB* (Stage I) and *Mart* and *Do* (Stage II) but not in any of the Stage-III manuscripts. Stage I is closer to the ultimate source,

fermenti contagione [*sic*].
noua in uobis gratiæ dei
perseueret conspersio.
Amen.

- 650 Et qui ad celebrandam
redemptoris nostri cenam
mente deuota conuenistis.
in eterna requie satiemini
edulio uictime salutaris.
655 Amen.

Quique in hac die cum
apostolis suis cenans. pa-
nem in corpus suum. ca-
licemque benedicens pro-
660 prium consecrauit in san-
guinem. uos æternorum
repleat ubertate benedic-
tionum. Amen.

- Conuenientibusque uo-
665 bis in unum. concedat do-
minicam cenam cum ex-
ultatione sibi placita man-
ducare. qui cum discipulis
discumbens. desiderio in-
670 quid desiderauit hoc pas-
cha manducare uobiscum.
Amen.

- Quatinus hoc in eius fa-
cientes commemoratione.
675 oblatis corporis et sangui-
nis communicemini nouo
testamento. et per hoc in-
mortalitatis gloria corpore
fungimini [*sic*] rediuiuo.
680 Amen.

Quod ipse prestare dig-
netur.

celebrandam Redemptoris
nostri coenam, quo devota
mente conuenistis, in æ-
terna requie faciet edulio
victimæ salutaris gaudere.
Amen.

Conuenientibusque vo-
bis in unum ad Coenam
Dominicam cum exulta-
tione Deo placita spiritua-
lem concedat laetitiam,
qui cum discipulis dis-
cumbens ad humilitatis
exemplum, desiderio, in-
quit, desideravi pascha
manducare uobiscum.
Amen.

Quatenus in Christo
Jesu congaudentes com-
memorationis Sacramen-
to, consecrati & oblatis
Corporis et Sanguinis
ejusdem nouo hodie
communicemini testa-
mento, atque per hoc
vivificati et sanctificati in
sanctorum consortio im-
mortalitatis gloriæ funga-
mini corpore redivivo.
Amen.

Quod ipse prestare
dignetur.

an exemplar of the "Winchester Benedictional" (see p. 261 above). *Mart* is dependent on Stage I—note, e.g., the singular variant "in eterna requie . . . edulio uictime salutaris" against the Gregorian "aeternarum dapium uobiscum reportatis." The fact that *Do* restores the plain Gregorian form is perhaps another indication of its one-off relation generally to a postulated Stage II archetype.

STAGE I (+ *Do*)

(r 12) *Tunc deferatur crisma a diacono episcopo ad osculandum. et antequam deosculetur. Cantor incipiat. Agnus dei. et deosculetur ab episcopo. crisma. Deinde secedat diaconus cum chrismate prope chorum in dextera parte. et cantato ter agnus dei. accedant primum presbyteri unus quisque in ordine suo ad pacem. deinde ad deosculandum sanctum chrisma. Deinde se inuicem. Tunc communicet episcopus. Deinde qui ipsa die antea non communicauerunt pergant ad episcopum communicare de sacro corpore et sanguine domini. Ut autem inceperint communicare. cantor incipiat communionem. Hoc corpus . . . Ps. Iudica me domine. Dominus ie-*

STAGE II (*Mart*)

(r 12) *Qua finita, dicat episcopus Pax Domini sicut mos est, et deferatur illi chrisma a diacono ad osculandum. Antequam deosculetur illud, cantor incipiat Agnus Dei. Et tunc osculetur ab episcopo chrisma, et secedat diaconus cum chrisma prope chorum in dextram partem, et cantato ter Agnus Dei, accedant presbyteri unusquisque in suo ordine ad pacem; deinde ad osculandum chrisma, deinde se inuicem. Tunc post haec communicet episcopus, simul et omnis clerus. Deinde qui in ipso die non communicaverint, pergant ad episcopum communicare corpore et sanguine Domini. Ut autem coeperint communicare, cantor incipiat communionem Dominus Iesus*

STAGE III

(r 12) *Data benedictione dicatur. Et pax eius sit semper uobiscum. Tunc cantor incipiat agnus dei. et deferatur episcopo uas chrismatis a diacono ad deosculandum. Ac succedant fratres secundum ordinem ad pacem. Deinde ad sanctum chrisma deosculandum. Et accedant omnes ad communionem sanctam. Sicque cantor inchoet communionem. Hoc corpus quod pro uobis tradetur.*

(r 12) I 683 Tunc] Qua finita dicat episcopus pax domini et *Do*; cf. Stage II

III 689 deosculandum] *hereafter a signe-de-renvoi and* Et osculetur illud episcopus. et dicat. Ave sanctum chrisma *add. in marg. by a hand later than Sam₃ [cf. Pont. Rom. XII, 30C.17]*

(r 12) Sources. Stage I: *breviculum-type ordo*. Cf. the "Évreux supplement" to the Egbert Pontifical (ed. Banting, 152—with emendations here supplied from CCCC 190, p. 263): *et deferatur chrisma ab acolito illi [scil. episcopo] ad osculandum. antequam autem deosculetur. innuat cantori (ut incipiat) Agnus dei (deosculatoque) ab episcopo chrismate. secedat (accolitus) cum chrismate prope chorum in dexteram partem. et cantato ter Agnus dei. (accedant) primum presbyteri unusquisque in ordine suo ad deosculandum sanctum chrisma. et tunc pergant ad episcopum communicare de sacro domini corpore. quo tradente illis episcopo. deosculari debet unusquisque presbyterum et pergat ad calicem sanguinis . . . ut autem presbyteri (inceperint) communicare. incipit cantor communionem. Hoc corpus quod pro uobis. Psalmus. Iudica me. (alia) Dominus iesus postquam. Psalmus. Beati immaculati.*

Textual notes. *Do* begins as *Mart* but then reverts to Stage I for the remainder.

- 710 sus postquam cenauit . . . postquam *cum psalmo*
Ps. Beati immaculati. Beati immaculati: *alia*
communio Hoc corpus
cum psalmo Iudica me
 Deus et discerne causam.

STAGE I-II

- 715 (r 13) *Crisma autem adoretur a cunctis.*
et deosculetur ac communicent omnes
clerici. et post hos uiri ac femine et
interim populo communicante. predicti
 720 *tres diaconi ampullas in sacrarium*
reportent. et in loco oportuno cum
reuerentia reponant. et sic demum missa
ordine suo cum oratione finiatur.

STAGE III

- 715 (r 13) *Communicatis autem fratribus et*
qui uoluerint de populo atque adorata et
deosculata sacri chrismatis ampulla;
predicti tres diaconi easdem ampullas
cum deuotione in sacrarium reportent.
 720 *ac loco oportuno in saluationem*
reponant. Sanguis uero eadem die
penitus consumatur. De oblatis tot
reseruentur in crastinum. que omnibus
possint sufficere ad communicandum.
 725 *Celebrata missa episcopus precedente*
processione cum qua ad altare uenit.
uadat ad locum constitutum. ibique
reponat corpus domini. incensato ipso
 730 *loco et ante repositionem et post*
repositionem.

I 708-11 Hoc corpus . . . Beati immaculati] *antiphons copied out in full CantB: incipits only in Do, and in reverse order*

(r 13) **Sources.** Stages I-II: *breviculum*-type *ordo*. Cf. the "Évreux supplement" to the Egbert Pontifical (ed. Banting, 152—with emendations supplied from CCCC 190, p. 264): *crisma autem adoretur a cunctis et deosculetur ac communicent omnes clerici. et post hos uiri. ac femine. et interim donec populus communicet (pulsatis signis canantur uespertinae laudes).*

Stage III: instructions about the reposition of the ampoules and reservation of the sacrament are generally similar to, but more detailed than, OR 50.25.97-99 (= PRG 99.280).

Textual notes. Here, exceptionally, Stage II (*Mart* and *Do*) coincides exactly with Stage I. *Sam*₂ agrees closely with Stage III through r 12-13.

Liturgical notes. Certain rubrics at r 12-13 in Stages I-II refer to the general presence at the Mass of *clerici* and the *populi* (both *uiri* and *feminae*). By contrast Stage III (+ *Sam*₂) speaks of *fratres*, though it does also refer to *populi* in the congregation.

The Ohio State University.

WRITING GODFREY OF AMIENS:
GUIBERT OF NOGENT AND NICHOLAS OF SAINT-CRÉPIN
BETWEEN SANCTITY, IDEOLOGY, AND SOCIETY*

John S. Ott

THE considerable body of work left to us by Guibert, the much-studied abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy († ca. 1124), has been pored over by historians since the seventeenth century. His autobiography, the *Monodiae*, was the first to appear in medieval Europe since the *Confessions* of Augustine. It has been translated into several modern languages (including English, French, and Italian) and is still widely read both for its unique perspective on contemporary events in the regions northeast of Paris, and—for the time—its penetrating investigation of human psychology. Guibert dedicated his numerous writings to fellow abbots, local bishops, and church officials, and clearly he hoped that they, along with his memoirs, would be read and circulated. In this wish, as in other aspects of his somewhat difficult life, the abbot of Nogent was probably disappointed. The most recent and authoritative intellectual biography of Guibert has uncovered little evidence that his writings enjoyed particularly wide readership, much less a literary influence, among later generations of scholars.¹

Nevertheless, we can surmise the identities of at least two individuals who read and digested Guibert's autobiography. They were an otherwise obscure monk of the monastery of Saint-Crépin of Soissons named Nicholas, and the

* This article has benefited immensely from the input of several people, notably Thomas Head and Jay Rubenstein, and from the careful editorial work of Jonathan Black. None of them should be held accountable for errors or omissions herein. Parts of this paper were written during a Mellon Fellowship under the welcome auspices of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in 2004–2005. I would like to dedicate this article to my grandmother, Virginia Ott, a first-rate historian in her own right.

¹ For complete consideration of the number and provenance of manuscripts containing Guibert's work, including the authenticity of several putative autographs, see R. B. C. Huygens, *La tradition manuscrite de Guibert de Nogent*, Instrumenta Patristica 21 (The Hague and Steenbrugge, 1991); and M.-C. Garand, *Guibert de Nogent et ses secrétaires*, Corpus Christianorum Autographa Medii Aevi 2 (Turnhout, 1995), chap. 2. Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, 2002), 73–75, 128–30, 198–99, 209–16, has outlined the claims and counterclaims in the debate.

dean of the cathedral chapter in the same city, Rohard. Nicholas authored the *vita* of Godfrey of Moulincourt, Guibert's immediate predecessor as abbot of Nogent and later bishop of Amiens (abbot ca. 1085–1104, bishop 1104–15). He dedicated the work to Rohard, who as dean held office from 1126 to 1139.² Although the evidence is circumstantial, this essay attempts to establish that the composition of the *Vita sancti Godefridi Ambianensis episcopi* was partly motivated by the depiction of Godfrey—generally ambivalent and at times deeply hostile—in Guibert's memoirs and his treatise on saints' relics.³ Broad similarities do link the texts. Nicholas's *vita* and Guibert's memoirs both treat elements of Godfrey's abbacy at Nogent, his rise to the episcopacy, his difficulties with his flock, and his retreat to La Chartreuse. While one text is autobiographical and the other hagiographical, both authors wrote to their contemporaries with moral and didactic purpose. They used real and imagined sermons and exempla as vehicles for conveying their ideological views on a range of topics.⁴ Each man was either a first-hand or near eye-witness to the main events of Godfrey's life (though Nicholas seems to have been fairly young when the bishop died).⁵

More to the point of the texts' interrelationship, Rohard was Godfrey's nephew, and the bishop's bones were entombed and revered as sacred at

² On Rohard's tenure, which can be established with some certainty from the available diplomatic evidence, see L. Jacquemin, "Annales de la vie de Josselin de Vierzi, 57^e évêque de Soissons (1126–1152)," in *Quatrièmes mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge*, ed. A. Luchaire (Paris, 1905), 140–41. Rohard was probably the *presbyter* of the same name who witnessed charters for the bishops of Soissons from at least 1110. About Nicholas we know even less; he may have been precentor of Saint-Crépin about the time he wrote the *vita*, since a monk bearing this name appears in an 1135 charter for the abbey; see William Mendal Newman, "L'acte de Téulfe pour Saint-Crépin-le-Grand de Soissons (1135)," *Revue Mabillon* 58 (1973): 165–75.

³ The modern edition of the *Vita sancti Godefridi Ambianensis episcopi* was published by Albert Poncelet in *Acta sanctorum*, November, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1910), 905–44. The best edition of Guibert's memoirs (*De vita sua, sive Monodiae*) is that of Edmond-René Labande, ed. and French trans., *Guibert de Nogent: Autobiographie* (Paris, 1981), which should be supplemented with the textual corrections supplied by François Dolbeau, "Deux nouveaux manuscrits des 'Mémoires' de Guibert de Nogent," *Sacris erudiri. Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen* 26 (1983): 155–76, at 169–76.

⁴ See most recently Trudy Lemmers, "The Crisis of Episcopal Authority in Guibert of Nogent's *Monodiae*," in *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power: Western Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. A.-J. A. Bijsterveld, Henk Teunis, and Andrew Wareham, International Medieval Research: Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, vol. 6 (Turnhout, 1999), 37–50. Sermons form the didactic and thematic nuclei of each text. On sermons' connections with audiences, see the explanation and typology of Beverley Mayne Kienzle in her introduction to *The Sermon*, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental*, fasc. 81–83 (Turnhout, 2000), 143–74; her other contribution in the same volume, "The Twelfth-Century Monastic Sermon," 271–323, is also instructive.

⁵ A Nicholas is named as precentor at Saint-Crépin in an 1135 charter.

Saint-Crépin. Guibert and Nicholas drew evidence from the same pool of informants and eyewitnesses to Godfrey's conduct, namely from the monks of Nogent and Rohard himself. Above all, Nicholas and Rohard had easy access to several of Guibert's works.⁶ They could have perused a manuscript containing Guibert's treatise on saints and their relics, now known as *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, which mentioned Godfrey in unflattering terms, at one of a couple possible places. The surviving original from Nogent (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2900) was sent to Siegfried of Saint-Vincent of Laon (abbot from 1120), and R. B. C. Huygens believes that a copy, now lost, probably landed across town from Saint-Crépin at the rival abbey of Saint-Médard.⁷ There in the *De sanctis* Nicholas and Rohard would have found reference to Guibert's memoirs, perhaps setting them off in pursuit of a copy at Nogent or Laon.⁸ Rohard is an especially important link between Guibert's *Monodiae* and Nicholas's *vita*. Not only was he related to Godfrey, but Nicholas stresses that he had stayed with and been educated by him "from the cradle," and that Rohard availed "to speak out the more truthfully" about the bishop's distinguished words and deeds the more familiar he became with them.⁹ We do not know for certain how, or whether, Rohard responded to his use by Guibert as an eyewitness condemning his uncle's actions at Amiens. It is possible that Nicholas's characterization of Rohard in

⁶ Guibert had dedicated his *Contra iudaizantem et Iudeos* to Rohard's predecessor as dean, Bernard. This text survives in at least four manuscripts from the twelfth century, none from Soissons or Nogent. See the edition by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 171 (Turnhout, 2000), 309–73, here at 312–15. The bishop of Soissons, Lisiard (1108–26), received from Guibert the *Dei gesta per Francos*.

⁷ See Huygens, *La tradition manuscrite*, 20–22, 40–41, 74–75; Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127 (Turnhout, 1993), 10, 13–20; and Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 212–16. On the reception of the *De sanctis* at Saint-Médard, see Denis Defente, ed., *Saint-Médard: Trésors d'une abbaye royale* (Soissons, 1996), 118–20.

⁸ The memoirs are referenced early in book one of *De sanctis*, CCCM 127:99. A Laon manuscript survived as the base text for the only extant, complete copy of Guibert's memoirs, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Baluze 42, fols. 30r–107v; see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 60–61.

⁹ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi*, Prologue (ed. Poncelet, 906): "Sed primo videndum quod eorum quae dicturi sumus pauca quidem proprio lumine, reliqua vero omnia veridicorum virorum, qui illum familiarius videre simul et audire promeruere, fideli omnimodis relatione accepimus, . . . videlicet . . . Rohardi etiam venerabilis viri, qui nunc, Deo dispensante, sanctae Suessionensis matris ecclesiae decani fungitur officio; quem idem Dei servus [that is, Godfrey] ab ipsis cunabulis,—nam erat ex sorore ipsius, quae dicebatur Hodierna, nepos,—secum retinens educavit et ad reverendos mores provexit . . . qui de illo tanto valet verius proloqui, quanto ipsius praeclara dicta vel gesta omni que veneratione dulcedinis amplectenda familiarius intueri promeruit. . . ."

the *vita*'s prologue suggests the latter's disdain for Guibert's use of his unfavorable testimony to describe some of Godfrey's actions.¹⁰

Literary and oral competition over the historical and social memory of the dead was commonplace in medieval historiography, and to find contrasting portraits of a figure like Godfrey is unsurprising.¹¹ I propose here a comparison and consideration of the authors' representation of Godfrey of Moulin-court; it is, however, a comparison governed by a select set of concerns. For each writer, the former bishop of Amiens embodied a cluster of associated experiences, memories, and beliefs about contemporary society. These reflected, first and obviously, their perceptions of the man himself, and second, their perspectives on the ideals and social realities that molded episcopal office. Episcopal office in the first half of the twelfth century lay at the very heart of the conflicted world of political and ecclesiastical preferment; debates over the proper equilibrium between professional advancement and pastoral responsibilities; the transformation of religious life in northern Europe and the flourishing of a new monasticism; the proliferation of relics and their cults; and the rise of urban communes and a money-driven mercantile class. A flurry of treatises, exempla, and legal statutes addressed expectations of episcopal office and (less frequently) episcopal conduct in the early twelfth century.¹² On these issues, Guibert and Nicholas wrote at length, a generation apart. As a common vantage point from which to assess competing views on

¹⁰ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 414); and see p. 342 below.

¹¹ As general background to the tension between authorial invention and convention in history writing, particularly with regard to stock figures and set speeches, see the cautions of Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge, 1991). For a specific example of authorial creativity and what it reveals about audience, one might compare the varied hagiographical accounts of the life and miracles of Thomas Becket, for which see Didier Lett, "Deux hagiographes, un saint et un roi: Conformisme et créativité dans les deux recueils de *miracula* de Thomas Becket," in *Auctor et Auctoritas. Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale. Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines (14–16 juin 1999)*, ed. Michel Zimmermann (Paris, 2001), 201–16.

¹² Jean Gaudemet has spoken of a "théologie de l'épiscopat" elaborated in the twelfth century; see his "Patristique et pastorale: La contribution de Grégoire le Grand au 'Miroir de l'Evêque' dans le Décret de Gratien," in *Études d'histoire du droit canonique, dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1965), 1:129. Trudy Lemmers's recent monograph, *Guibert van Nogent's "Monodiae": Een twaalfde-eeuwse visie op kerkelijk leiderschap*, *Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen* 60 (Hilversum, 1998), argues that the memoirs constitute an extended consideration on the ideal qualities of pastoral leadership. Besides the works cited in the footnotes below, two starting points for debates on clerical and episcopal office in the eleventh century are I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester, 1978), and Johannes Laudage, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum im 11. Jahrhundert*, *Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 22 (Cologne, 1984).

the expectations and authority of the episcopate within an important intellectual circle around the cities of Laon and Soissons, one can hardly do better than their biographical sketches of Godfrey. Beyond comparing their representations of Bishop Godfrey, this paper also considers how audiences and social realities, those often silent partners in narrative discourses, may have influenced the authors' ideologies.

Whether Nicholas and Rohard had read Guibert or not, Guibert and Nicholas's divergent accounts cluster around several flashpoints of contemporary religious and social life in the early twelfth century, explored below: (1) the bishop's proper relationship to and perpetuation of relics, miracle stories, and saints' cults; (2) episcopal response to change in ecclesiastical and monastic life and emergent debates on the ideal of pastoral leadership; and (3) the role of communes and urban communities in a changing society.¹³

DIFFERENT LIVES, SIMILAR CAREERS IN CHANGING TIMES

To understand better the authors' remembrances of the former bishop of Amiens, we must necessarily consider the parallel lives and careers of Godfrey and Guibert before turning to Guibert and Nicholas's portraits of Godfrey. The men were close contemporaries whose lives and careers, up to a point, followed a similar trajectory. They were born within a decade of one another, between 1055 and 1065, and pledged at birth to clerical vocations.¹⁴ As children, each entered monastic orders at a religious house close to his birthplace, and both showed precocity in learning their letters.¹⁵ Of the two, only Guibert channeled his acumen into original writings, and these yielded for him an academic reputation within the intellectual circles then forming around the two Anselms, the abbot of Bec and the schoolmaster of Laon.¹⁶

¹³ Although not pursued here, the social, political, and religious roles of women would be another obvious point of comparison, given their prominent place in the two texts.

¹⁴ That Godfrey was born in 1065 or 1066 is noted in his *Vita* 3.42, although 1060 has also been proposed. Biographical surveys may be found in Nicholas Huyghbaert, "Geoffroy, évêque d'Amiens," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 20, fasc. 115–16 (Paris, 1984), cols. 528–29, and above all Laurent Morelle, "Un 'grégorien' au miroir de ses chartes: Geoffroy, évêque d'Amiens (1104–1115)," in *À propos des actes d'évêques. Hommage à Lucie Fossier*, ed. Michel Parisse (Nancy, 1991), 177–218. Guibert's birth has been variously dated between 1053 and 1064. The suggestion of R. I. Moore, "Guibert of Nogent and his World," in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), 114 n. 36, that 1064 be favored must be dismissed in light of the erroneously translated passage from Guibert's memoirs on which he bases his argument.

¹⁵ Saint-Quentin of Péronne in Godfrey's case, Saint-Germer of Fly in Guibert's.

¹⁶ On Guibert's association with these men, especially Anselm of Bec, see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, chap. 2.

The monks eventually advanced to successive abbacies at Nogent under the gazes of their mothers, who were still alive and attached to Nogent (Godfrey's) and Saint-Germer of Fly (Guibert's), respectively.¹⁷ Each presided for about twenty years, Godfrey from 1085 to 1104, Guibert from 1104 until 1124 or so. The similarities do not end here. Both men held audiences with Pope Paschal II, and both experienced brief periods of exile from their offices; in short, they moved in the same professional circles and knew the same people. Finally, based on what we know about their last days, it is probable that neither departed this world with his mind fully at peace.

How Guibert and Nicholas recount these experiences diverges wildly. When Godfrey assumed office at Nogent, he was only twenty years old, full of youthful dynamism and well served by his familial connections to the lords of Coucy. Godfrey likely received preferment for the abbacy owing to the influence of Enguerrand, lord of Boves and Coucy, and the bishop of Laon, Hélinand.¹⁸ Indeed, Godfrey's connection with the house of Coucy, and Coucy's links to the abbey of Nogent and clerical personnel in the sees of Amiens, Soissons, and Laon, are attested in Nicholas and Guibert's biographies and confirmed by diplomatic evidence.¹⁹ Perhaps aware of Guibert's blistering treatment of the Coucy clan, Nicholas treated Godfrey's involvement in the familial network of Coucy delicately.²⁰ He avoids detailed discussion of the role of Enguerrand in the pages of Godfrey's biography. Around the periphery of Coucy's sphere of influence, however, Nicholas bestowed praise more

¹⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 1.19, 2.4 (ed. Labande, 166, 242); Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 1.1 (ed. Poncelet, 907).

¹⁸ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 1.18 (ed. Poncelet, 911). For Hélinand and Enguerrand's bequests to Nogent, see Annie Dufour-Malbezin, ed., *Actes des évêques de Laon des origines à 1151* (Paris, 2001), nos. 39, 47–48, 53, pp. 115, 121–22, 126–27; and Maurice Prou, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1059–1108)* (Paris, 1908), no. 134, pp. 340–41. Godfrey witnessed two charters issued by Enguerrand, bishop of Laon (Hélinand's successor); see *Actes des évêques de Laon*, nos. 54–55, pp. 127–30.

¹⁹ Nogent was claimed as a dynastic foundation by the lords of Coucy. For an overview of the lineage and their social and religious networks, see Dominique Barthélemy, *Les deux âges de la seigneurie banale: Pouvoir et société dans la terre des sires de Coucy (milieu XI^e–milieu XIII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1984), chap. 1; and Morelle, "Un 'grégorien,'" 183–84, 215–16. Enguerrand also witnessed or consented to a number of episcopal charters in the early years of Godfrey's rule at Amiens. While a complete overview of the family's connections to the surrounding sees is impossible here, it should suffice to note that Enguerrand's brother, Anselm of Caix, was an archdeacon at Amiens and (likely) bishop of Beauvais; his sister Matilda was successively abbess of Jouarre and Notre-Dame of Soissons; Enguerrand's cousin of the same name was bishop of Laon (1098–1104); his own son Enguerrand became bishop of Amiens (1115–27), and his grandson Hugh was a canon at Amiens and later bishop of Rouen (†1164).

²⁰ Guibert's negative views of the Coucy are recounted in various places in his memoirs, e.g., 3.3 and 3.14.

freely. Ada of Roucy (Marle), known to readers of Guibert's memoirs as "that disgraceful mother" of Thomas of Marle, Nicholas lauds as a "distinguished example of all charity and chastity to the mortals of her age."²¹ He reserves weighty commendation as well for the charitable activities of Emma of Guny, patroness of Nogent and wife of the castellan of Guny, a vassal of Coucy.²² The monk of Saint-Crépin is, moreover, one of the relatively few ecclesiastics to praise (fleetingly) Thomas of Marle, Enguerrand's eldest son and an arch-villain in the histories of Guibert and Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis.²³

Guibert followed Godfrey into the same office as a forty- or fifty-year-old, without, he emphasizes pointedly, preferment owing to his birth or status.²⁴ The contrast between this assertion and his sketch in the chapter immediately preceding it of Godfrey's "shrewdness" (*astutia*) in secular matters leads one to think that Guibert wished to imply shortcomings in his predecessor's conduct.²⁵ The disparity between the accounts of the two men's professional careers appears even starker when we learn that Godfrey was soon recruited for promotion to the wealthier abbacy of Saint-Rémy of Reims at the tender age of 31 or 32, while Guibert's election to Nogent was followed by his tempo-

²¹ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 400): "Ignominiosam enim valde matrem habuit . . ."; Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 1.27 (ed. Poncelet, 915): "Adeleydis castri Cociaci vicecomitissa, totius largitatis et castitatis sua aetate mortalibus praeclara praebens exempla. . . ." Ada withdrew to Nogent, presumably after her repudiation by Enguerrand.

²² Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 1.31 (ed. Poncelet, 917); on the Guny, see William Mendel Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie (XII^e-XIII^e siècle)*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1971), 2:95-100; and Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, 150-51.

²³ Nicholas celebrates him as "most famous in military matters" (*famosus in militia*), a probable reference to his reputed bravery during the First Crusade (*Vita sancti Godefridi* 1.18, ed. Poncelet, 911). Compare with Guibert, who makes him out to be a robber of the poor and pilgrims going to Jerusalem (*Monodiae* 3.11, ed. Labande, 362). The attempted rehabilitation of Thomas by Jacques Chaurand, *Thomas de Marle, sire de Coucy, seigneur de la Fère, Vervins, Boves, Pinon et autres lieux* (Vervins, 1963), 112-26, must be weighed together with Thomas's association with Emicho of Flonheim and the attacks on the Rhineland Jewish communities, recounted by Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844-95), 4:495, and noted by Kenneth Stow, "Conversion, Apostasy, and Apprehensiveness: Emicho of Flonheim and the Fear of Jews in the Twelfth Century," *Speculum* 76 (2001): 911-33, at 928; see also Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986), 51. For a balanced view, see in the first place Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, 69-99.

²⁴ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 2.3 (ed. Labande, 234).

²⁵ *Ibid.* 2.2 (ed. Labande, 230). Godfrey is also described as "argutior" in his dealings with external matters. Even if Guibert did not mean to suggest anything untoward, one comes away with the impression that Nicholas thought he had, for in several places Nicholas defends Godfrey's conduct and the canonical uprightness of his election and distribution of the sacraments, and puts his defense into the words of authoritative witnesses like Guigo of La Chartreuse and the archbishop of Reims; see *Vita sancti Godefridi* 2.8-9 (ed. Poncelet, 931-32).

rary exile at the hands of its monks. Remembering his difficulties, Guibert long harbored doubts about his fitness for the abbatial office.²⁶ Guibert's qualms about his stewardship of Nogent may also have been rooted in the abbey's historic dependence on the generosity of the lords of Coucy—a relationship fostered by his predecessor and an unavoidable fact of his own abbacy—and his personal disgust with that family's personal mores and involvement in ecclesiastical politics. In short, whereas Godfrey seems to have used the Coucys' largesse to his personal and institutional benefit, Guibert presents himself as profoundly troubled by the abbey's dependency on their lucre and his inability to change the situation.

One final experience, common to each man's life, bears comment. In a remarkably honest passage from his autobiography, Guibert describes how he journeyed to Burgundy in the company of other clerks and abbots from the diocese for an audience with Pope Paschal II.²⁷ His purpose was to defend the election of King Henry I's former chancellor, Gaudry, to the bishopric of Laon the previous year. Guibert notes quite candidly that he and his compatriots approached the papal curia with their pockets full of gold.²⁸ This admission comes on the heels of his lengthy public defense of Gaudry, a candidate he knew to be unfit for episcopal office. The pope pressed the abbot of Nogent for the facts behind the election. Guibert, timidly, responded with sentences "not veering too far from the truth" and shifted his focus, "talking about the pressing needs of the church of Laon," which had by then been vacant for more than two years.²⁹ Guibert presents his eloquent testimony as

²⁶ Doubts likely grounded in the reality of his poor suitability for the position; see Moore, "Guibert of Nogent and His World," 115–16; Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 192–93; and idem, "Principled Passion or Ironic Detachment? The Gregorian Reform as Experienced by Guibert of Nogent," *The Haskins Society Journal* 10 (2001): 127–41. Lemmers, *Guibert van Nogents "Monodiae,"* by contrast, favors the interpretation that Guibert's own experiences were meant to serve as a general template for both individual reform and, through individual examples, the reform of the church itself; see pp. 120–23, 165–73.

²⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.4. Paschal II was at that time in the midst of a nearly year-long journey through France and Burgundy; see for his itinerary in late 1106/7 Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II, 1100–1110*, Studies and Texts 43 (Toronto, 1978), 32–33, 74–76, 102–3.

²⁸ One marvels at this confession given Guibert's aversion to simony and his conviction that greed and bribery had weakened the relationships among the social orders, a recurring theme in his autobiography. Yet he is generally consistent throughout the memoirs in admitting his own hypocrisy—or, put more generously, his helplessness before entrenched practices; for a further example, see his *De sanctis*, CCCM 127:98. For the power of gold to alter social structures, consult Reinhold Kaiser, "Das Geld in der Autobiographie des Abtes Guibert von Nogent," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 69 (1987): 289–314, esp. 298.

²⁹ I have used the English translation of Paul J. Archambault, *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent* (University Park, Pa., 1996), 132; the Latin (3.4, ed. Labande,

having the desired effect and winning papal assent for the election; from the members of the papal court, however, it reaped only empty flattery and extortion.

Godfrey, too, appeared at Paschal's court, but under very different circumstances. He made the transalpine trek to Rome in the latter half of 1105 to defend his privileges of visitation and ordination at the abbey of Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme, from which the abbot, Lambert, had protested its exclusion.³⁰ Nicholas devotes one of the lengthiest sections of his *vita*, some fifteen chapters in book two, to their confrontation and its effects.³¹ Briefly, Lambert brought papal privileges, which claimed the abbey's exemption from episcopal oversight, before the provincial council at Reims in early July 1105. The papal bulls were probably forged, and the case went on appeal to Rome.³² The monks got to the pope first, writes Nicholas, paving their way to a favorable judgment with gold.³³ The greedy court officials then expected a second payout from Godfrey. They were disappointed and in turn accused the bishop of needlessly vexing the monks of Saint-Valéry.³⁴ At this, Godfrey turned on Paschal, reprimanding him sharply: "O pastor of orthodox mother church, Christ wished you to govern his place for this, that you might distinguish light from the shadows, and the true from the false. For just as the limbs are ruled by the head and the vices of the members are corrected by its will, so not only the inauspicious act but indeed the thought of everyone should be restrained by you, and, so that it may not get the upper hand, ought be cut back as far as possible to the roots."³⁵ Godfrey left Rome and a stunned Paschal to make a

288) reads "sub dictionibus quidem compositis verba tepentia, sed non penitus a vero deviantia" and "ad necessitatem quae ecclesiae imminebat, verba transtuli. . . ."

³⁰ Godfrey's voyage to Rome can be pinpointed between his known presence at Reims for a July 1105 council and his concession of a charter in Amiens in January 1106. Given that his presence is attested in Amiens and northwestern Europe in January, July, September, and October 1106, a voyage in this year seems highly unlikely, but see the chronological table of Albert Poncelet in the prefatory material to the *Vita*, pp. 897–98.

³¹ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 2.9–24 (ed. Poncelet, 920–24).

³² See on this event Clovis Brunel, "Les actes faux de l'abbaye de Saint-Valéry," *Le moyen âge* 22 (1909): 94–116, 178–96. Brunel (190–94) accords probable veracity to much of Nicholas's account of the legal proceedings.

³³ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 2.14 (ed. Poncelet, 922): "auro vel argento profusius erogato."

³⁴ Ibid. 2.15 (ed. Poncelet, 922): "Quae dum perorasset, verba ipsius [Godfrey's] a circumstantibus vehementer oppugnari, monachos ab illo iniuste vexari . . . ideoque illum iustam habere causam infitiri."

³⁵ "O pastor orthodoxae matris ecclesiae, ad hoc te Christus loco suo voluit praeesse ut lucem a tenebris, verum a falso discerneres; nempe sicut capite membra reguntur atque ad illius nutum artuum vitia corriguntur, sic a te universorum non solum infaustus actus, verum et cogi

pilgrimage to Bari. When Paschal learned about Godfrey's sanctity and how "justly and piously" he had become bishop, he beat his chest in self-recrimination. Later, at a second audience with the bishop, the pope now rose up "reverently" to greet him, spoke with him at length about worldly and divine matters, and affirmed under papal seal Amiens's privileges over Saint-Valéry.³⁶

Contrasting Nicholas's account of Godfrey's papal audience with Guibert's personal experience reveals certain descriptive consistencies, above all about the venality of the curia and Paschal's implication in the exchange of money for favors.³⁷ Whereas Guibert admits his complicity in the curial culture of payment and preferment, however, Nicholas's Godfrey is unequivocal in his denunciation of it, emerging from his hearing morally justified, reproving the pope himself. Guibert yields to papal prerogative; Godfrey defends truth and the church committed to him. If we accept that Nicholas had read Guibert's memoirs, one cannot but conclude from these nearly parallel accounts that Nicholas's rendering of Godfrey's visit and Paschal's demeanor owed much to Guibert's own less-than-flattering descriptions of his personal experiences at court.³⁸

Ultimately, even Godfrey's close connections to the Coucy dynasty could not insulate him from a troubled episcopacy. Like Guibert, Godfrey experienced exile—possibly self-imposed—and left his see in November 1114 to seek solace among the community of monks at La Chartreuse. Shortly afterward, Godfrey died near Soissons with his diocese in the midst of a bloody, two-year siege between its castellan, the lords of Coucy, and the king of France. Guibert's life and career ended quietly, perhaps bitterly, a decade

tatio reprimenda, ac ne quoquo modo praevalere queat, pro posse radicitus est reseccandus'" (ibid.).

³⁶ This account of events contrasts with the papal bull Paschal II issued for Saint-Valéry on 12 March 1106, which named the monastery as "under the jurisdiction of the holy Roman Church" and forbade the exercise of "sacerdotal privilege" within the monastery (Paschal II, *Epistolae et privilegia*, no. 175, PL 163:184–85: "ipsum etiam monasterium, juxta praedecessorum nostrorum statuta, semper sub jurisdictione sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae conservetur. Nulli etiam sacerdotum in eodem monasterio potestatem exercere liceat . . ."); see Brunel, "Les actes faux," 179–81, 184–86, 194–95. Jean-François Lemarignier, "L'exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme grégorienne," in his *Structures politiques et religieuses dans la France du haut Moyen Âge: Recueil d'articles rassemblés par ses disciples* (Rouen, 1995), 285–337, at 298 and n. 4, considers Saint-Valéry's bull from Paschal authentic.

³⁷ His predecessor Urban II's court had been savagely satirized for the same kinds of abuses; see Rodney M. Thomson, ed. and trans., *Tractatus Garsiae, or The Translation of the Relics of SS. Gold and Silver* (Leiden, 1973).

³⁸ None of this changes the fact that of the two reports Guibert's is undoubtedly the more faithful.

later.³⁹ At that point, the fight over Godfrey's memory was joined. One of its chief points of contention concerned the pastor's proper relationship with the miraculous and relics.

EPISCOPAL AUTHORITY AND THE VERIFICATION OF RELICS AND SAINTS' CULTS

Guibert's much-discussed position on relics and relic cults needs no elaboration here.⁴⁰ He was intellectually hostile neither to relics nor to miracles per se, but he demanded that ecclesiastical authorities promote cults and affirm wonders responsibly and with recourse to authoritative, written tradition.⁴¹ Left to their own devices, the masses were all too credulous and literal-minded, Guibert believed: "While the clergy keeps silence, old hags and crowds of vile little women chant fabricated stories about such [saintly] patrons while working at their treadles and looms."⁴² The loom, the communal well, the hearth—these were places where confabulations about dubious saints put souls at risk.⁴³ The learned, too, could fabricate stories and pander to popular fancies, and Guibert had harsh words for prelates and abbots

³⁹ On Guibert's state of mind near the end of his life, see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 197–99.

⁴⁰ His theoretical position is fully outlined in his *De sanctis*. For analysis and historiography, see Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), 244–53; Henri Platelle, "Guibert de Nogent et le *De pignoribus sanctorum*: Richesses et limites d'une critique médiévale des reliques," in *Les reliques: Objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer), 4–6 septembre 1997*, ed. Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvétius, *Hagiologia* 1 (Turnhout, 1999), 109–21; Karin Fuchs, "Guibert de Nogent—ein Wundererzähler zwischen Theorie und Praxis," in *Mirakel im Mittelalter: Konzeptionen, Erscheinungsformen, Deutungen*, ed. Martin Heinzelmann, Klaus Herbers, and Dieter R. Bauer, *Beiträge zur Hagiographie* 3 (Stuttgart, 2002), 311–33; and Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 5–7, 124–30.

⁴¹ This was not an especially novel concern among proponents of church reform; see also Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories* 4.6–7, ed. and trans. John France (Oxford, 1989), 180–82. Guibert's position must be viewed as the product of a literate, clerical, and Francia-centered intellectual tradition, with the biases against oral traditions that implies; see Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, 251–52; and Julia M. H. Smith, "Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850–1250," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 309–43.

⁴² Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis*, CCCM 127:100; trans. Thomas Head in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York, 2001), 415. The slander against the popular exchanges of women weavers and cloth-makers was an old one; see for example Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, 8, citing Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber ad Gebhardum*, MGH Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti (Hannover, 1891), 1:420.

⁴³ Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis*, CCCM 127:100; trans. Head, *Medieval Hagiography*, 415.

swayed by claims to holiness unsubstantiated by a textual tradition.⁴⁴ The bishop of Amiens topped a ready list of examples.

In the first book of his *De sanctis*, composed between 1116 and 1119/20, Guibert relates the following.⁴⁵ When Godfrey transferred to a new reliquary bones he thought were those of Firminus, the city's founding martyr-bishop, he uncovered "not even a single letter of testimony" (*ne unius quidem litterae testimonium*) of their authenticity.⁴⁶ Untroubled, he had a lead tablet inscribed with Firminus's name and sealed it into the new container. Guibert heard this information directly from Godfrey's lips, and, he claims, from the bishop of Arras.⁴⁷ To Guibert, the glaring offense of this was that the monks of Saint-Denis had a superior—because historically established and written—claim to Firminus's body. Reason (*ratio*) dictated that Firminus's body actually resided near Paris, not Amiens. What, he asked, could be a greater sacrilege than to venerate the profane as something divine, as Godfrey blatantly had?⁴⁸ Guibert nevertheless affirmed that the confusion over authentication, if a serious hindrance to Christian salvation, was but a symptom of a greater underlying problem. Namely, the widespread practice of inserting bones and dust into boxes and shrines ran counter to God's intention that human flesh, even saintly flesh, return to the dust from whence it came. Godfrey deluded himself and misled his flock because he pursued devotional practices having nothing to do with scriptural precedent, and, by enclosing the bones in a gilt container, contravened Jesus' own humble burial in an earthen cave.⁴⁹

Guibert's skepticism over Godfrey's claims to validate the holy went deeper still, perhaps stoked by the perceived debacle with Firminus's bones. Guibert was a devoted raconteur of miracle stories, and included numerous

⁴⁴ Notably the monks of Saint-Médard of Soissons, whose claims to possess the baby-tooth of Christ could only be convincing to the "uncultivated and ignorant"; cited by Pirenne, "Guibert de Nogent et le *De pignoribus sanctorum*," 112–13. Learned men from clerical circles were nevertheless his chief guarantors of a miracle's authenticity; see Fuchs, "Guibert de Nogent—ein Wundererzähler," 320–21.

⁴⁵ On the text's date, see Garand, *Guibert de Nogent et ses secrétaires*, 52–55.

⁴⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis*, CCCM 127:103; trans. Head, *Medieval Hagiography*, 417. Klaus Guth, *Guibert von Nogent und die hochmittelalterliche Kritik an der Reliquienverehrung*, Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige 21 (Otto beuren, 1970), 87–92, treats this and other incidents of competing claims to authentic relics Guibert discusses.

⁴⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis*, CCCM 127:103: "ab Atrebatensi et ipso Ambianensi episcopis audiui quod refero." The bishop of Arras would have been either Lambert (1094–1115) or Robert (1115–31), probably the former.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 104: "Quid enim magis sacrilegum quam pro divino excolere non divinum?"

⁴⁹ Ibid., 104–6. Although Guibert never states it overtly, one suspects that he viewed this kind of subterfuge on a par with the declamations of relic impresarios who whipped up enthusiasm for saints' cults and simultaneously emptied peoples' pockets (ibid., 97–98).

wonders in his historical writings, his treatise on relics, and his short work *In Praise of Holy Mary*.⁵⁰ The latter work is one of Guibert's least known; it survives complete in only one manuscript from the twelfth century.⁵¹ In it is the story of a boy named Peter from the region of Grenoble, who, while out plowing at his stepfather's command in disregard of a Marian feast day, was struck by a horrific case of ergotism.⁵² The ergotism consumed the flesh of his foot down to the bone and began working its way into his upper body. The wretched youth prayed for, and received, healing for his foot at a church dedicated to Mary Magdalene, and eventually his piety and dedication to Mary and the martyr Hippolytus won him complete restoration of his health.⁵³ Peter's recovery was then announced by the *familia* of a knight where he was residing, and he was examined by the nobility and bishop of Viviers, whose parishioner he was. The bishop's inspection was inconclusive—no scar remained from the wound—so Peter retreated into seclusion in order to redeem God's gift to him.⁵⁴ A later miracle established the validity of the youth's claims, however, for some of the bishop's knights witnessed the devil visiting his cell in the form of a shapely temptress. Peter strangled the fiend with a priest's stole, and the corpse revealed the true identity of his antagonist. Guibert reports all this in sharp relief, and cites his sources. The bishop of Viviers, Leger, had told the story to King Louis of France and William, schoolmaster and bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne (1113–21). William then passed it on to Bartholomew, bishop of Laon (1113–51), and to Guibert.⁵⁵ But

⁵⁰ This work is the subject of Karin Fuchs's recently concluded doctoral dissertation, "Wundererzählungen in dem Werken Guiberts de Nogent" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Zürich, 2003).

⁵¹ Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Phillipps 1695; for a description, see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 131; Huygens, *La tradition manuscrite*, 48–49, 56–57. There are numerous manuscript fragments of the work, including several of the Marian miracles Guibert relates; *ibid.*, 58–60.

⁵² Guibert of Nogent, *De laude sanctae Mariae* 11 (PL 156:568–72). The miracle is catalogued by Albert Poncelet, "Miraculorum B.V. Mariae quae saec. VI–XV latine conscripta sunt Index," *Analecta Bollandiana* 31 (1902): 241–360, here at 296, no. 795.

⁵³ Guibert of Nogent, *De laude sanctae Mariae* 11 (PL 156:568–69).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* (PL 156:571): "Subtilius quaerunt [the bishop and his men], nec mora vulneris signa conspiciunt, nec diffitentur mirabilem Deum."

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* (PL 156:572): "Et hoc quam nuperrime a Vivariensi auditum Laudunensi episcopo domino Bartholomaeo, et mihi cum ante paucos dies Catalaunensis ipse narraverit. . . ." This passage has been used to situate the manuscript's date of redaction. John F. Benton, ed. and trans., *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1064?–c. 1125)* (New York, 1970), placed it after the October 1119 Council of Reims, where King Louis, William of Châlons, and Leger of Viviers were all present. However, one small detail muddies this otherwise clear chronology—the bishop of Viviers present at Reims was not the aforementioned Leger (1096–1119), but his successor Hatto (1119–25), as Ordericus Vitalis reports in *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–80),

the abbot of Nogent had *already* heard a version of the story, one he found in part objectionable. That version had come to him through Godfrey of Amiens.

This second version of the miracle contains manifestly older elements than the story Guibert eventually recorded in the *De laude sanctae Mariae*, and was already circulating in northern France by March 1115. Its author, a monk or canon, remains anonymous.⁵⁶ Godfrey brought the tale back from his four-month residency at La Chartreuse, in the very province the miracle was said to have happened, where he had heard it from the Carthusian monks and the bishop of Grenoble.⁵⁷ Having been ordered back to Reims to reassume his see, Godfrey returned in the company of the bishop of Viviers, Leger. Leger's business at Reims is unknown, but there Godfrey told the story, and Leger confirmed it.⁵⁸ Before his death eight months later, the bishop of Amiens re-

6:272–74. The evidence may be reconciled as follows: Leger of Viviers and Godfrey relayed the miracle story to those assembled for the provincial council at Reims in March 1115, as the alternate version of the miracle story states. At some point in the next few months, Leger passed it on to Louis VI; or, alternatively, the king could have heard the story directly from Godfrey, since Louis was at Amiens for the siege in April 1115. Bartholomew of Laon and Guibert either had heard about Peter at Reims in 1115 or at the July 1115 council at Châlons called by Cono, the papal legate. Bartholomew was present at both, and Guibert was definitely present at Châlons, and probably present at Reims, too. By its second or third retelling, the story had acquired the supplemental bit about Peter's retreat into a monastery, for which see below. In light of these new details, it is improbable that Guibert wrote the events down after the October 1119 Council of Reims, as Benton would have had it. At best one can say that the *De laude sanctae Mariae* was still being composed after July 1115 and before Leger's death in 1119—which narrows the window established by Huygens, *La tradition manuscrite*, 57, by a couple of years.

⁵⁶ This earlier account was first put down in writing after the *De laude sanctae Mariae*, and later circulated widely in collections of Marian miracle stories. For the miracle's classification, see Poncelet, "Miraculorum B.V. Mariae," 267, no. 354. I have found copies of this version of the miracle in a number of Marian miracle collections but have not mounted anything like a systematic search for all the copies. Surviving copies of the alternate version far outnumber copies of Guibert's *De laude*. Those I have compared include London, British Library Add. 35112 (s. XII), fols. 25r–27v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France nouv. acq. lat. 369 (s. XII); Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 12593, fols. 160v–163v (s. XIII), and lat. 16056 (s. XIV), fol. 12v. The terminus *a quo* for the first written copy may be established by the author's reference to "testimonium . . . episcopi Vivariensis . . . qui tunc in eodem concilio [Reims 1115] presens aderat, sed nunc migrasse dicitur ad dominum." This is Bishop Leger, who died in 1119. Finally, there are additional, later, versions of the miracle, which was included in the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine and in the works of Vincent of Beauvais. See Poncelet, "Miraculorum B. V. Mariae," nos. 152, 1419, 1595, 1763.

⁵⁷ "Hoc ab ipso [the bishop of Grenoble] et a fratribus inibi degentibus se audisse nobis relit" (London, British Library Add. 35112, fol. 27r).

⁵⁸ "Qui [Godfrey] cum nuper in Remense concilium apostolice auctoritatis obedientia cogente, satis desideratam presentiam suam reddidisset, et hec aliquibus fratribus referret, ad faciendam rei fidem; testimonium sibi conscivit episcopi Vivariensis, viri religiosissimi [sic], qui tunc in eodem concilio presens aderat. . . ." (ibid.).

layed the story to others, and one of his listeners finally wrote it down after 1119. This more ancient version is probably the story Guibert admits to having heard "from others"—its source perhaps the monk of Nogent who had accompanied Godfrey on his sojourn to Grenoble.⁵⁹ But the abbot of Nogent objected to part of it. The passage Guibert mentioned, but rejected, described how Peter, at the suggestion of the bishops of Viviers and Grenoble, had moved from his secluded cell to a monastery. There, the alternate version continues, Peter was still alive and serving the Lord.⁶⁰

Guibert objected to this detail principally on the grounds that Peter's monastic status had not been related by the eyewitness bishop of Viviers, Leger, and thus constituted a later and unwarranted addition to the miracle tradition that William of Châlons had conveyed.⁶¹ This seems a fairly slender pretext to reject the story. Why, then, did he? It was not owing to any qualms about the miracle's source, a simple cowherd.⁶² Guibert held firmly to the belief that God could act through anyone, and both his memoirs and treatise on saints and their relics are filled with stories of pious, simple folk who were the beneficiaries of Mary's benevolence. Rather, Guibert seems to have reckoned that the uneducated Peter's miraculous experience did not make him automatically suitable for a monastic vocation, as the alternate version implies. This reading is confirmed by the tenor of Guibert's report on a sermon delivered by the archbishop of Reims following the murder and disruption of the Laon commune in 1112.⁶³ There, the archbishop famously homilized on 1 Peter 2:18, "Servants, be submissive to your masters," to which Guibert readily added that serfs or servants could never be lawfully admitted to monastic orders against their lord's needs.

The fluidity of Peter's social transition from oxherd to monk may have offended Guibert's sensibilities about the fixity of social boundaries. Indeed, if, as seems certain, the account was intended as an exemplum for preaching, Peter's rapid monastic profession became doubly dangerous for an impressionable audience of common folk.⁶⁴ What *is* certain is that Guibert com-

⁵⁹ Guibert of Nogent, *De laude sanctae Mariae* 11 (PL 156:572): "sicut ab aliis audieram."

⁶⁰ ". . . et quorum [his spiritual brothers'] consilio munitus et solatio securus staret" (London, British Library Add. 35112, fol. 27r).

⁶¹ Guibert of Nogent, *De laude sanctae Mariae* 11 (PL 156:572): "Quod minus ideo ratum constat, quia Vivariensis episcopus . . . nil tale dixerit."

⁶² As Fuchs, "Guibert de Nogent—ein Wundererzähler," 328, notes, Guibert frequently made use of miracles from already established sources and adapted them to his own didactic needs.

⁶³ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.10 (ed. Labande, 360): "neutiquam contra exigentes dominos teneatur."

⁶⁴ On the *De laude's* use as a preacher's tool, see Fuchs, "Guibert de Nogent—ein Wundererzähler," 332.

pletely excised the final portion of the miracle story, namely, that part which names Godfrey of Amiens as its intermediary source, and he openly disputed the claims to Peter's monkhood. Otherwise the two texts follow in close chronological order and are essentially the same in subject matter. More surprising still is that Godfrey was present at the very Council of Châlons where Guibert heard the miracle story from William of Châlons.⁶⁵ It is telling that Godfrey's role is silenced by the abbot of Nogent, an avid collector of miracle stories who readily named bishops as among his best sources for wondrous tales.⁶⁶

Nicholas and Rohard may never have heard Godfrey relate the story of Peter the cowherd; there is certainly no evidence they did. But Nicholas gives considerable space to Godfrey's relationship with Saint Firminus, a relationship whose authenticity Guibert had openly denounced. Indeed, the *vita* of Godfrey not only establishes the bishop's intimate bond with the martyr-saint but also contains brief and spirited polemics defending traditional manifestations of the cult of saints and the bishop's very sanctity. Were these aimed at Guibert? At the beginning of the *vita*'s third book, Nicholas called to task detractors who doubted the truth of Godfrey's virtue and miracles. "A certain someone," he stated,

whose name I set too little store by to bring to mind, recently asked me why I was in such a rush to embrace little accounts of such trifles and inanities. O miserable man, or, I should say, more wretched than a demon! To be sure, as the apostle James attests and affirms, even demons believe and tremble. In fact, they acknowledge the acts of the prophets and apostles and the relics of the saints, [though] they might wish not to, and they stand in awe and tremble [because of it]. On the other hand, I am not saying this unhappy man is irreverent, but rather self-satisfied in his knowledge. It is simply a quality of the perverse who tend to lack for good in themselves and to detest it in others. . . . I have said such things against equivocators and critics.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Godfrey's presence is attested at Châlons in July 1115 by Poncelet in *Vita sancti Godfridi* (ed. Poncelet, 900).

⁶⁶ Indeed, Guibert acted rather like a clearing house for episcopal miracle stories, repeating tales gleaned from bishops Manasses II of Reims, Radbod II of Noyon-Tournai, Raoul of Reims, Bartholomew of Laon, the bishop of Arras, and the bishop of Viviers; see Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 1.24 and 3.18 (ed. Labande, 194, 438) for Manasses II and Radbod II; *De sanctis* (CCCM 127:92, 96) for Raoul and Bartholomew; and *De laude sanctae Mariae* 12 (PL 156:573) for the bishop of Arras.

⁶⁷ "Recolo quendam, cuius nomen parvi pendo ad medium deducere, nuper mihi dixisse quare tantis naeniis seu deliramentis festinare schedulas implicare. O virum miserabilem et, ut ita dixerim, daemone deteriore! Nempe, attestante et astipulante Iacobo apostolo, daemones credunt et contremiscunt. Revera etenim agnoscunt actus prophetarum et apostolorum ac

Nicholas's argument presents a standard rhetorical defense of his authority as a reporter—he did not invent these miraculous stories, he says, but simply relayed what faithful eyewitnesses had seen and heard.⁶⁸ His common refrain is the importance of having faith in contemporary reports of marvels and holy men, especially when the words and deeds of even the ancient fathers often did not occur before the senses of the faithful.⁶⁹

What the *vita* strives to put beyond question is the bishop's authentic and traditional devotion to his saintly predecessor, and the martyr's own solicitude toward Godfrey, thereby offering indirect proof that no fraud had been committed when Godfrey displayed Firminus's relics. As evidence of their bond, Nicholas presented authoritative testimony that was, in the context of Guibert's accusations, irrefragable—namely, the report of Andrew, a successor of Guibert as abbot of Nogent from ca. 1125–29 to 1138. From Andrew's mouth, and through Andrew directly from Godfrey's memory, came the story Nicholas reports of Godfrey's first vision of Firminus, one of two he would experience before and during his pontificate.⁷⁰ While still abbot of Nogent, Godfrey came face to face with Firminus in a dream, in which the saint revealed to him his future office and the name of the city that would be committed to him. As Andrew told the story to Nicholas, Firminus placed the yoke of episcopal rule on Godfrey's shoulders with these words: "I commit this to you under Christ's testimony, and I consign this to your custody: take care to preside diligently as a faithful dispenser over this see in our place by our authority, or rather by the will of God, so that you shall deserve to be constituted over all its possessions on the day of retribution, and so be faithfully joined with our company."⁷¹

Godfrey's devotion to Firminus does not surface again until the second book of his *vita*, but it does so in a way that rebukes Guibert's dissatisfaction at some of the peripheral extravagances of the cult of saints. When a shaft of light fell on the humble urn containing Firminus's ashes during one of Godfrey's customary sermons, the bishop seized the occasion to expound on the

reliquorum sanctorum, velint nolint, venerantur et contremiscunt; ast contra hic infelix, non dico non veneratur, immo nec cognoscere satagit. Hoc quippe perversorum est proprium, bonum quo se perpendunt carere, et in reliquis odisse. . . . Hoc tantum adversus aemulos et obtrectatores dixerim" (Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.1, ed. Poncelet, 928).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 3.6 (ed. Poncelet, 930–31).

⁷⁰ Ibid. 1.28 (ed. Poncelet, 916).

⁷¹ "Hanc itaque nunc tibi sub testimonio Christi committo, hanc tuae custodiae reconsigno; huic sedi nostra vice, nostra auctoritate, immo Dei confisus voluntate, ut fidelis dispensator diligenter praeesse curato, ut super omnia bona ipsius in die retributionis constitui merearis, sicque nostro collegio fideliter associari" (ibid.).

debt Christians owed to the martyrs.⁷² What could be more fitting, he asked, than for faithful people to demonstrate devotion to their patron martyrs and intercessors than by building churches and sheathing their effigies in electrum, gold, and silver? The pious do these things for the saints “not because [the saints] require them or are made more dignified or blessed from them, but so that by these [acts] of faith and piety . . . their devotion [toward them] may be made manifest.” Godfrey’s words moved people from Amiens and all over Europe to donate personal possessions for the fabrication of a more fitting reliquary for Firminus’s bones, and the bishop obligingly dedicated the items to the saint during two ostentations of his relics.

Guibert had objected to just the sort of practice Nicholas outlines here, specifically the habit of those who “are accustomed to cover the bare bones of the saints in boxes made of ivory and silver, and then, when requests flow in on them, . . . uncover [them] at certain times and places.”⁷³ But even Guibert did not avow that prayers rendered in a spirit of genuine faith and confession—even to a false saint—invalidated their salutary effects. Indeed, Nicholas emphasizes throughout the zeal and pure intention of the *fidelis populus*, and paints Godfrey as acting at the people’s insistence when he unveiled the relics a second time.⁷⁴ Precisely at the moment he displayed the holy bones, a ray of light burst into the basilica, dispelling the dense fog that had shrouded the town for weeks. Nicholas, then, makes Godfrey as much the servant of a devoted congregation as the special friend of Firminus. There could be no room for doubt as to the bishop’s motives: it was Firminus who appeared in visions to him, it was Firminus’s authority that saw to Godfrey’s promotion, it was Firminus who, in this moment and after, displayed his favor to the prelate.⁷⁵

Nicholas of Saint-Crépin affirmed Godfrey’s reputation for circumspection in matters of holiness. Contrary to Guibert’s contention that the bishop of Amiens had done violence to the cult of Firminus through his lack of evidentiary proof, Nicholas portrays Godfrey as responding to authentic and objec-

⁷² For this and what follows, see *ibid.* 2.26–27 (ed. Poncelet, 924–25). The ray of light which penetrated the church sanctuary stands in the *vita* as the only public wonder of any sort associated with Firminus’s cult during Godfrey’s tenure.

⁷³ *De sanctis*, 106; trans. Head, *Medieval Hagiography*, 420.

⁷⁴ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 2.26 (ed. Poncelet, 925): “Haec et his similia illis et in hunc modum prosequentibus, Godefridus, ut erat clementissimi cordis, flectitur ad preces eorum atque in die celebritatis omnium sanctorum, praemisso ieiunio, censet adimplere desiderium ipsorum.” This second ostentation probably occurred 1 November 1106.

⁷⁵ Nicholas, moreover, places Godfrey’s devotion to Firminus in a broader context of his cultivation of the other cults of the bishop-saints of Amiens; see my “Urban Space, Memory, and Episcopal Authority: The Bishops of Amiens in Peace and Conflict, 1073–1164,” *Viator* 31 (2000): 43–77.

tively conclusive manifestations of the saint's favor. After all, no less a figure than Andrew, the abbot of Nogent, acclaimed it. Nicholas and Guibert's observations about saints' cults also cut to the very heart of contemporary debates within northern French and Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical circles about the relative importance of the authenticity of relics and miracles, and the place of intention in religious devotion and action.⁷⁶ Guibert was not the only cleric to air concerns that unconfirmed saints' cults endangered Christian souls, and he put the onus squarely on ecclesiastical authorities to unmask frauds.⁷⁷ Too often, they did not. Yet Guibert grudgingly allowed that "what is done with good intentions is never denied a good reward," and as to Godfrey's intentions, Nicholas leaves no doubt.⁷⁸ Godfrey's interactions with Saint Firminus, as Nicholas describes them, fit an emerging model of the bishop as moral authority.⁷⁹ Stressing the mind's disposition over and above either miraculous displays or questions of authenticity, Nicholas casts Godfrey as humble and pious before Firminus's power, a devoted suppliant whom the martyr calls to service. His conduct was altogether appropriate for an authoritative figure whose words and deeds, making clear his inner soul, were worthy of emulation. Questions about the relics' authenticity diminished next to the demonstrably charismatic power of individual devotion.

⁷⁶ Authenticating saints was a matter of concern in Anglo-Norman circles, as Jay Rubenstein points out in "Liturgy against History: The Competing Visions of Eadmer of Canterbury," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 279–309. The intentions behind human actions were a preoccupation of medieval thinkers in all aspects of life, from church reform to the sacraments, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; see now Susan R. Kramer and Caroline W. Bynum, "Revisiting the Twelfth-Century Individual. The Inner Self and the Christian Community," in *Das Eigene und das Ganze: Zum Individuellen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum*, ed. Gert Melville and Jörg Oberste, *Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter* 16 (Münster, 2002), 57–85.

⁷⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis*, 104–5; see also the many entries concerning rediscovered saints, and one case of possible fraud, in the *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius*, ed. and trans. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles (Paris, 1979), 152, which suggest a heightened concern about verification in Burgundy.

⁷⁸ Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis*, 109; trans. Head, *Medieval Hagiography*, 422.

⁷⁹ See below, p. 362, and the survey in Ienje van 't Spijker, *Als door een speciaal stempel. Traditie en vernieuwing in heiligenlevens uit Noordwest-Frankrijk (1050–1150)* (Hilversum, 1990). For two of Godfrey's miraculous episodes while alive, see Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 2.19 and 3.6. Godfrey's posthumous miracles were also muted. On emerging models of sanctity associated with church reform, see most recently Kathleen G. Cushing, "Events that Led to Sainthood: Sanctity and the Reformers in the Eleventh Century," in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages. Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford, 2001), 187–96. I have suggested elsewhere that Nicholas was perhaps influenced by an early Carthusian model of sanctity; see my "Educating the Bishop: Models of Episcopal Authority and Conduct in the Hagiography of Early Twelfth-

GODFREY OF AMIENS, THE REFORM EPISCOPATE, AND PASTORAL LEADERSHIP

Godfrey of Moulincourt's career trajectory in large part mirrored the efforts of proponents of ecclesiastical reform to install in high church offices men untainted by customs of an earlier age. Elevated to his abbacy in the years after Gregory VII's push to reform the clergy and confirmed in his episcopacy by the papal legate Cono of Praeneste, Godfrey later attended the ecclesiastical councils of Troyes (1107) and Vienne (1112), in which the papacy asserted its prerogatives against temporal rulers. He was likewise hailed as a friend and close associate of other "reformist" prelates in northern France, all products of canonries: bishops Lambert of Arras (1094–1115), Odo of Cambrai (1105–13) and John of Thérouanne (1099–1130).⁸⁰

For his part, Guibert of Nogent clearly harbored doubts about the compatibility of the demands of cloister and episcopal office, as exemplified in his description of Godfrey's experience, and, more generally, about the process of ecclesiastical reform.⁸¹ Certainly, monks in his day regularly entered the Frankish episcopate.⁸² Yet, Guibert makes no mention in his memoirs about the monk-bishops from his home diocese, men like Fulk of Dammartin, who ruled the see of Beauvais from 1089 to 1095 after coming from Bec, or canons Ivo and Galo of Saint-Quentin of Beauvais, who became the bishops of Chartres and Paris, respectively.⁸³ He also admits in numerous places in his memoirs that nobility, wealth, and liberal munificence were admirable qualities in bishops, providing they were used to the benefit of the church—as he acknowledges they were by the bishops of Laon.⁸⁴ More surprising is that he does not even mention the pastoral virtues of his intellectual mentor, the arch-

Century Soissons," in *Teaching and Learning in Northern France: Education before the University*, ed. Jay Rubenstein and Sally N. Vaughn (Turnhout, forthcoming 2006).

⁸⁰ Morelle, "Un 'grégorien'" 185–90.

⁸¹ See now Rubenstein, "Principaled Passion or Ironic Detachment?"; Lemmers, "Crisis of Episcopal Authority" and *Guibert van Nogent's "Monodiae,"* sees Guibert as more decisively oriented toward ecclesiastical reform on the model of the apostolic life.

⁸² The numbers of monk-bishops, however, crested in the generations after Guibert's death, between 1135 and 1180; see Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France* (Paris, 1957), 110–19.

⁸³ The omission of any explicit mention of the latter two may have much to do with their imbrication in the politics of ecclesiastical preferment in and around Beauvais about the year 1100, in which the professional ambitions of Guibert and his family were probably thwarted; see on this Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 89–92. For the episcopal politics of the Beauvaisis more generally, and for Fulk of Dammartin, see the magisterial thesis of Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes. Affirmation et déclin de la seigneurie épiscopale au nord du royaume de France (Beauvais-Noyon, X^e–début XIII^e siècle)* (Geneva and Paris, 1987), 70–78.

⁸⁴ E.g., Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 1.14 and 3.1–3.2.

bishop of Canterbury, Anselm.⁸⁵ His sole consideration of the monk-bishop was his appraisal of Godfrey.

Guibert opens his discussion of Godfrey in book two with his ascent to the abbacy of Nogent. To Guibert, Godfrey possessed an ability to handle people skillfully: the monks and their father became distinguished for their religious zeal (*religionis studium*), and the new abbot conducted himself "with great circumspection" (*cum multa circumspectione se gessit*). Guibert likewise credited Godfrey with abolishing simony during his tenure as abbot and restoring religious zeal at Nogent.⁸⁶ As Godfrey's reputation grew, according to Guibert, he became "more prominent in the castles and towns."⁸⁷ In 1104, while backing an unnamed archdeacon for the episcopacy of Amiens following that see's prolonged vacancy, he ended up being chosen for the post himself.⁸⁸ The keys to his success? His "worldly shrewdness"—this does not come across as praise—"and the monk's habit he wore."⁸⁹ His promotion was, for Guibert, troubling. Godfrey had been "the very mirror of religious piety," but this quality, and the high praise he had won as abbot, were compromised once he became bishop.⁹⁰ Guibert notes that on the day of his formal entry into Amiens, Godfrey stood on a platform and assured his flock that he would not be a pastor about whom one could say—quoting an oft-cited line from Horace's *Art of Poetry*—that "the mountains will labor, a ridiculous mouse is born."⁹¹ Could Godfrey's professional ambition and obvious successes as

⁸⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 1.17, 1.26, and 2.4. Eadmer finished his first recension of the *Vita sancti Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis* shortly before Guibert wrote his memoirs; see R. W. Southern, ed. and trans., *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer* (Oxford, 1972), viii–x, xiii–xviii.

⁸⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 2.2 (ed. Labande, 228–30).

⁸⁷ Ibid. (ed. Labande, 230): "et proinde oppidis ac urbibus notior habebatur. . . ." While Guibert does not seem to suggest Godfrey's prominence was the result of his own designs, that a monk should be famous in "castles and towns" was hardly consistent with the obedience and stability required of monastic life.

⁸⁸ The archdeacon in question was quite probably Enguerrand, archdeacon of Amiens since 1099 and son of Godfrey's patron, Enguerrand of Coucy; see William Mendal Newman, *Le personnel de la cathédrale d'Amiens (1066–1306)* (Paris, 1972), 23–24. Guibert implies disingenuousness in Godfrey's actions; this passage should be compared to his later discussion in *Monodiae* 3.4 (ed. Labande, 282) of the cantor of Laon, an aspirant for the episcopacy in 1104/5 who, while promoting the interests of another, drew attention to himself as a possible candidate instead. The "arrogant man" (*superbus*) was struck by a fatal illness and died on the day he was to be enthroned.

⁸⁹ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 2.2 (ed. Labande, 230): "pro astutia saeculari, et habitudine quam gerebat regulari."

⁹⁰ Ibid.: "cum ubique quasi totius religionis speculum spectaretur" (translation from Archambault, *Monk's Confession*, 103).

⁹¹ Horace, *Ars poetica*, ed. and trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (London, 1926), 462, l. 139; Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 2.2 (ed. Labande, 232): "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus

abbot be comfortably translated into the salubrious guidance of the *ecclesia* as bishop? Godfrey serves as Guibert's test case, and Guibert seems to have been deeply ambivalent about his meteoric rise.

The waning of monastic fervor Guibert perceived in his senior years clearly pained him, and it belonged to what he asserted was a broader decline in social norms that affected all aspects of contemporary society.⁹² Guibert's model of spiritual discretion and single-minded purpose was Bruno, the former schoolmaster of Reims and founder of La Chartreuse.⁹³ Bruno belonged in Guibert's recollection to a group of luminaries, laymen, and clerics responsible for the reinvigoration of monastic life during the last quarter of the eleventh century. He reports Bruno as renouncing his position in the cathedral school of Reims owing to the actions of Manasses I, the worldly archbishop of that city.⁹⁴ For Guibert the essential point was that Bruno's renunciation of secular affairs, and commitment to the spiritual life, were total. Bruno severed contact with his friends and did not look back.⁹⁵ Guibert notes that even when the pope later offered him an episcopal sinecure, Bruno rejected it for the secular honors that attended it. It was not the spiritual calling of the bishop's office that Guibert regarded as a temptation, but its worldly obligations and rewards. In rebuffing them, Bruno demonstrated the virtue in maintaining a pure commitment to mastering affection and vainglory and bending the will to reason.⁹⁶

By contrast, Godfrey's fault was precisely his *instabilitas*, his lack of commitment to a chosen path. To Guibert, a full and unswerving devotion to one social calling and its attendant duties—whether monastic, episcopal, or noble—had become a thing of the past. The bishop's comportment seemed to mirror, in Guibert's mind, the attitudes of contemporary nobles toward the monasteries their forefathers had piously founded. Perverting their ancestors' intentions, the sons of those generous nobles now in Guibert's day reclaimed gifts

mus.'" The detail in this passage suggests that Guibert or perhaps a monk of Nogent, from whom he took his information, may have been present.

⁹² Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 1.8, 1.11 (ed. Labande, 48–50, 74); and see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 188–89.

⁹³ For Bruno and his intellectual circles, see André Wilmart, "Deux lettres concernant Raoul le Verd, l'ami de Saint Bruno," *Revue bénédictine* 51 (1939): 257–74; and John R. Williams, "The Cathedral School of Reims in the Eleventh Century," *Speculum* 29 (1954): 665–69.

⁹⁴ For a consideration of Manasses and Bruno's troubles with him, see the balanced overview of John Williams, "Manasses I of Rheims and Gregory VII," *The American Historical Review* 54 (1949), 804–24.

⁹⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 1.11 (ed. Labande, 66). Guibert's account of Bruno's departure was not quite accurate; see Wilmart, "Deux lettres."

⁹⁶ See Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, 504; and Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), 260.

once given to monasteries freely, or else “asked repeatedly to buy them back.”⁹⁷ Indeed, when we next hear of Godfrey in Guibert’s memoirs, ten years later and under popular pressure, he has left his see and retreated to the wind-swept solitude of the hills outside Grenoble. Guibert’s description of the bishop’s departure in the third book of his *Monodiae* drips with sarcasm and irony. As he renders it, Godfrey set aside his pontifical insignia, “annulled” his marriage to the church of Amiens and “let everyone know that he . . . would never be a bishop again” (until, Guibert adds icily, when it later suited him to consecrate an altar at Cluny on his way to La Chartreuse).⁹⁸ At the Chartreuse, the ex-pontifex lived in a cell apart from the community, but kept with him a stash of silver for the return home. Alert readers of the abbot of Nogent’s *Monodiae* would have spotted the discrepancy between Godfrey’s money-hoarding and the prevailing practice of absolute poverty at La Chartreuse, which Guibert had described in book one as characteristic of that monastic community.⁹⁹ His portrait of Godfrey’s exile describes an individual whose desire for a life of meditation derived from suspect intentions. Godfrey fled a difficult situation at Amiens; it was not his intention either to renounce fully his episcopal office or even to devote himself to contemplation, for Guibert the absolute highest state of human perfection. Within the abbot of Nogent’s tripartite model of the human mind and its divisions into Reason, Will, and Affection, so well elucidated by Jay Rubenstein, Godfrey is implicitly and explicitly depicted as someone whose true intentions were masked by the appearance of virtue.¹⁰⁰ There is no indication in Guibert’s writings that he believed Godfrey was motivated to become a recluse by pride, but he believed that Godfrey had in the past consciously positioned himself for professional advancement, knowing “how to adapt himself to people from the outside world, always being pleasant and hospitable with them, as he was with secular matters, to which he learned to devote considerable attention.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 1.11 (ed. Labande, 74; trans. Archambault, 34 [modified]). Consider the language he uses in the same passage to describe the fickleness of the sons: “Jam nunc enim, proh dolor! quae hujusmodi affectione permoti, locis sacris contulere parentes, aut penitus subtrahunt, aut crebras redemptiones exigere non desinunt filii, a patrum voluntatibus usquequaque degeneres.” See also the comments of Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 182, 188–89, on Guibert’s belief in the incommensurability of the active and contemplative lifestyles.

⁹⁸ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 406; trans. Archambault, 186).

⁹⁹ Ibid. 1.11 (ed. Labande, 66–70).

¹⁰⁰ Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 39–49, 63–71, 187–88.

¹⁰¹ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 2.2 (ed. Labande, 228–30): “Bene enim ad qualitatem exteriorum hominum idem habere se noverat, quoniam eis affabilem et dapsilem se praebebat, et in actione forasticarum causarum, in quibus addiscendis non minimam operam dederat eis”; trans. Archambault, 103.

So Godfrey, if not exactly a fraud, was undoubtedly in Guibert's eyes inconstant and ambitious, a chameleon bishop whose inner and outward dispositions did not always align.

Put simply, the qualities Guibert admires most in prelates would appear incompatible with the overriding monastic virtues of contemplation and self-knowledge. Scholars have rightly seized upon the sermon Guibert delivered when he became abbot of Nogent, an exegesis of Isaiah 3:6–8, as a key to understanding his attitudes towards the responsibilities of pastoral office.¹⁰² The passage invites consideration as both a self-analysis by Guibert of his own fitness for abbatial office, and as a public statement outlining a broader pastoral ideology.¹⁰³ Scholarly interpretations have emphasized both facets of the sermon, and have arrived at very different conclusions as to its meaning. For Guibert, the prophet's words, "A man takes hold of his brother in his father's house, saying, 'You have a cloak, you shall be our chief; we place this ruin under your hand,'" and the brother's reply, "I am no physician and in my house there is neither bread nor a cloak. Do not make a prince of me. For Jerusalem is in ruins and Judah is crumbling," are directed toward "anyone chosen for pastoral office" (*qui ad officium corripitur pastoratus*).¹⁰⁴ Guibert concluded that the candidate wisely refuses the honor if he does not wish to sacrifice his inner peace, given the challenge of "penetrating the origins and effect of every sort of vice and virtue," of mastering his own weaknesses, and of restoring to health those who refuse to acknowledge their own vices and iniquity. At the heart of the chosen one's rejection lies his recognition of the unending and nearly insurmountable struggle to see into the souls of men.¹⁰⁵

The abbot of Nogent speaks of the difficulty of this charge, not its impossibility. Yet, the inner strength and discernment equal to the task of leading Jerusalem from ruin must escape the abilities of all but an exceptional few, and Guibert leaves his readers with no clear examples of individual success—not even himself. We may conclude with Trudy Lemmers and others, moreover, that by the standards Guibert sets in this exegesis, the prelates of his

¹⁰² Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 2.3 (ed. Labande, 238–42). See, for example, Moore, "Guibert of Nogent and his World," 111–12, 116–17; Lemmers, *Guibert van Nogents "Monodiae,"* 59–63, and "Crisis of Episcopal Authority," 45–50; and Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 91–94.

¹⁰³ Isaiah 3:6–8 was also employed by papal apologists during the ecclesiastical reform period of the late eleventh century, although there is no evidence that Guibert was familiar with these tracts. See Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, 35.

¹⁰⁴ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 2.3 (ed. Labande, 238; trans. Archambault, 107 [modified]).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. (ed. Labande, 240; trans. Archambault, 107 [modified]): "Unde et medicum se non esse fatetur, quia ex acumine discretionis difficile est penetrare origines et exitus cujuslibet vitii ac virtutis."

own day fell remarkably short of his ideals. The worst examples, he claims, were those who, like bishops Manasses I of Reims and Enguerrand of Laon, grudgingly administered the sacraments, if they did at all.¹⁰⁶ Other bishops he describes, whatever deplorable qualities they exhibited, at least served their pastoral office well by virtue of their noble demeanor, or, more importantly, their defense and patronage of the churches under their care.¹⁰⁷ Of all the prelates he discusses at any length, it is Godfrey of Moulincourt who comes closest to Guibert's ideal—and his successes were at best partial.¹⁰⁸ The abbot of Nogent praises his piety, his probity, his discipline, his ability to encourage donations to the abbey from pious laypeople. Guibert also notes that Godfrey's episcopacy at Amiens began with much promise, with the new bishop asserting that he would "strive after the impossible"; but his stature ended by declining daily and "he began perpetually to fall short of his promises."¹⁰⁹ Such was the typical result of sacrificing one's inner peace to worldly concerns, and a further indication that the life of a bishop was essentially incompatible with the life of a hermit-monk.¹¹⁰

Confirming his earlier insights, disaster befalls Amiens when Guibert resumes the thread of his description of Godfrey later in book three. He holds Godfrey primarily responsible, first for consenting to the formation of a commune (discussed below), and more generally for creating a situation he could not control and then abandoning the scene. In brief, when the count of Amiens, the same Enguerrand of Coucy so routinely attacked by Guibert, found his seigneurial privileges compromised by the commune, he collaborated with the city's castellan to restore them by force.¹¹¹ Thomas of Marle

¹⁰⁶ Manasses reportedly complained about having to administer the Eucharist, while Enguerrand "had been totally deprived of all love in God" and filled his lips with inanities rather than confession; see Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 1.11, 3.3 (ed. Labande, 64, 274); and Lemmers, "Crisis of Episcopal Authority."

¹⁰⁷ In this latter category may be grouped Guy, bishop of Beauvais, who ordained Guibert in his holy orders; Hélinand of Laon, and even—despite his betrayal of the last Carolingian king—Adalbero of Laon.

¹⁰⁸ In my reading of Guibert's description of Godfrey, I make a greater distinction between Godfrey's case and the bishops of Laon than does Lemmers, particularly since Guibert's career path so closely followed Godfrey's; see Guibert van Nogens "Monodiae," 54–56; her "Crisis of Episcopal Authority," focused on the prelates of Laon, does not treat Godfrey.

¹⁰⁹ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 2.2 (ed. Labande, 232): "protestatus est se sic ardua sectaturum"; "eius enim status in dies copiose lentescens, seipsa deteriore coepit indesinenter facere sponsonem."

¹¹⁰ Guibert also took up discussion of "hypocritical hermits" in his later *Tropologies on the Prophets*; see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 189.

¹¹¹ The best overview of the formation of the commune at Amiens remains Pierre Desportes, "Les origines de la commune d'Amiens," in *Pouvoirs et libertés au temps des premiers Capétiens*, ed. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier (Maulévrier, 1992), 247–65.

and King Louis VI soon became involved and allegiances shifted precipitously, leaving the king, bishop, the vicedominus of Amiens, and the townspeople arrayed against the castellan of a fortified tower and his chief supporters, Enguerrand and Thomas of Marle. The siege slogged on for two years.

Most shocking to Guibert was that Godfrey encouraged the civil strife in Amiens by his speech—delivering, on Palm Sunday 1115, “a sermon typical not of God, but of a Catilinaire.”¹¹² Guibert’s chief source for this event was none other than Rohard, Godfrey’s nephew. To the king and people assembled, Godfrey promised the kingdom of heaven should they perish in attacking the tower. The bishop’s sermon, particularly its apparent shading with the ideology of holy war and the peace movement, has attracted attention from scholars.¹¹³ However the speech is assessed, one must be aware of the skein of referents woven into Guibert’s textual imagery. At two key points in his memoirs, Guibert provides an overview of sermons delivered at moments of high drama: his own homily at the purification of Laon cathedral following the assassination there, with the bishop of Laon’s complicity, of Gérard of Quierzy; and later the archbishop of Reims’s sermon to the people of Laon following the devastating riot of 1112. In the former, Guibert expounds on the desperate cry of Psalm 68 (69):2–3, “Save me, O God, for the waters have risen up to my neck. I sink in muddy depths and have no foothold.”¹¹⁴ Both speeches exhort a return to order and stability. The sins of Laon’s ecclesiastical leaders have led their people to a critical juncture. They have no foothold because “honestas . . . atque potestas” ebb from their spiritual and secular guardians, the *rectores* and *proceres*.¹¹⁵ The church that once worked to save men’s souls and rejoiced in its own purity now lay sullied and rent by internal divisions. Dissensions from outside the city (*forastica bella*) spilled over its walls, secular lords set themselves against townspeople, abbots’ men and bishops’ men turned upon one another. Yet still God’s wrath and the vulgarization of the once renowned church did not move the people.¹¹⁶ Unless the

¹¹² Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 414): “sermone habito non Dei sed catilinario.”

¹¹³ See, for example, Hartmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei*, Schriften der MGH 20 (Stuttgart, 1964), 212–13; Norman Housley, “Crusades against Christians: Their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000–1216,” in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 17–36.

¹¹⁴ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.6 (ed. Labande, 306–10). This sermon is treated also by Lemmers, *Guibert van Nogens “Monodiae,”* 47–50, with whose general appraisal of its tone I agree.

¹¹⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.6 (ed. Labande, 306).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* (ed. Labande, 308): “‘Locus igitur et crimen et dedecus ubique vulgabuntur. Si

leaders and men of Laon should change their hearts, worse civil wars loomed.¹¹⁷ Guibert's ominous warnings fell on deaf ears, and the archbishop's sermon after the town's destruction, as he later reports, sounded a sober note: "Servants, submit yourselves to your lords in all fear."¹¹⁸

The pride of place given these sermons in Guibert's memoirs is key to understanding his conception of pastoral responsibility: the bishop must demonstrate virtue in deed and word, offering himself as an example of the kind of conduct he would have others emulate.¹¹⁹ To do this most successfully, his outer conduct must mirror his inner disposition, an idea which is a central tenet of Guibert's short treatise on preaching.¹²⁰ But Godfrey, far from calming the restive crowd at Amiens had, as Guibert retold it, offered up the sulfurous words of Catiline to their ears. One thinks that Guibert meant to evoke the general's final speech, when, trapped without the hope of escape or relief, he urged his soldiers to fight for "country, freedom, and life."¹²¹ After all, Godfrey, too, had let civil dissension in Amiens escape from him, and had little choice but to face it.¹²² Guibert contrasts Godfrey's militant sermon with the

ergo ex animo, ex imis praecordiis, pro miserabili eventu non tribulamini, si non dehonestatae tantae sanctitati compatiamini, sciatis indubie Deum viam facturum semitae irae suae. . . ."

¹¹⁷ Ibid. (ed. Labande, 310): "sciendum est vobis quia, nisi sub Dei virga vos emendationes exhibeatis, in statum undecumque deterrimum, per ea quae inter vos coalescunt intestina bella cadatis." A few decades later, Peter the Venerable would air similar complaints about the ineffectiveness, and unwillingness, of bishops in quelling violence in the region around Cluny; Gregory A. Smith, "*Sine rege, sine principe*: Peter the Venerable on Violence in Twelfth-Century Burgundy," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 1–33, esp. 14–15.

¹¹⁸ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.10 (ed. Labande, 360): "'Servi,' inquit Apostolus, 'subditi estote in omni timore dominis'" (cf. 1 Pet 2:18).

¹¹⁹ Lemmers, *Guibert van Nogent's "Monodiae,"* passim; "Crisis of Episcopal Authority," 48.

¹²⁰ The *Quo ordine sermo fieri debeat*, touched up and dedicated to the new bishop of Laon about 1115, draws heavily on Gregory the Great's own models for effective preaching. See on this Lemmers, *Guibert van Nogent's "Monodiae,"* 149–60; Wanda Zemler-Cizewski, "Guibert of Nogent's *How to Preach a Sermon*," *Theological Studies* 59 (1998): 406–19; and G. R. Evans, "Guibert of Nogent and Gregory the Great on Preaching and Exegesis," *The Thomist* 49 (1985): 534–50.

¹²¹ Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, ed. Patrick McGushin, 3 ed. (Bristol, 1995), 37: "nos pro patria pro libertate pro vita certamus, illis supervacuaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare." For medieval literary familiarity with Sallust, see B. Smalley, "Sallust in the Middle Ages," in *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 500–1500*, ed. R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1971), 165–75.

¹²² Whether the bishop in fact extended the promise of heaven to the warriors at Amiens must, in light of Guibert's ideological program against him, remain an open question. I strongly suspect that it is simply another weapon in the rhetorical arsenal Guibert brandished against the bishop. H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Edbury (above, n. 110), 46–56, at 50, notes that Guibert's account of the First Crusade made fullsome use of martyr imagery in explaining its lure to the crusaders. Martyrdom as he pro-

virtues of the cloister he was supposed to have cultivated at La Chartreuse. But there is more here. Guibert, in his account of the First Crusade had already shown himself to be distrustful of speech with an Amienois accent.¹²³ As he describes Peter the Hermit in the *Dei gesta per Francos*, which he had completed about seven years prior to his memoirs, Guibert already had a ready analogue for Godfrey at hand. Peter, too, was popular, showered with gifts, and acclaimed for his piety to such an extent that Guibert professed himself unable to remember “anyone equally honored.”¹²⁴ By virtue of his preaching, Peter drew an enormous crowd of people before leading them through Hungary to Constantinople. Before long, however, the popular preacher could no longer restrain the restless mobs of common folk, and they acted boorishly and violently toward their Hungarian and Greek hosts. The end result was the slaughter and depletion of the masses, the extermination of the “People’s Crusade.” Guibert echoed this disaster in retelling the siege of Amiens launched by Godfrey, where it soon became impossible to calculate the number of citizens dying each day.¹²⁵ The evidence was plain: Godfrey’s words and deeds were inconsistent with the ideals his inner state should announce, and so contravened a central principal of effective pastoral leadership.

Nicholas obviously saw Godfrey’s prelacy much differently. In his telling, Godfrey successfully melded the humility and poverty of the monastery with the episcopacy’s administrative demands. In good Gregorian fashion, Godfrey—despite trying to hide in the crowd at an ecclesiastical assembly, Nicho-

pounded it was the reward for those who fought in a glorious and holy cause. See his *Dei gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout, 1996), 3.8, 3.9, and elsewhere; trans. Robert Levine, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent’s Gesta Dei per Francos* (Woodbridge, 1997), 66–67. By contrast, Godfrey had promised heaven to those pursuing an ultimately worldly, and self-interested, endeavor.

¹²³ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos* 2.8 (CCCM 127A:121). He is one of just a handful of crusade historians (two others being Albert of Aachen and the author of the *Chanson d’Antioch*) to make a point of noting that Peter the Hermit, a leader of the first company of people to set out for Jerusalem, was born in Amiens. See Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (as in n. 23 above), 4:272; and for a consideration of the texts’ relationship, see Susan B. Edgington, “Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*,” in *The Crusades and Their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), 23–37. On Peter’s origin, see also Jean Flori, *Pierre l’Ermite et la première croisade* (Paris, 1999), 27–29.

¹²⁴ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos* 2.8 (CCCM 127A:121): “ut neminem meminere simili honore haberi.”

¹²⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 416): “dici non potest, quot de burgensibus solis quotidie pene depereant.”

las relates—was ripped from the bosom of Nogent by the demand of the people of Amiens, and with the consent of the king of France and archbishop of Reims.¹²⁶ Installed as bishop, Godfrey maintained both his monastic habits and extended the seeds of God's word to the people through his preaching. Rejecting ostentatious clothing, Godfrey continued to wear his monk's mantle, adorned only with a "humble pallium."¹²⁷ He fed the poor and lepers from his table and kitchen, extending his charity even to washing their feet.¹²⁸ Daily he recited the mass with absolute devotion of mind, and he enforced chastity on an unwilling clergy and their consorts. Especially in times of trial his thoughts returned to the peace of his prior life.¹²⁹

It is clear that Nicholas drew from Gregory the Great's writings to describe Godfrey's prelacy, and his portrait blends, at times somewhat uncomfortably, examples of the bishop's dual calling to action and contemplation. Godfrey is not quite a fully realized "ambidextrous prelate," at ease in both worlds and often evoked as a pastoral ideal in the twelfth century.¹³⁰ Describing the bishop's retreat to La Chartreuse, Nicholas paints it as a necessary, even involuntary, but nevertheless welcome interlude. Nicholas had to ignore here

¹²⁶ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 1.29–30 (ed. Poncelet, 916–17). The ideal candidate's refusal to lead is drawn directly from Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis* 1.3–1.7, 1.10 (ed. and French trans. Grégoire le Grand: *Règle pastorale* by Bruno Judic, Floribert Rommel, and Charles Morel, Sources chrétiennes 381–82 [Paris, 1992], esp. 152, 160–64), and John the Deacon's *Sancti Gregorii magni vita* 1.39, 53–54 (PL 75:79, 86). For commentary on the text's organization and emphases, see Bruno Judic, "Structure et fonction de la *Regula Pastoralis*," in Grégoire le Grand, ed. Jacques Fontaine et al. (Paris, 1986), 409–17.

¹²⁷ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 2.3 (ed. Poncelet, 919): "sed simplici habitu monachi, videlicet cucullo, ac desuper non ambizioso pallio amiciebatur." The choice of the adjective, *ambitosus*, was no doubt intended to further disarm criticism of Godfrey's careerism, although to a reader familiar with Guibert's account of Godfrey, this passage would have seemed (inadvertently) to reinforce the very reality of Godfrey's ambition it was trying to negate. Nicholas's description of Godfrey's practice was perfectly consistent with, and indeed exceeded, contemporary expectations that monks who became bishops remained monks in all but obedience, clothing, and other particular details; Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 182, 230. One gets the sense that Guibert would have objected to abbots who wore priestly regalia, as increasingly became the practice in the twelfth century, and bishops who, like Godfrey is said to have done, clothed themselves in monastic habit.

¹²⁸ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 2.3–5 (ed. Poncelet, 918–19).

¹²⁹ Ibid. 2.32 (ed. Poncelet, 927). Compare these qualities with those which Gregory the Great says must be put at the disposition of the faithful in his *Regula pastoralis* 1.5 (ed. Judic et al., 144): "Nam sunt nonnulli, qui eximia uirtutum dona percipiunt, et pro excitatione ceterorum magnis muneribus exaltantur, qui studio castitatis mundi, abstinenciae robore ualidi, doctrinae dapibus referti, patientiae longanimitate humiles, auctoritatis fortitudine erecti, pietatis gratia benigni, iustitiae seueritate destrecti sunt."

¹³⁰ Giles Constable, "Twelfth-Century Spirituality and the Late Middle Ages," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1971): 27–60, esp. 32, 40–43.

the exhortations of Gregory I's *Pastoral Rule* which, while encouraging bishops to look after their souls, stipulates that they must not put their own needs for spiritual nourishment ahead of their flocks' daily need for pastoral leadership.¹³¹ Indeed, he acknowledges in his description of Godfrey's retreat to La Chartreuse that the bishop had contravened the requirement of obedience to papal and archiepiscopal authority by taking refuge there.¹³² But, Nicholas holds, Godfrey's solicitude for his soul and humility should offset lesser complaints about dereliction of duty. His strict devotion to fasting, prayer, meditation, and reading scripture in his mountain cell proved the purity of his intentions and would yield him a place in the kingdom of heaven. Nicholas also inserts here an exchange between Godfrey and Guigo that would seem to go straight to the heart of Guibert's criticisms of Godfrey and the bishops of Laon. At one point Guigo comes to his cell and asks the bishop directly whether he gained his office by simony: "'Blessed father,' he said, 'I did not fill my purse or moneybag. But oh, what sadness! My miserable heart! Although unwilling I, wretched man that I am, was often poisoned with the empty gold of favor, enticed by the slyness of the venomous enemy.'"¹³³ Godfrey's admission, as Nicholas describes it, is remarkable in at least two respects. First, it acknowledges Godfrey's favored status and career, a subject Guibert attacks him for. Second, it turns this admission into an example of his subject's humility, inasmuch as he, like the apostles and prophets, did not seek to distance himself from his nature, but rather embraced it.¹³⁴ Godfrey, in Nicholas's telling, knew himself and confessed his sins.

The archbishop of Reims and papal legate soon summoned Godfrey down from the mountain.¹³⁵ Here again, Nicholas's account of events contrasts starkly with Guibert's. Not only does Nicholas have the archbishop of Reims excoriate the people of Amiens for "driving out [the bishop] from their midst like a dog"—putting the blame for Godfrey's exile squarely on their shoulders—but when word of the dreaded summons arrives at La Chartreuse, Godfrey begs the monks there not to force him back into the "furnace of

¹³¹ Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis* 2.7 (ed. Judic et al., 218).

¹³² Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.8 (ed. Poncelet, 931).

¹³³ "'Non,' inquit, 'pater beatissime, marsupium vel crumenas replebam. Sed, pro dolor! cor meum miserum! Supervacua favoris aura miser ego quam saepius, venenosi hostis illectus versutia, etiam nolens inficiebar.'" Nicholas then recalls how Guigo, prior of La Chartreuse, had affirmed the sincerity of Godfrey's spiritual intention and marveled at his humility: "Quod ille audiens admiratur quod se non palparet, sed acerime in se extrema quaeque, et quae sola humilitas cogebat fateri, diiudicans punire" (ibid., ed. Poncelet, 932).

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Consider *Regula pastoralis* 2.5 (ed. Judic et al., 144), in which Gregory quotes scripture: "For, as the Truth said to his disciples, 'The city built on a mountain cannot be hidden'" (Mt 5:14–15).

Babylon.”¹³⁶ Arriving back in his see, Godfrey was “solemnly received with everyone’s oath.”¹³⁷

If they diverge sharply on this matter, on one point the two authors do agree. Nicholas, like Guibert, has Godfrey give a Lenten sermon immediately on his return to the see, on Ash Wednesday—only it is drastically at odds with the fiery words Guibert had put in his mouth on Palm Sunday.¹³⁸ Godfrey’s sermon, delivered barefoot and redolent with exhortations to pious conduct, reminded his audience of Christ’s sacrifice and concluded by forbidding the people to eat any meat until Easter. The people of Amiens ignored their bishop. Claiming he was proposing “unheard-of things” (*inaudita*) and introducing a novel practice to their traditional Lenten observances, they lapsed and ate meat. Godfrey noticed. He waited until Holy Thursday—the moment in the liturgical calendar when the bishop traditionally pronounced his flock’s absolution before Easter Sunday, and when the people of Amiens would have anticipated their spiritual and physical reintegration within the *ecclesia*—to condemn the people for their disobedience. His reproach stung: “Did the Savior not pronounce concerning me and those like me that, ‘Whoever hears you, hears me?’ . . . Thus you fall into the misfortune of the first man; lo, you run headlong into the ruin of the contemptor; lo, Christ enjoins me that you should deservedly suffer punishment.”¹³⁹ The prevaricators confessed their

¹³⁶ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.9 (ed. Poncelet, 932): “‘Nonne spectabilem virum, pudicum, orthodoxum omnique vitae merito adornatum canino more ad invicem corrodentes a propriis finibus pepulistis?’”; *ibid.*: “ad fornacem Babylonis”. Twenty years later, when Guigo would reflect on the pitiful scene with Odo, once a monk at La Chartreuse and then abbot of Saint-Crépin, he could not do so without sorrowful groans (*ibid.* 3.10, ed. Poncelet, 933).

¹³⁷ Guibert, on the other hand, remarks that Godfrey’s return from Grenoble was hastened by the six marks he had saved away for just that purpose; that the clergy and people of Amiens had not missed him; and that they took him back grudgingly (*Monodiae* 3.14, ed. Labande, 406). In either case, it is believable that Godfrey’s regret at leaving was sincere. The summons went out from the Council of Soissons, 6 January 1115, and seems to have reached him at La Chartreuse before 3 March. Nicholas attests that he left on that day and made it to Reims in time for the church council on 28 March (*Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.11, ed. Poncelet, 933).

¹³⁸ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.12 (ed. Poncelet, 933–35). That Nicholas has either fabricated the event whole cloth or misdated it is obvious from the fact that in 1115 Palm Sunday fell on 11 April, putting Ash Wednesday on 10 March, more than two weeks before Godfrey’s known arrival at Reims for the council and homeward journey. Nicholas does acknowledge Godfrey’s role in the subsequent siege of the Castillon in passing a few chapters earlier in the *Vita*. After describing how various “seditions” had destabilized the city of Amiens, Nicholas states that both King Louis VI and the bishop oversaw the slow defeat and destruction of the Castillon so that it could no longer “depopulate the limits of the diocese” (*ibid.* 3.13, ed. Poncelet 935).

¹³⁹ “Nonne ipse Salvator de me nostrique similibus proloquitur quod: *Qui vos audit, me*

sins, but Godfrey stood firm: he forbade them the Eucharist until the Sunday after Easter.

This episode's moral lay in what happened next. One man sought to receive the Eucharist on Easter with the episcopal ban still in effect. Entering the parish church of Saint-Rémy while dressed, quite convincingly, as a woman, he took the sacrament into his mouth and stepped away from the altar. Immediately he fell to the ground and vomited up in a bloody shower the host he had unworthily consumed.¹⁴⁰ Faced with Christ's judgment, the guilty man and the other people in the church recognized the sublime merit of Godfrey. To this Nicholas added that the episode should stand as a stark warning for those who would strive to despise the precepts of spiritual authorities or plunder the sacraments.

Especially when these passages are read in light of Guibert's carping about Godfrey's inconstant conduct, Nicholas's description of Godfrey's sermons portrays a prelate whose deeds are remarkably consistent with his words, and who confessed his own sins and called his flock to proper obedience. Following the parameters he established for his own life, the bishop encouraged the spiritual impulses of his congregation rather than appealing to their material wants; keeping with the appropriate liturgical context, his Ash Wednesday sermon stresses confession and penance. Far from promising heaven to those who made war, celestial reward was held out to those who remembered Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Nicholas characterized this speech in no uncertain terms: he who denied Godfrey's edicts, rejected no less than Christ.¹⁴¹ Three chapters later, Nicholas commemorated Godfrey's constant resolve by asserting that should the bishop ever have had the occasion to endure torments similar to those of Christ, he would have faced them with an untroubled spirit and a happy face, "crowned in triumph with his own blood."¹⁴²

For Nicholas, then, Godfrey demonstrated no troubling inconsistencies in his spiritual devotion, actions, or speech. Whereas, Guibert would have reasoned, Godfrey should have refused episcopal office if he wished to pursue inner peace, Nicholas finds in the bishop's behavior a saintly preoccupation

audit? . . . Ergo casum protoplasti incidistis; en ruinam contemptoris incurristis; en mihi Christum iamiam condonet, merito poenas estis luituri?" (ibid. 3.12, ed. Poncelet, 934).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ See n. 136. The passage is from Luke 10:16 and was frequently elaborated on by eleventh- and twelfth-century monastic authors exhorting their fellow monks to obedience of superiors, e.g., those noted in Caroline Walker Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality*, Harvard Theological Studies 31 (Missoula, Mont., 1978), 122, 125.

¹⁴² Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.15 (ed. Poncelet, 937): "sicque proprio cruore laureatus, caeli palatia, regem in decore suo visurus, felix feliciter intrasset."

with moral conduct and inward disposition which he sought to convey to his flock. Laudable as a spiritual calling episcopal office may be, but for Guibert its temptations and the ambition necessary for it presented grave pitfalls to the inner self. His conclusion reflects a discomfort with the monk-bishop type, and, indeed, Guibert elaborates no examples of monks who had successfully made the transition from one *ordo* to the other.¹⁴³ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin did not completely overlook the discrepancies between cloister and *cathedra* but emphasized that behavioral and moral continuity was possible where continuity of office or calling was not. The tale of the transvestite supplicant who vomited the host underscores God's power to know the inward disposition of the faithful, which costume may mask but cannot hide. The bishop's retreat to La Chartreuse did not signal a fickle spirit, but one consistently oriented toward contemplation of the divine and personal salvation, eminent monastic virtues then put into the service of his congregation, albeit with some difficulty and not a little resistance.

THE BISHOP, *CIVES*, AND THE COMMUNE

Lastly, we turn to Nicholas and Guibert's consideration of Bishop Godfrey's handling of the Amiens commune. Guibert's anticommunal dictum, directed at the sworn members of the Laon commune, has been so often repeated as emblematic of his attitudes toward social change that it scarcely needs recitation.¹⁴⁴ Analysis of the abbot's true attitude toward the Laon com-

¹⁴³ I would hazard that Guibert even thought his mentor, Anselm of Bec/Canterbury, somewhat of a failure as archbishop, given that he spent the better part of his prelacy in exile on the continent and entangled in disputes with kings William II and Henry I; see Southern, ed. and trans., *Life of St Anselm*, 2.16–17, 2.20–23, 2.35–38, 2.41–42, etc.

¹⁴⁴ But, for those who may be unfamiliar with it, see Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.7 (ed. Labande, 320): "Communio . . . novum ac pessimum nomen. . ." For Guibert in this instance, the use of the adjective "new" to describe the commune is most certainly deprecatory; see Beryl Smalley, "Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty, c. 1100–c. 1250," in *Church, Society and Politics*, Studies in Church History 12, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1975), 113–31. Scholarly discussion of the origins and significance of the Laon commune has a long and distinguished pedigree. Modern analysis begins with Achille Luchaire, *Les communes françaises à l'époque des Capétiens directs* (Paris, 1890); Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes françaises: Caractères et évolution des origines au XVIII^e siècle*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1970); Albert Vermeesch, *Essai sur les origines et la signification de la commune dans le nord de la France (XI^e et XII^e siècles)* (Heule, 1966); Reinhold Kaiser, "Laon aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles: à propos d'un livre récent," *Revue du nord* 56 (1974): 421–26; Dominique Barthélemy, *Les deux ages*, 78–79, 323–53, and "Lectures de Guibert de Nogent (Guibert de Nogent: Autobiographie III, 1–11)," in *Les origines des libertés urbaines. Actes du XVI^e Congrès des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur* (Rouen, 7–8 juin 1985) (Rouen, 1990), 175–92; Knut Schulz, "Denn Sie lieben die Freiheit so sehr. . .": *Kommunale Aufstände und Entstehung des europäischen*

mune of 1112 has run the gamut of learned opinion. It is not my intention here to fit Guibert's thinking into broader debates about the origins of communes, their supposedly revolutionary character, or their specifically urban setting.¹⁴⁵ What is certain is that Guibert saw the commune's formation as wholly consistent with Laon's troubled history, and as a source of violence and social upheaval—a whirling vortex into which society's worst impulses were sucked and spun out at greater destructive velocity.¹⁴⁶ The commune's inception fell squarely on the shoulders of Laon's venal bishops who, instead of serving the interests of social unity and peace, served primarily their own need for power.¹⁴⁷ In this moral morass, devoid of pastoral leadership, greed took root, and greed helped to birth the commune.

Guibert was certainly aware that urban communities in northern France were increasingly winning legal privileges as juridical and political authorities in the first two decades of the twelfth century.¹⁴⁸ He dispassionately mentions that the communal charters granted Noyon (1108) and Saint-Quentin (ca. 1081) served as models for Laon's first statutes.¹⁴⁹ In fact, there is little to suggest that Guibert detested communes per se, and every reason to believe that he perceived a lack of authority and leadership, which should contain society's baser instincts, to be the real cause of instability. He scarcely conceals his disdain when he notes that "no one there feared either God or master"; clergy and people went hand-in-hand to destruction.¹⁵⁰

Bürgerturns in Hochmittelalter (Darmstadt, 1992), esp. 60–72; Alain Saint-Denis, "Pouvoirs et libertés à Laon dans les premières années du XII^e siècle (v. 1110–1112)," in *Pouvoirs et libertés au temps des premiers Capétiens* (above, n. 111), 267–305; idem, *Apogée d'une cité: Laon et le Laonnois aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Nancy, 1994); Lemmers, *Guibert van Nogent's "Monodiae,"* 27–32. For observations concerning Guibert's attitudes toward commercial exchange and the profit economy, see Kaiser, "Das Geld"; and Anna Sapir Abulafia, "Theology and the Commercial Revolution: Guibert of Nogent, St. Anselm and the Jews of Northern France," in *Church and City, 1000–1500*, ed. David Abulafia, et al. (Cambridge, 1992), 23–40.

¹⁴⁵ For a view that emphasizes continuities of collective action and thought in medieval communities rather than dramatic ruptures, see Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1997).

¹⁴⁶ Barthélemy, "Lectures de Guibert de Nogent," 176–78.

¹⁴⁷ Lemmers, *Guibert van Nogent's "Monodiae,"* part one, chap. 2, and "Crisis of Episcopal Authority."

¹⁴⁸ Again, the extent of his interest does not reach as far north as Hainaut or the Cambrésis to the communes of Cambrai (1077 and 1102; dissolved 1107) or Valenciennes (1114); rather surprisingly, he also omits any mention of the commune of Beauvais, supposedly established about 1100 (although no evidence establishes beyond a shadow of a doubt that a formally sworn commune existed by 1115; compare Vermeesch, *Essai*, 103–5).

¹⁴⁹ On these two communes, see the overview of Vermeesch, *Essai*, 98–103, 105–8.

¹⁵⁰ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.7 (ed. Labande, 316–18): "neque Deus neque dominus quispiam inibi timeretur" (316); "uti legitur, sicut populus, sic sacerdos" (318).

Nor was Guibert opposed on principle to the *populus* taking up arms against tyrants. When properly coordinated and led by king and bishop, the people could mete deserved violence upon powerful oppressors, as they did against Thomas of Marle in April 1115. Here was a clear example of a fitting alignment of social orders: while the archbishop of Reims and his fellow bishops preached holy warfare and assured the salvation of souls to the multitudes, King Louis VI led his army and the militias against Thomas's "adulterine" castles.¹⁵¹ Fittingly, by these means the "most proud and wicked of all men . . . was punished by the hand of the poorest."¹⁵² The people, properly disposed and guided, won justice for their grievances.

Whatever he may have thought generally about communes or urban privileges, Guibert was unequivocal on the matter of Godfrey's agreeing to the foundation of a commune at Amiens, probably in 1113: he ought never to have consented to it.¹⁵³ The bishop had not been forced to do so, and given the "disastrous event of Laon's destruction" (*funestum excidii Laudunensis eventum*), the civil conflicts of its people, and the wretched end of his fellow bishop, Godfrey, Guibert reasoned, should have learned a lesson. To reinforce his argument, Guibert relates that Godfrey himself had foreseen trouble. While carrying out the Mass, the bishop by accident consecrated and consumed water rather than wine. From this he prophesied that a "great evil" would befall the church of Amiens.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ God even demonstrated his assent of the endeavor by dispersing the inclement weather that had slowed the military campaign; see *ibid.* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 410–14); and Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, 79–83.

¹⁵² Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 412): "Ita vir omnium superbissimus iniquissimusque per manum pauperrimam . . . punitus est."

¹⁵³ In fact, the commune's foundation date can be established no more precisely than having occurred between April 1112 and November 1113, although in order of Guibert's narration it post-dates Bartholomew's election to the see of Laon in April 1113 and precedes the feast of St. Martin, 11 November; Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 398–402); see also Vermeesch, *Essai*, 113–16, and above all Desportes, "La commune d'Amiens." Godfrey attended the reconsecration of Laon cathedral in September 1114, although Guibert makes no mention of this; see Hermann of Tournai, *De miraculis sanctae Mariae Laudunensis* 3.1 (PL 156:988).

¹⁵⁴ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 404, 406). Guibert, somewhat uncharacteristically, lets this occasion pass without offering additional commentary or insight into the symbolic meaning of the event. Speculatively, Godfrey's failure to consecrate wine instead of water divided the sacrament and destroyed its totality and universality. One could not gain spiritual benefit from partaking in the bread or wine alone; any intellectual ascent to knowledge of the divine gained through receiving the Eucharist was lost. Moreover, in the Augustinian tradition the Eucharist embraced a double symbolism: memory of Christ's sacrifice on the cross together with the hope-filled prefiguration of the future unity of the Church in Christ. Godfrey's consecration of water instead of wine signified the looming division of the Ecclesia. On the Eucharist as anticipation of unity, see Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: L'Eucharistie*

Although forewarned, Godfrey, by freely empowering the townspeople of Amiens, put in motion a destructive train of events. The commune's new liberties angered the Count of Amiens and Godfrey's one-time patron, Enguerand of Coucy, and the strife accelerated when Godfrey's *vicedominus*, Guermund of Picquigny, seized the occasion to attack the castellan of Amiens, Adam, his hated enemy. In short order, the town fell into a pitched battle among different factions; the king soon arrived, and the siege began in earnest in 1115.¹⁵⁵ The town's misery lasted more than two years in all. Crowds of townspeople would be killed, and the women of Amiens—eighty in all—would even operate the siege machinery and suffer injuries before the skirmish was ended.¹⁵⁶ Yet even at this late point, when internal strife wracked Amiens, Guibert suggests that the bishop could have reasserted control. Godfrey, Guibert insisted, could have “easily” soothed (*facile . . . sedasseret*) the situation.¹⁵⁷ Instead, he left for the calm of La Chartreuse, returning three months later to pour fuel on the fire with his inflammatory Palm Sunday sermon.¹⁵⁸ It is nevertheless hard to see much difference in Guibert's assessment of the sermons of the archbishop of Reims to the people and king, in their campaign against Thomas, and Godfrey's speech to the king and people of Amiens, which rallied them against the warriors holed up in the Castillon. On both occasions bishops ordered castles to be stormed, and both are said to have preached the spiritual benefits of fighting in a worthy cause. So what, in Guibert's eyes, distinguished the two examples? His comments on the matter are elliptical. The abbot of Nogent writes: “even though Thomas succumbed, nevertheless not all causes are the same, nor are all God's judgments so equal that license to provoke [others] to kill should fall to the bishop.”¹⁵⁹ The primary distinction in Guibert's reckoning is that the civil strife in Amiens was a direct result of the bishop's assent to the formation of the commune, whereas Thomas had fomented discord unilaterally for a long time and merited his punishment. Godfrey had simply abdicated the responsibility his office demanded.

et l'Eglise au moyen âge. Etude historique, 2d rev. ed. (Paris, 1949), 79–83; on Guibert's sacramental theology, see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, chap. 6.

¹⁵⁵ Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, 79–82.

¹⁵⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 414). It is perhaps worth noting that Guibert's use of numbers tends toward great precision when he describes behavior with which he is ambivalent or disagrees; examples include the six marks of silver Godfrey kept with him, the “twenty pounds” of money with which Guibert traveled to meet the pope at Langres, and so forth. For all these events Guibert cites as eyewitness Rohard, dean of Soissons cathedral.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. (ed. Labande, 408).

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. (ed. Labande, 406, 414).

¹⁵⁹ “. . . etsi Thomas succubuit, non omnes tamen causae sunt pares, nec Dei penes omnes aequa iudicia, ut sit episcopo ad necesse licentia provocandi” (ibid., ed. Labande, 416):

Given Guibert's recollection of events, it would appear unsurprising that Nicholas of Saint-Crépin did not mention the commune of Amiens in his biography of Godfrey. In fact, his choices on the matter were limited. Nicholas could have condemned the commune and presented it as directly responsible for Godfrey's woes. Given his intended audience for the *Vita sancti Godefridi*, however (discussed below), this decision would have been self-defeating. Alternatively, Nicholas might have presented it in a favorable light, perhaps as defending the interests of the bishop, but there was little in the way of contemporary literary precedents for pursuing this tack, either. He could also ignore it as too sensitive a subject to broach in the context of a saintly biography. But his silence would potentially suggest that Nicholas was in tacit agreement with Guibert's negative portrayal of Godfrey's dealing with the commune.¹⁶⁰

In the end, though he held his tongue about the commune, Nicholas opted instead to dole out choice words about the moral laxity and negligence of the townspeople of Amiens, which he mixed with passages of praise for their religious devotion. I have shown elsewhere that Nicholas and his fellow hagiographers at Saint-Crépin were deeply concerned with the moral conduct of urban society.¹⁶¹ In a lengthy passage detailing a visionary dream in which Godfrey foresaw the city's destruction by fire owing to its citizens' sins, especially the sins of its commercial classes, Nicholas noted how Godfrey had preached in vain for them to change their wicked conduct. Above all he decried their willingness to look with joy on the "ruin of churches, the ravaging of orphans and widows and also the plundering of their possessions, exacted by Alleaume the tyrant of this city and by the remaining servants of Satan." Those who consented to this wanton destruction would be judged as guilty as those who carried it out.¹⁶² As in the earlier example of the townspeople's

¹⁶⁰ This conclusion, however, makes the unsubstantiated assumption that Nicholas shared with Guibert a disdain for communes or fear of urban upheaval more generally, as did, for example, Bernard of Clairvaux; see Constant J. Mews, "The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard, and the Fear of Social Upheaval," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 342–82. It is worth noting that Suger of Saint-Denis, in writing his historical account of the deeds of Louis VI (ca. 1143?), made no mention either of the Amiens commune or of Godfrey but described both the crimes of Thomas of Marle and the siege of Amiens in some detail; see Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. and French trans. Henri Waquet, 2d ed. (Paris, 1964).

¹⁶¹ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 2.20–21 (ed. Poncelet, 938–39); see Ott, "Educating the Bishop" (above, n. 79).

¹⁶² Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 2.21 (ed. Poncelet, 939): "Eia, huius mundi amatores turpisque lucri sectatores, qualem fructum tunc habuistis, quando subversionem ecclesiarum, depopulationem pupillorum et viduarum, direptionem quoque bonorum ipsorum ab Adelelmo huius urbis tyranno ac reliquis satellitibus Sathanae unanimiter exactam, cum gaudio exspectabatis?"

punishment for failing to heed the bishop's Lenten proscriptions against eating meat, Nicholas again lays emphasis squarely on their refusal to follow the prelate's moral example of protecting the poor and the weak. The town's destruction by fire—only the cathedral and the houses of the poor are spared—results.

In light of Guibert's criticism about Godfrey's handling of the commune, Nicholas's treatment of the bishop's prophetic vision of the city's destruction is illuminating for several reasons. First, this passage is one of just three places where Nicholas alludes to the turbulence of the communal foundation period.¹⁶³ The "tyrant Alleaume" he mentions is surely the son or grandson of the castellan, the above-mentioned Adam.¹⁶⁴ Guibert also mentions Adam's son Alleaume, in passing, as "a most handsome lad" (*puer pulcherrimus*) who was affianced to Thomas of Marle's daughter, Melissende.¹⁶⁵ If Nicholas is referring to the same Alleaume in the *Vita sancti Godefridi*, then he has in mind a nobleman whose violent deeds and premature death during the siege were later expurgated by the foundation of a priory by members of his family in 1115. More important, however, is the context of Godfrey's condemnation of the people of Amiens, for here Nicholas exonerates the bishop of any moral culpability for the townspeople's actions. Nicholas has Godfrey denounce the people of Amiens for their complicity in allowing Alleaume to tyrannize the city.

Daily we see—though we wished we did not—and daily we experience how pale death brings down the towers of kings and the dwellings of the poor. Therefore now, most beloved, put aside the old man and his deeds, and bring

¹⁶³ Nicholas, however, transposes the deeds of his villain to an earlier time, namely, that of the great fire of 1106/7. The other passages, respectively, address a deteriorating political situation without drawing explicit connections between Godfrey's conduct, the commune, and civil war. The first broadly hints that Godfrey felt "surrounded by the importunity of the people," and so departed for La Chartreuse, but the exact context is left undetailed (*Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.8, ed. Poncelet, 931: "populorum importunitate circumvallatus, mente elongaret se a turba desideriorum carnalium" [cf. Psalm 54 (55):8–11]). In the second passage (3.13, ed. Poncelet, 935) Nicholas comments in passing how *ea tempestate intestinorum bellorum seditionum* Louis and Godfrey laid siege to the Castillon for nearly two years until the tower, having capitulated from famine, was razed to the ground.

¹⁶⁴ The genealogical table of Albéric de Calonne d'Avesne, *Histoire de la ville d'Amiens*, 3 vols. (Amiens: Piteux Frères, 1899–1906), 1:145, is unfortunately flawed, but this Alleaume could either be the castellan's son, killed during the siege of 1115–17, or his grandson of the same name, who was much later excommunicated by Bishop Thierry of Amiens in or before 1146 for pillaging church lands, for which see *Cartulaire du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens*, ed. J. Roux and E. Soyez, *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, vol. 14 (Amiens and Paris, 1897), no. 26. I believe Nicholas writes of Adam's son.

¹⁶⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.14 (ed. Labande, 406). The reference to Alleaume serves no greater moral purpose in the scope of Guibert's account of post-communal Amiens.

in the new, who was created in the image of God in justice and the sanctity of truth. . . .¹⁶⁶ If you neglect this, I predict to you—because we are unable to keep silent about what we have seen and heard¹⁶⁷—that you will quickly be brought low, either burned to ashes in that earlier pyre of sodomites, or destroyed, like that horrid destruction of Dathan and Abiron. Accordingly, in order that I should not be implicated by any of you of the crime of silence, I am washed clean of your blood; for I have hidden nothing by which I might announce to you the whole will of God.¹⁶⁸

Yet again, the people fail even to understand their bishop's words—to their ears, they are *delirimenta*, gibberish—and so plunge headlong into destruction.¹⁶⁹ Nicholas makes no explicit note of the commune in this passage. Not only does he thoroughly unburden the bishop of any responsibility in the town's devastation during his tenure, he portrays him in prophetic guise, the klaxon whose warnings go unheeded. The hagiographer of Saint-Crépin consistently holds the people of Amiens accountable for their conduct. The commune per se, and Godfrey's authorization of it, are not to blame for its troubles.

To summarize, regardless of any broader institutional setting, personal conduct and individual comportment—by both *episcopus* and *populus*—ultimately constitute the standard of authorial and divine judgment. The commune cannot be judged wicked, nor even its formation, but the actions of the people alone. This is a theme, given Nicholas's focus on Godfrey's moral leadership and personal behavior throughout the *vita*, which downplays the administrative and political qualities of episcopal rule and focuses on the individual moral example of the pastor.

¹⁶⁶ Ephesians 4:22, 4:24.

¹⁶⁷ Acts 4:20.

¹⁶⁸ "Cotidie videmus, velimus nolimus, cotidie experimur quod pallida mors aequo pulsat pede regum tures pauperumque tabernas. Nunc igitur, carissimi, deponite veterem hominem cum actibus suis, et induite novum, qui secundum Deum creatus est in iustitia et sanctitate veritatis. . . . Quod si neglexeritis, praedico vobis—quippe non possumus quae vidimus et audivimus non loqui—quod quam citius aut illo quondam sodomitico incendio concremandi, aut ipso Dathan et Abiron horrendo excidio funditus estis subruendi. Proinde, ne una vobiscum silentii involvere crimine, mundus ego a sanguine omnium vestrum; non enim subterfugi quo minus annuntiarem omne consilium Dei in vos" (Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.21, ed. Poncelet, 939): Compare Matthew 27:24 and especially Acts 20:26–27: "I here and now declare that no man's fate can be laid at my door; for I have kept back nothing; I have disclosed to you the whole purpose of God."

¹⁶⁹ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.21 (ed. Poncelet, 939): "verba servi Dei visa sunt illis quasi deliramenta, vociferantes una simul illum infinitis quaestionibus ac quibusdam naeniis operam dare. Sicque in deteriora prouunt. . . ."

THE IDEOLOGICAL LIMITS OF EPISCOPAL AUTHORITY

Our authors, writing a full generation apart, narrated events of the recent past and interpreted their meaning with reference to their particular ideological frameworks. Relying on personal experience and first-person eyewitnesses, Guibert and Nicholas selected and depicted Bishop Godfrey's actions in light of contemporary debates over—and their own understanding of—ecclesiastical office, communes, and devotion to relics, all of which would have suggested to them and to their intended audiences a range of symbolic meanings, positive to negative.¹⁷⁰ In this final section I propose to examine briefly this interaction between author, audience, and the representation of episcopal office. Late twentieth-century sociological and anthropological approaches to the formation and reception of ideas have emphasized that even when authors write from a position of authority, the writers/speakers must by necessity engage their presumed listeners in a dialectical exchange of ideas, beliefs, and even moods.¹⁷¹ Clifford Geertz, some decades ago, called attention to the interpenetration of “culture, personality, and social system” in human thought, the “intrusion” of public ideas and symbols into the private domain of the individual mind, which shapes ideologies in turn.¹⁷² Failure to consider a broader social matrix—a “cultural frame,” to use the Geertzian phrase—in the thought of either Guibert or Nicholas limits our evaluation of their ideas to the narrow world of intellectual models and authorial idiosyncrasies.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Of course, determining the exact contours of that symbolic range among the authors' readership must, by necessity, be a highly speculative exercise.

¹⁷¹ If authoritative speech exists to persuade, it can only succeed to the extent that the audience recognizes it, and perhaps the speaker, as authoritative. See Bruce Lincoln, *Authority: Construction and Corrosion* (Chicago, 1994). The ecclesiastical reform process of the eleventh and twelfth centuries pitted multiple sources of authority, theological, traditional, and social, against another.

¹⁷² Clifford Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System,” chap. 8 in his *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essay* (New York, 1973), 193–233, here at 214. The applicability of Geertz's ideas about religion generally and medieval political culture has been argued recently by Gavin I. Langmuir, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1990), esp. 143–47, and Philippe Buc, “Political Ritual: Medieval and Modern Interpretations,” in *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz (Bochum, 2000), 255–72. Ideology formation, Geertz explained, is produced when the strains of culture and society in the throes of massive change call into question traditional or customary modes of comprehending and explaining social reality (p. 218).

¹⁷³ I have no desire to devalue the unique literary accomplishments of either writer, especially Guibert, whose contributions to western thought are now well established. Guibert, for example, occupies an important place in Colin Morris's influential monograph on *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (London, 1972; rpt. Toronto, 1987), esp. 65–67, 83–86. For a Geertzian consideration of changing political models of authority, see Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1984), 87 ff.

Knowing the composition of Guibert's audience is not easy. Given that he referenced his memoirs in his other work, he likely intended his monks and the intellectual and ecclesiastical cohort centered on the cathedral schools and monasteries of Laon and Soissons to read them, as they did his other writings.¹⁷⁴ The diffusion of Nicholas's *vita* of Godfrey was at once probably narrower and wider than Guibert's memoirs.¹⁷⁵ It would have certainly reached the eyes of monks and clergy in Soissons—a number of individuals, including the bishop, personnel from the cathedral chapter and occupants of local abbeys, are attached to Godfrey's cult in the *vita* itself—and word of it may possibly have passed all the way to Amiens, although no cult in Godfrey's memory was established there before the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁶ The text's wider audience was assuredly the very citizens of Soissons whom Nicholas hoped would flock to Godfrey's tomb and spread word of his cult.¹⁷⁷ In either case, whether or not the texts' readership and popular reception were minuscule or extensive—and they were probably rather limited in both cases—that the authors *expected* their works to reach an audience was a basic premise of their composition.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 158–72; see also Lemmers, *Guibert van Nogents "Monodiae,"* 93–97.

¹⁷⁵ Did Nicholas read parts of his biography before a circle of interested intellectuals, as Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 138–39, suggests that Guibert did with his theological treatise on the Eucharist? While direct evidence that the *Vita sancti Godefridi* was transmitted to the people and clergy of Amiens is lacking, and no cult in his name was established there or at Soissons in the Middle Ages, Godfrey's saintliness was acknowledged by his immediate successors at Amiens, at the abbey of Mont-Saint-Quentin, and, it seems, at the monastic community at Nogent—a fact that would have galled Guibert to no end. For reference to Godfrey's memory, see Ott, "Urban Space, Memory, and Episcopal Authority," 54 and n. 54. One expects that Nicholas harbored the same hope as another hagiographer of a contemporary bishop, Guigo of La Chartreuse, who wrote (in 1132) in his dedicatory letter to Pope Innocent II on the life of Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, "ut clerus legens ac populus audiens gratias agant Domino, atque ipsius intercessione peccatorum veniam percipere mereantur" (*Vita sancti Hugonis episcopi Gratianopolis*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, April, vol. 1, new ed. [Paris and Rome, 1865], 37).

¹⁷⁶ See Poncelet's introduction to the *Vita sancti Godefridi*, p. 901 nn. 11–13. As with Guibert's memoirs, we are confronted with the not uncommon problem of having no full copies of the text extant until the post-medieval period. The earliest, from the fifteenth century, is fragmentary; a few folia are in the library of Caesar Austriacus, Codex Vindobonensis 9397a (six folia); the complete copy from the sixteenth century used by Poncelet as the base text for his edition is Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 11987, fols. 138v–165r (100v–127r in the new numbering).

¹⁷⁷ At the time Nicholas wrote, Saint-Crépin was locked in a struggle for the patronage of pilgrims with its cross-town rivals, the monasteries of Saint-Médard and Notre-Dame, for which see Ott, "Educating the Bishop" (above, n. 79).

¹⁷⁸ This assertion raises an epistemological problem for readers of medieval texts who would argue that, insofar as medieval authors perceived that they presented an objective Truth in their writings above all else, they would have seen themselves as completely resistant to the

This can be seen in Nicholas's defense of Godfrey's devotion to relics and his silence about communes. Nicholas's lengthy passages detailing Godfrey's veneration of Saint Firminus, his relic ostentations, and the details of his cult all serve to situate the former bishop in long-standing traditions of pious devotion to the holy dead. The monk of Saint-Crépin obviously hoped, among other things, to generate pilgrim traffic to the saintly prelate's tomb. His biography of Godfrey shows him doing the same, lauding practices of relic elevation and miracle promotion that Saint-Crépin was pursuing with its own saints at that very time—Godfrey's relics were elevated in April 1138, and the monastery's patrons' in May 1141.¹⁷⁹ Guibert, who once wrote devotional poetry for the feast day of Saint Geremarus of Fly, did not have similar interests at stake.¹⁸⁰ Nogent curried no apparent pilgrim traffic at this time, and his treatise on relics was both enmeshed in broader debates about the nature of the Eucharist and unabashed in its condemnation of many contemporary devotional practices.¹⁸¹

Furthermore, by the time of the *Vita sancti Godefridi*'s composition, the commune of Soissons was twenty years old. The early turbulence of Laon and Amiens had long receded, and their violent origins had been counterbalanced by the so-called "peace" charters of Valenciennes (1114) and Laon and its surrounding villages (1128 and 1129), and the peaceful commune requested at Corbie by its clergy, secular nobility, and townspeople (1123).¹⁸² It is true that at Soissons in 1136 the commune had infringed on episcopal and seigneurial privileges to such a degree that the bishop, Josselin, brought complaint before the king's court. The case was resolved without violence and by recourse to law, in favor of the bishop.¹⁸³ We have already witnessed Nicholas's critique

pressures of constantly shifting social whims and ideologies. Nevertheless, even if Guibert and Nicholas both would have denied that their audiences shaped the contents of their writing, the literary and historical means by which they conveyed their understanding of Truth still differed.

¹⁷⁹ See Ott, "Educating the Bishop."

¹⁸⁰ François Dolbeau, "Une séquence inédite de Guibert de Nogent," *Revue bénédictine* 93 (1983): 323–26.

¹⁸¹ Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, chaps. 5–6. Rubenstein calls Guibert's writing of *De pigneribus* "an act of professional suicide" (130). That it may have been, but as Guibert's own writing, contemporary events, and newly compiled collections of *miracula* were showing, devotion to the suffering Christ and his mother, Mary, was now flourishing without dependence on their physical remains (although devotion to their corporeal relics also remained quite strong). Insofar as this devotion hinged upon the disposition of the inner self rather than material remains, Guibert may have more willingly promoted it in his writings.

¹⁸² See Vermeesch, *Essai*, 120–22; and *Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France (1108–1137)*, ed. Jean Dufour, 4 vols. (Paris, 1992), 1:440–42.

¹⁸³ See Vermeesch, *Essai*, 122–23; and Ott, "Educating the Bishop." The climate of relative concord between the king, episcopacy, and the communes of northern France did come to a rather quick end under Louis VII, beginning with his suppression of communes at Orléans,

of the people's conduct; his description of Godfrey's posthumous miracles makes a rather different appeal to the residents of Soissons. At the bishop's burial, Ava, the pregnant wife of a well-to-do citizen of Soissons, Ingelramnus (*uxor Ingelramni, praedivitis ac Suessionicae urbis civis*), bears witness to the bishop's saintly presence. As people of every age and sex and swarmed into the abbey of church of Saint-Crépin to witness the interment, they climbed up ladders to perch in the rafters and woodwork for a better view. Their combined weight precipitated the structure's collapse, and they fell to the floor in a heap, but unharmed. To the shocked and stunned populace, Ava exclaimed: "Why, o citizens, are you so surprised? Why, I ask, are you reduced to such gloomy sadness? Behold, we have suffered no loss, no ruin, no danger. By God's grace, we all stand together uninjured. See, how clearly we are assured that the virtue of blessed witnesses of Christ Crispin and Crispinian and of the glorious bishop Godfrey is now truly present."¹⁸⁴ At this, all the people present were made witnesses of and testified to the miracle. The commune is not mentioned, although later hearers of this exemplary story would have probably understood *civis* to imply a citizen of the commune. By Nicholas's day, the commune's existence was assured and protected, its foundation charter, mayors, and political representatives another locus of authority in the community. Indeed, the commune assembled for meetings in the episcopal court itself.¹⁸⁵

Behind Nicholas and Guibert's representations of Godfrey also lay emerging contemporary debates about the nature of episcopal authority.¹⁸⁶ At the

Poitiers, and Reims in late 1137, 1138, and 1139. The urban unrest which so disturbed Bernard of Clairvaux, elucidated by Mews, "The Council of Sens (1141)," thus came after Nicholas's epilogue to the biography. See also Vermeesch, *Essai*, 123–26.

¹⁸⁴ "'Cur, o cives,' exclamat, 'cur estis tam attoniti? Cur, rogo, tanti doloris maestitudine estis aporiati? Ecce nihil dispendii, nihil ruinae nihilque periculi incurrimus. Ecce, Deo propitio, coram una incolumes omnes astamus. En virtutem beatorum Crispini et Crispiniani Christi testium gloriosique Godefridi praesulis nunc satis superest quam praeclare experti sumus'" (Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.36, ed. Poncelet, 943). Compare this with a miracle in the *vita* of John, bishop of Thérouanne, composed about eight years before Nicholas's own *vita*, which he had probably consulted and (in this instance) drawn inspiration from; *Vita Iohannis episcopi Teruanensis auct. Waltero archidiacono* 12, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS* 15.2 (Leipzig, 1925), 1146.

¹⁸⁵ The commune met "in curia episcopi."

¹⁸⁶ Lemmers, "Crisis of Episcopal Authority." It is worth recalling that book three of Guibert's memoirs, where he devotes considerable space to Godfrey, is the most historical section of the book; see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 100–102. A recent provocative overview of the connections between medieval notions of identity and authority, which forcefully seeks to reconfigure the earlier argument that the twelfth century "discovered" the individual, is Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *The American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 1489–1533.

time our authors were writing, general definitions of authority, and what constituted it, were likewise in heavy flux.¹⁸⁷ The intellectuals who argued and collaborated at the cathedral schools of Laon and Paris, a group to which Guibert most certainly, and Nicholas probably, belonged, were among those at the center of this process of questioning.¹⁸⁸ Increasingly, writers and thinkers ranked and arranged authorities, and appeals to reason and the experience of inner conversion gained eminence alongside textual tradition as arbiters of authority.¹⁸⁹ The axiom that "older was better," if still prevailing as a general rule of thumb, was now considered by many to be insufficient to claim authority in itself, perhaps of even secondary importance.¹⁹⁰ In the same way, and in part as an outcome of the ecclesiastical reform process of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, external forms of authority, such as the ecclesiastical office itself, weakened in esteem. Rather, the office-holder was now judged authoritative based on the extent to which he personally realized the ideals and expectations which defined the office itself.¹⁹¹

In his deliberations on pastoral requirements, Guibert walked a difficult line at a time of changing norms. His criticisms of Godfrey (and the bishops of

¹⁸⁷ The process of questioning seems analogous to what occurred in modern political life in the United States and elsewhere during the 1960s; see, for example, the opening line of the Catholic Thomist thinker Yves R. Simon, *A General Theory of Authority* (Notre Dame, 1962), 13: "The issue of authority has such a bad reputation that a philosopher cannot discuss it without exposing himself to suspicion and malice."

¹⁸⁸ For Guibert, see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 139–39, 171–72. Nicholas's work constituted part of the massive output of hagiography in Soissons in the second quarter of the twelfth century, which I have discussed in my article "Educating the Bishop." To judge by his dedicatory letter and scattered epithets, Nicholas admired and was on friendly terms with the dean-chancellors of Soissons, including Bernard († 1126), who was also designated as *scolasticus* and *magister*, and obviously Rohard (1126–39), as well as the bishop of Soissons and one-time Paris *magister*, Josselin of Vierzy (1126–52).

¹⁸⁹ For Abelard and a growing number of others like him, "Reason took precedence over authorities"; see Heinrich Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000–1200*, trans. Denise A. Kaiser (University Park, Pa., 1998), 218–21; C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), 226–34; Constant J. Mews, "Philosophy and Theology 1100–1150: The Search for Harmony," in *Le XII^e siècle: Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle*, ed. Françoise Gasparri (Paris, 1994), 159–203.

¹⁹⁰ Bernard Guenée, "'Authentique et approuvé.' Recherches sur les principes de la critique historique au moyen âge," in *La lexicographie du latin médiéval et ses rapports avec les recherches actuelles sur la civilisation du Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1981), 218. Of course, consensus on this was absent, and pessimism about the accomplishments of the twelfth century was also voiced; see now C. Stephen Jaeger, "Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century 'Renaissance,'" *Speculum* 78 (2003): 1151–83.

¹⁹¹ The process was already under way in the eleventh century as an outgrowth of the ecclesiastical reform movement. See Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, 124–25, but also Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity," 1530–32.

Laon) consistently point to a belief that the bishop should live, govern, and act in a manner which blended both the formal obligations of episcopal office, which meant the management of church resources and the defense of its liberties, the maintenance of discipline, noble conduct, and sacramental knowledge, with personal piety and a devotion to preaching.¹⁹² Above all, the bishop should not be a popularizer or of fickle disposition. To share in popular enthusiasms for collective organization or action, which had animated the siege of Amiens and the Laon commune, to be swayed by one's loyalties to family and kin, or to give way to popular influences regarding relics and miracle stories, was to taint one's claim to authority by permitting others to accede to it in one's stead. In Guibert's view, the bishops of Laon and Godfrey of Amiens had transgressed these limits, and the abbot of Nogent doled out harsh words for both. Still, Guibert could make no allowance for violence against a bishop, such as that which claimed Gaudry of Laon's life in 1112, no matter how reprehensible his actions. Gaudry reaped what he had sown, but the dignity of the office should still have preserved him from assault: "sinner though he was, he was also the Lord's anointed."¹⁹³ Guibert's insistence on the dignity and material components of ecclesiastical office, as well as his views on the commune, would have resounded with a clerical audience uneasy about the steady pace of socio-political change and ecclesiastical reform.¹⁹⁴ Writing in 1115, his traditional view of a society united according to proper distinctions in social status and social order, his wariness of individuals who claimed or sought to live at once contemplative and active lives, struck a conservative chord, one that, even in Guibert's day, was sounding dated in some circles.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² To take a negative example, Gaudry outright rejected "the most glorious of episcopal functions," the consecration of the holy oil and absolution of the faithful from their sins on Holy Thursday, choosing instead to consult with the king's courtiers. This detail is significant—on Holy Thursday the bishop unified the community within the spiritual and material *ecclesia*. Gaudry, rather than uniting the people in his authority, was working to undermine them; Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.7 (ed. Labande, 330). On the centrality of preaching to his concept of episcopal office, see Lemmers, *Guibert van Nogent's "Monodiae,"* esp. part 2, chaps. 4–5.

¹⁹³ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 3.8 (ed. Labande, 342): "quamvis peccator, christus tamen Domini"; *ibid.* 3.10 (ed. Labande, 356).

¹⁹⁴ A far less receptive audience would have greeted his treatise on relics, written several years later, in part because many of the practices he implicates were widespread in clerical ranks; see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 124–30.

¹⁹⁵ One would like to know whether Guibert had glimpsed by 1115 one of the early copies of Eadmer's *vita* of his intellectual mentor, Anselm of Bec, and if so, what he thought of its representation of the bishop as contemplative and diplomat. Copies of the *Vita sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi* were put quickly into circulation in northern France and Flanders after ca. 1112–14, and Guibert had seen it by 1119 when he wrote his treatise on relics; see

By contrast, Nicholas's representation of Godfrey subordinated the administrative duties of episcopal office to the bishop's personal comportment. True, when the bishop delivered sermons or fulfilled his liturgical functions, Nicholas is careful to mention his episcopal dress and clerical entourage.¹⁹⁶ He notes the bishop's attention to traditional episcopal mandates such as the care of the poor and regulation of monasteries. But the monk of Saint-Crépin above all celebrates Godfrey's personal disposition: his humility, charity, piety, pastoral solicitude, attention to preaching, and monkish abstemiousness from food and drink. When the rest of the clergy would return to their cells following matins, Godfrey would remove his official vestments—shoes and robes—and pray the remainder of the night. Nicholas affirms Godfrey's solicitude for his soul by leaving little doubt that his heart resided in the contemplative quietude of La Chartreuse.¹⁹⁷ The bishop's life stood as an open example of moral rectitude, and his verbal exhortations to his flock reflected his inner disposition.¹⁹⁸

In a final indication of the works' complementarity, both Guibert and Nicholas used the writings of Gregory the Great as the ideological starting point for their ideal bishop. Nicholas references much of Gregory's literary corpus, and he borrows from the *Dialogues*, *Moralia in Job*, the *Regula pastoralis*, and his *Homilies in Ezekiel*.¹⁹⁹ Nicholas's Godfrey leads by personal example as does Gregory's pastor—shining with fraternal love from within, like a lamp²⁰⁰—and takes time away from his duties for daily and extended contemplative retreats. Like Nicholas, Guibert stresses the power of the pastor's spoken word in both his memoirs and his manual on preaching, the latter dedicated to Bishop Bartholomew of Laon about 1114–15. Both men emphasize that the right ordering of society is established by conscientious episcopal leadership. This was a venerable model, and not an uncontested one, yet it ex-

Southern, ed. and trans., *Life of St. Anselm*, xvi–xix; and idem, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), 314–20.

¹⁹⁶ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi* 2.7, 2.9, 2.17, 3.12, 3.16, 3.19.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. 3.19 (ed. Poncelet, 938); ibid. 3.26 (ed. Poncelet, 940): "Is nempe locus quam maxime sedebat eius animo."

¹⁹⁸ Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo*, 14–19; on the context and limits of Benedictine exhortations to teach by word and example, see pp. 106–7, 117–37.

¹⁹⁹ Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi*, Prologue, 3.2, 3.13–14.

²⁰⁰ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 10.51, ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 143 (Turnhout, 1979), 573 (cited in *Vita sancti Godefridi* 3.2). On Gregory as monk-bishop, with a strong emphasis on his sense of moral leadership, see Conrad Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford, 2000), 152–59; and Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley, 1988), 70–71, 181–83. For consideration of Gregory's terminology surrounding the word *rector*, see Robert A. Markus, "Gregory the Great's *Rector* and His Genesis," in *Grégoire le Grand*, ed. Fontaine et al., 137–46.

perienced a resurgence in popularity during the middle years of the twelfth century.²⁰¹ In many respects, Guibert and Nicholas anticipated its usage among Cistercian writers and later clerical reformers.²⁰²

One of the important differences between the two works, however, concerned the vexing question of whether the virtues instilled in the cloister were readily applicable to the world of the episcopate, with all the secular and administrative demands it required. Achieving the Gregorian balance between care of the pastor's own soul and the needs of his flock was no mean feat, and twelfth-century authors debated, in effect, how much episcopal humility and contemplative retreat was too much.²⁰³ The question became increasingly critical in the archdiocese of Reims as bishops were drawn from the ranks of the new and reformed monastic houses beginning in the 1130s.²⁰⁴ For Guibert, the monk's fundamental calling and the search for self-knowledge was incommensurable in most instances with the episcopate's particular challenges. In the end, to whatever extent he idealizes his own, arduous path to psychological self-awareness and the central importance of preaching to pastoral leadership, his work lacks a practical example of its successful application by a bishop. Guibert never became bishop, and he is silent on the travails of his own abbacy. Following Gregory's *Pastoral Rule*, he presents himself as an example of someone who has achieved the self-awareness necessary to lead, but by the same token he acknowledges in his memoirs that money, nobility, and power have real and positive roles to play in maintaining the church—and may even be critical factors in its growth and prosperity. This was likewise the paradox of ecclesiastical reform. The effective degree to which members of the priesthood could be set off from secular society was in the end limited by the multifaceted demands of the office itself, and he speaks scornfully of

²⁰¹ This was a period in which Gregory's works were being assiduously compiled and examined, especially in northern Francia, as noted by E. Ann Matter, "Gregory the Great in the Twelfth Century: The *Glossa Ordinaria*," in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. John C. Cavadini (Notre Dame, 1995), 216–26; and Trudy Lemmers, *Guibert van Nogents "Monodiae,"* 153. My thanks to Tom Head for the former reference.

²⁰² On Cistercian use of the Gregorian model, see Martha Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098–1180* (Stanford, 1996), esp. 109–14, 156–70.

²⁰³ The author of the *gesta* of Bishop Alain of Auxerre (1152–67), a former Cistercian abbot, grappled with precisely this question; see Constance Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration. The Role of the Bishop in Twelfth-Century Auxerre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 69–81.

²⁰⁴ See Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales*, 110 ff. See also the table of Cistercian archbishops, bishops, and cardinals in Newman, *Boundaries*, 247–51. In 1137, as Nicholas wrote, the sees of Beauvais, Châlons-sur-Marne, Arras, and Thérouanne were all headed by former abbots, the latter three from reformed houses: Godfrey Cou-de-Cerf, who introduced Cluniac reform at Saint-Médard of Soissons; Alvisius of Arras, abbot of Anchin; and Milo of Thérouanne, head of the Premonstratensian house of Saint-Josse-au-Bois.

lay and clerical “zealots” who sought to undermine the widespread role of noble blood in clerical preferment.²⁰⁵ Of course, money and power in his memoirs were also grossly abused by the prelates of his day, and Guibert himself compromised his ideals in the face of entrenched custom on different occasions, from his payoff of the pope prior to Gaudry’s election to his embarrassed admission that there was little he could do about popular and clerical devotion to the corporeal relics of Christ.²⁰⁶ If, as in his sermon on Isaiah 3:6–8, “Jerusalem falls into ruins,” it is because its inhabitants have so sunk into vice that they are blind to their own shortcomings—a situation the pastor cannot mend.²⁰⁷

Could the application of essentially apostolic ideals to pastoral leadership result in the successful government of the church? Guibert leaves the question uncomfortably in doubt. Twenty years later, Nicholas sounded a more optimistic tone. What Guibert perceived as Godfrey’s unfortunate combination of ambition and instability becomes, in Nicholas’s telling, a consistently pursued, because inwardly sustained, balancing act between the twin demands of the monk-bishop’s concern for his own salvation and his pastoral responsibility. For Nicholas, pastoral authority hinged less on the administrative and political aspects of office—the historical Godfrey reformed various houses in his diocese, details the monk of Saint-Crépin omits—and more on personal moral example which derived from monastic experience. Above all these were the virtues of humility, charity, concern for personal salvation, and contemplation, which were extended and modeled through the prelate’s preaching. By the late 1130s the monk-bishop had become an increasingly familiar persona in northern France. The monk-bishop was a priestly type, perhaps Nicholas reasoned, well-suited for the needs of a changing society, where traditional social boundaries were under pressure or in open flux. Indeed, in a setting where authoritative conduct and rule was being reconfigured and redefined, socially amphibious and charismatic leaders could navigate the changes and could fundamentally understand the people’s own similar experiences. Nicholas presumably believed that his world was ready to embrace it, and at Soissons another monk-bishop, the saintly Arnulf (†1087), had already blazed a trail with some success.²⁰⁸ Figures like Arnulf and Godfrey reaffirmed the monastery’s central place in the world by demonstrating that its values could

²⁰⁵ For example, Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 1.7 (ed. Labande, 42–44): “unde et vulgi clericos zelantis tanta adversus eos [married clergy] rabies aestuabat”; also 1.14 on Bishop Guy of Beauvais.

²⁰⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis*, CCCM 127:98.

²⁰⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae* 2.3 (ed. Labande, 240–42).

²⁰⁸ See the study by Renée I. A. Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg, bisschop van Soissons (†1087), Mens en Model. Een bronnenstudie* (Groningen, 1995).

be successfully exported through bishops forged in their cloisters, regardless of the time or setting.

Who *was* the real Godfrey of Moulincourt, bishop of Amiens, putative saint? We can safely say: neither the lubricious social chameleon or irresponsible pastor Guibert has him be, nor the charismatic moral authority Nicholas portrayed. He was no less a product of his time than the authors who preserved his memory and used it to represent their own, and their presumed audiences', ideals about pastoral authority. Godfrey owed his high rank to his close connections with the nobility of Picardy; he worked to reform the religious houses he was responsible for while bringing others under control; he consented to the foundation of a commune, and he confronted, in the end rather unsuccessfully, the violent forces of vendetta and feud that wracked the region in his day. How his episcopate was judged, however, more faithfully reflects changing perceptions and attitudes toward episcopal authority and conduct, relics and charismatic devotion, and the place of communes in northern France during the last generation of the ecclesiastical reform period.

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Jonathan Black, Ph.D.
Editor, *Mediaeval Studies*
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
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